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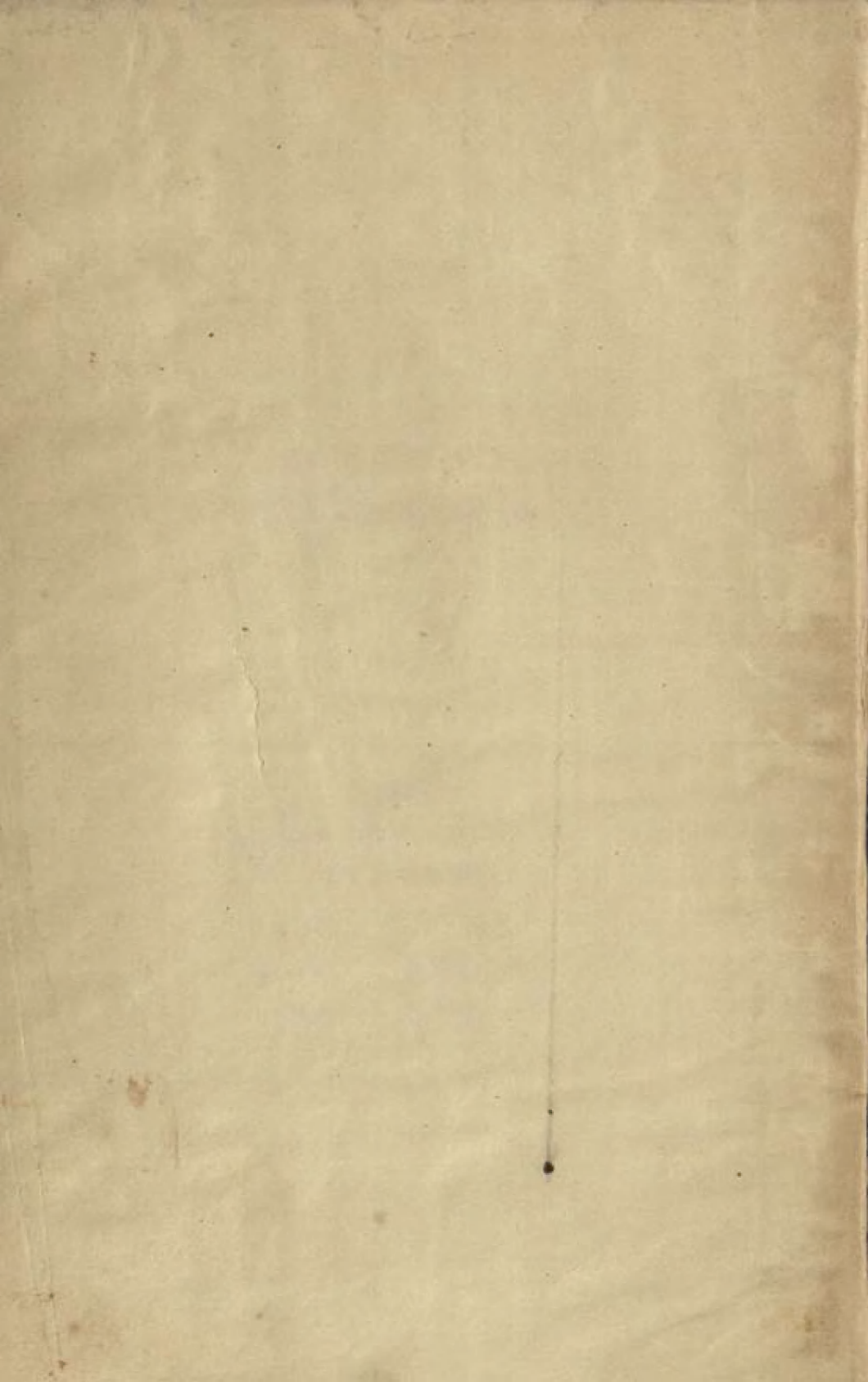
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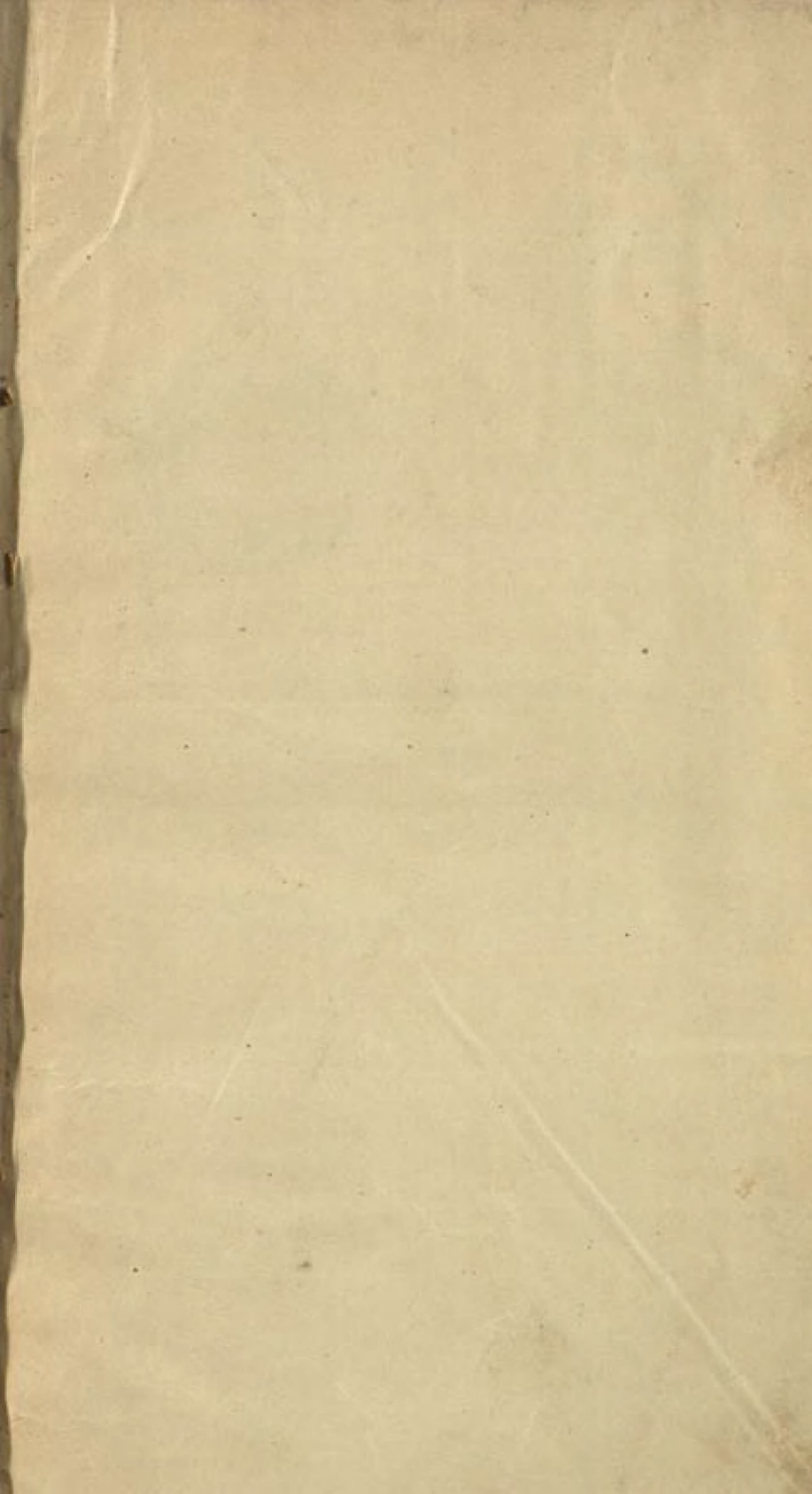
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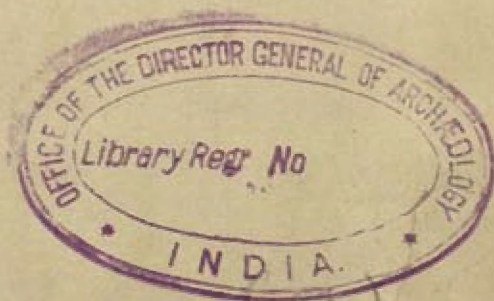




BULLETIN

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BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

THE CERAMIC ART OF SUSA

By J. M. UNVALA

THE history of the ceramic art of ancient Susa is as interesting as its political history. The earliest history of Susa is shrouded in legends. No authentic theory has been advanced by savants up to date as to the earliest inhabitants of Susa. The Susians or the Elamites, as they are generally called, are mentioned by Greek poets as the Ethiopians of Asia. M. Dieulafoy believes them to be negroids, which term is very vague and hypothetical. It is not proper to discuss the origin of the early Elamites in this paper. I shall pass over this question with the remark that they were most probably rather the natives of the soil than foreigners settled in Elam. At any rate from the results of excavations that are carried on in Susa every year from the time of M. Dieulafoy and M. de Morgan up to date we know that they were greatly advanced in civilization. They must have carried on commerce with neighbouring countries, as is proved by beads of lapis lazuli and of clay glazed like turquoise used in necklaces. Even the art of weaving cloth must not have been unknown to them, as is attested by several copper axes found on the site of the ancient necropolis situated on the Tell of the Citadel, which have impressions of cloth of fine texture, perhaps used as the shroud of the dead. The early Elamites pertained to the eneolithic age and were well acquainted with copper and its uses. Still they did not leave off the use of neolithic implements of flint and obsidian. But the most interesting thing

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about these early inhabitants of Susa is the discovery of the painted pottery on the Tell of the Citadel and on the Tell of Apadāna, comparable only to the painted pottery of the third Dynasty of Egypt and to the archaic painted pottery of Mesopotamia of a later date.

Excavations on the Tell of the Citadel prove that since very early times this mound must have drawn the attention of the early Elamites by its proximity to the River Ulaī, the Shaur of the present day, and by its natural altitude from the plain below as a spot fit for habitation and perhaps also fit for building temples. An immense number of fragments of the painted pottery in question and flint implements were first spotted by M. de Morgan in one of the wells sunk by him on the Tell in order to sound its different layers. These were published by him with six coloured plates and other illustrations in appendices Nos. I and II of *Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse* tome i, pp. 183-95. Later on a trench, 80 m. long and 11·80 m. broad, was opened on its south-western extremity, and was carried down to the natural soil, which was encountered at a depth of about 20 to 25 m. from the summit of the Tell. For the sake of control of the results this depth was divided into five *niveaux* or levels of varying depths. The fifth niveau, which is one metre in depth, contains fragments of the *fine* painted pottery imbedded in earth, so highly compact and so hard that it is extremely difficult to extricate them from the ground safe and sound. Fragments of this kind of pottery are also found in a very thin layer on the Tell of the Apadāna. This Tell was a suburb of Susa in ancient times and was very thinly populated. The *uncouth* painted pottery makes its appearance on the second niveau at a depth of ten to fifteen metres from the summit of the Tell. I shall describe this latter kind of pottery later on.

The fine painted pottery pertained most probably to the necropolis of ancient Susa, as in an exceptional case a *tumulus*, 7 m. long, 7 m. broad, and 3 m. high, was found on the south-western extremity of the trench, in which there were several hundreds of sepulchral vessels adorned with paintings, like goblets, jars, cups, and bowls, all laid all in a heap. The tumulus proves the existence of the custom of a second burial of the dead among the ancient Elamites, which persisted through ages in Susa, and is still prevalent among the Shi'ite Mohammedans. As said above, the first inhabitants of Susa pertained to the eneolithic age, as copper-axes, copper utensils, and copper nails have been found near skeletons in the ancient necropolis. But at

me time neolithic objects, like knives, sickles, and scrapers of flint and obsidian, several arrow-heads of flint, big cobbles and sling-stones, which served as offensive arms, were still in use among them. As these objects were found in the necropolis, they dispel all doubts about the great antiquity of the painted pottery of Susa.

The shape and the material, of which the objects representing the painted pottery are made, permit us to observe two different styles, Nos. 1 and 2, separated from each other roughly by a gap of one thousand and five hundred years. The material employed in the manufacture of pottery in Susa in ancient times was the native clay, yellowish and very rich in chalk, which was well suited even for the finest pottery, if the dough was properly prepared. It had the property of changing colour when subjected to different temperatures, as M. de Morgan proved by experiments. When subjected to low temperature, it becomes red, porous, and fragile; when baked at middle temperature it turns brown, and at high temperature it becomes white or rather pale yellow, sonorous, hard, and impermeable to water. Further, it must be noted that fuel containing organic matters has a tendency to produce the whitish colour of pottery, whereas if the furnace allows more or less air it turns reddish. The different shades of brown, in some cases even the greenish colour of the fine pottery of Susa show that the temperature of the furnace was varying between 900° and 1,000° centigrade.

The painted pottery of the first period shows a high degree of perfection which the ceramic art attained in prehistoric times in Susa. It was turned on the potter's primitive wheel, and is of a smooth finish. In colour it is mostly white or rather light yellow, sometimes greenish, and decorated with paintings in reddish brown colour.¹ These were executed with a brush before it was baked, and were freehand. There is no trace whatsoever on it of a sketch previous to painting. The colour used for painting was made from powdered iron oxide containing a little manganese. On broad bands, triangles, squares, rhomboids, lapis l., it was lavishly applied, so lavishly that it cracked easily and fell off, sometimes leaving a faint brownish trace. But points and fine lines were drawn by only one stroke of the brush, which was soaked into the colour repeatedly for every fresh flourish. The designs are mostly stereotyped, of which about twenty different ones are recorded early up to now. They are mostly geometric, but plants, animals, and men with ¹ If the furnace allows more or less air, this colour changes to red, dark-brown, black, and greenish.

form also the subject of the painting. Among geometric designs we have straight and curved lines, triangles, squares, rhomboids, crosses with equal branches, crosses like X, swastikās, concentric circles, half circles and spirals, whereas among plants the rhododendron, branches with leaves and flowers, are very frequent. The eagle, the mountain-goat, the dog, the horse or the wild ass, the bull, the serpent, the tortoise, and the fish are the animals frequently depicted, and man in different attitudes is sometimes seen in the painting. Horns of the mountain-goat, arrow-heads, and ships are very rare.

Archaeologists are divided in their opinion on the question of the interpretation of objects painted on the Susian pottery. M. Pottier, who has published the results of his studies on this pottery in "*Céramique peinte de Suse et petits monuments*" (*Mémoires de la Délégation en Perse*, tome xiii, Paris, 1912), says that the origin of these paintings is to be sought in religious ideas of the ancient Susians, who like all primitive peoples decorated the articles of daily use like pottery with designs and motives of their fetishes, which had for them henceforth a magic and symbolic value. He says further that the painting was a sort of a pictography, in which we can read the ideas of the painter as if in a book. Later on these designs and motives became through long use cursive, stylized and hardly recognizable. Then little by little the esthetic and ornamental idea became predominant, and symmetry and harmony were attempted much to the detriment of the initial religious idea, which became henceforth thoroughly obscured. This opinion of M. Pottier, though very probable in itself, cannot be taken as final. It is equally probable that ornamentation was the sole idea which inspired those primitive artists to decorate their pottery with forms and objects familiar to them. Still, in the absence of direct proofs of the fetish-worship among the early Susians it is very difficult to pronounce a definite opinion on the subject. But is it not possible to suppose that a comb, a design so frequent on the painted sepulchral pottery in question, indicates the tomb of a woman, and an arrow-head that of a man? Instead of placing these objects in the grave they were painted on the funeral pottery, as is the case even with certain peoples advanced in civilization. A statue of a lion crudely worked out in stone is often placed over the grave of a Bakhtiari hero. It is not seldom decorated with the figure of a war-horse, a sword, a shield, a bow and arrow chiselled on its sides in low relief. The lion represents obviously the hero, whose statue it is prohibited by Islam to erect.

According to its thickness the painted pottery of the first period

is further subdivided into the painted pottery of style No. 1 and that of style No. 1 *bis* (Figs. 1-7). The pottery of the former style is very fine and thin. Its thickness varies from 2 to 7 mm., whereas that of the pottery of the latter style attains a maximum of about 12 mm. Style No. 1 is represented by long goblets, a little conical in shape and painted on the outside, cups with the stand painted on the inside, small thin goblets, small bottles with perforated knobs as handles, and small *kraters*. Big round vases without handles of this style are generally less painted and are rather thick; big *kraters* attain even a thickness of 13 mm. Plates painted on the inside, bowls painted on the outside, little bottles and vases similarly painted, though in a matt brown colour are found higher up on the fifth niveau, and pertain to style No. 1 *bis*. This latter kind of pottery is also found on the Tepeh-i-Musiān, about three days' journey to the north-west of Susa and in the ruins of Eridu and Ur in Mesopotamia.

The cursiveness of designs, the so-called *stylisation des motifs*, had already crept into style No. 1. It is easily noticed in the picture of a bird of the stork species. A short thick oblique stroke of the artist's brush represented the head and the long bill of the bird, a long thin slightly oblique line its neck, a thick dot its trunk, and two short parallel lines its legs. But little by little the lines of the legs disappeared in the painting, and then the dot of the trunk. The long line of the neck and the short one for the bill alone persisted throughout this period. These were sufficient in the opinion of the artist to revive in our memory the image of the bird. This cursiveness of designs must have been simultaneously in vogue with their perfection, as it is met with on the pottery of both the styles No. 1 and No. 1 *bis*. With the disappearance of animal figures from paintings on the pottery of the first period geometrical ornamentations become more and more perfect and more and more frequent.

In the south-west trench mentioned above, on the fourth niveau, which is one metre higher than the fifth, and 3.50 m. high, a new kind of pottery is met with. It is red in colour, thick, crude in technique and unpainted. Still, it is on the whole smoother than that of the second period. It is represented by big jars furnished with a handle and by vases with a spout directed downwards. Vases with a long spout and round vases with handles pertain also to this kind of pottery. This sudden change in the type of pottery, which is marked also by a platform of sun-dried bricks 10.50 m. high, cannot have passed without violent political changes. This supposition will also explain



FIG. 1.¹—Vase decorated with geometric designs and a stork's nest (?). Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.



FIG. 2.—Vase decorated with geometric designs and palm-leaves. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.

¹ The pen drawings are after the photographs reproduced in *Manuel d'Archéologie Orientale*, par M. le Dr. G. Contenau.



FIG. 3.—Vase with stylized naturalistic decoration: above, a row of long-necked birds; below, a mountain goat with very long horns curved in circles. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.



FIG. 4.—Bowl decorated with geometric designs and combs with animal-heads. Necropolis of Susa. Louvre Museum.



FIG. 5.—Crater with pierced knobs and geometric decoration. Necropolis of Susa.
Louvre Museum.



FIG. 6.—Vase with a spout, decorated with geometric designs. Necropolis of Susa.
Louvre Museum.



FIG. 7.—Spherical bowl, decorated with figures of running dogs. Necropolis of Susa.
Louvre Museum.

the thinness of the fifth niveau. There is no doubt that the necropolis of the earlier inhabitants of Susa was razed to the ground by their conquerors for building a military position, as is attested by the platform of sun-dried bricks.

The painted pottery of the second period is found on the second niveau, which is 11.50 m. higher than the natural soil. It shows a marked decadence of the ceramic art in Susa. The generations of artists who executed those fine works of the first period must have diverted their art to different materials like stone, as is proved by nice vases and statuettes of alabaster and aragonite. The technique of the fine pottery was not employed for vases made for ordinary and practical purposes. Thus it is that although the material which they used was the same native clay as that employed in the manufacture of fine pottery, the results arrived at were different. The pottery of the second period is red, half-baked, and porous. Although turned on the wheel it is on the whole ugly and irregular in shape. It seems that in rare instances only attempts have been made to make it as smooth as possible by the hand before baking. It is represented by very big round jars, bowls, small bottles, and vases sometimes furnished with spouts directed upwards. It is painted in monochrome and polychrome designs. The former are executed in white, black, and red colours, which do not dissolve in water; the latter are in yellow, brown, black, and red colours, which are easily soluble in water owing to the lack of a firm base, as the pottery is rather porous. The designs are mostly geometrical, but they are not executed with that skill which marks the pottery of the first period. Sometimes they are painted on previous designs. We find not seldom designs incised in low reliefs made by means of a reed on the pottery of this period. These latter designs were executed, when the pottery came out quite fresh from the potter's hand and before baking. They consist mostly of points and broken lines, made in the imitation of a ribbon.

Like the painted pottery of the first period that of the second period is subdivided into the painted pottery of style No. 2 and that of style No. 2 *bis* according to its shape and technique (Figs. 8-12). The pottery of the former style is rather ugly and painted in monochrome designs, whereas that of the latter style has a fine shape and polychrome designs. This style was in vogue till the time of Naram-Sin, king of Agade, about 2500 B.C. It is interesting to note that fragments of vases and bottles of alabaster, aragonite, and bitumen, and sometimes whole ones, are found on this second niveau.



FIG. 8.—Spherical vase with naturalistic decoration. Second style. Louvre Museum.



FIG. 9.—Vase with a spout. Second style. Louvre Museum.

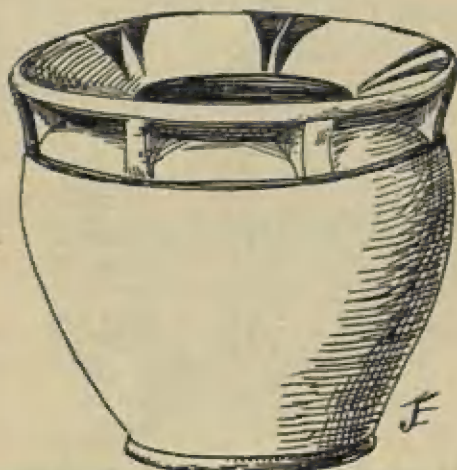


FIG. 10.—Vase with incised border. Second style. Louvre Museum.



FIG. 11.—Vase decorated with intertwined lines. Second style. Louvre Museum.



FIG. 12.—Vase with a cup forming its lid. Second style. In this vase and in another similar piece alabaster and copper vases and cylinders were found. Louvre Museum.

It has been remarked by M. Frankfort in a paper published by the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*,¹ that the artists who manufactured the painted pottery of style No. 1 of the first period tried to imitate the thinness of vessels made of leather. It is improbable that leather was put to such a use in those early periods of the history of man. It is rather copper, which was always at hand for those eneolithic men. They must have perceived very early its pliability and must have employed it in the manufacture of vessels of daily use, which were decorated most probably with engravings. It is, therefore, copper vessels whose thinness the early Elamites imitated in pottery decorated with paintings. And in fact the pottery of the second period is as heavy in style as the vases of alabaster, aragonite, and bitumen of the same period, which it imitated. It was this imitation which changed the style of the second period.

It will not be, I think, out of place to mention here the results of excavations, which I carried on at my own expense on the Tell of the Citadel and on the Tell of the Apadāna with the kind permission of M. de Mecquenem, Director of the French Archaeological Mission in Persia. On the Tell of the Citadel I opened a trench 10 m. long and 4 m. broad on the fifth niveau of the big south-west trench, exactly opposite to the *tumulus* of sepulchral vases of style No. 1 of the first period. As we were approaching the end of the season I could not work out the trench in its whole length. But the work done was sufficient for drawing sound conclusions. My excavations showed that the formation of the niveau on the south-eastern side of the big trench was different from that on its south-western side. The natural soil was met with one metre below the fifth niveau. But its height was not clearly marked out by the platform of sun-dried bricks as on the south-western side. The platform is wholly missing; it was never built on this side. This supposition is supported also by the frequent appearance of fragments of the painted pottery at the height of two metres from the natural soil, i.e. on the fourth niveau, where we expect to find fragments of the red pottery only. The finds made in this trench were, besides fragments of the painted pottery of the first period and those of the red pottery of the intermediate period, several big nuclei of grey, white, and red flint, pieces of flint used as knives, scrapers, and sickles, fine small pieces of obsidian, a big piece of flint

¹ H. Frankfort, "Studies in Early Pottery of the Near East. I: Mesopotamia, Syria, Egypt, and their Earliest Interrelations": Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland, *Occasional Papers* No. 6, London, 1924.

used for turning the potter's wheel, a *casse-tête* of sandstone with a hole in the centre for the thumb, also used as a door-hinge, a cobble nicely flattened and polished on two sides used for crushing grain, three pieces of hollowed pebbles for artist's colours, one of which was perhaps used also as a lamp, a whorl of bitumen and two of sun-dried clay, a sling-stone, several sling-bullets of sun-dried clay, and two pieces of fine alabaster vases pertaining to the period of the painted pottery of style No. 2 *bis*. With the exception of fragments of the red pottery, which pertain to the period of the foreign domination, and fragments of alabaster vases, the rest of the finds are undoubtedly of the period of the painted pottery of style No. 1 and that of style No. 1 *bis*. Among the fragments of the red pottery one attracts our attention by the peculiar technique of its manufacture. It is about four millimetres thick and is composed of several layers. On the outside it has a smooth white glaze. The layers were formed by successive applications of a relatively thin dough on an extremely thin vase, when it was on the potter's wheel. Each layer is evenly spread on the vase and smoothed by a piece of stone or wood and allowed to dry. When the required thickness was thus attained, the vase was glazed on the outside and baked. This process is called the *engobe*.

One day's work on the second niveau near the remnant of the gallery of M. de Morgan was rewarded by a nice little *krater* of alabaster. It had a spout turned upwards, which is missing. No fragments of the polychrome pottery of style No. 2 *bis* were found here, as only the eastern side of the trench was attacked.

The trench opened by me on the south side of the third court of the palace of Darius the Great revealed the existence of six potter's furnaces of the period of Naram-Sin. The whole of the trench, 10 m. long, 4 m. broad, and 3 m. deep, was thickly covered with fragments of the pottery of the same epoch. The construction of these furnaces was very simple. It consisted of two superposed round chambers, built of baked bricks. The lower chamber was 0.90 m. in its diameter and 0.45 m. high. It was used as the fire-room and was full of ashes and scoria. The upper one was 1.80 m. in its diameter and 0.45 m. high; it was here that the vases were placed for baking. I found in it a couple of extremely ugly bowls shaped by the hand. The ceiling of the lower chamber must have had several holes communicating with the upper one, but they were so choked up with scoria, that it was impossible to trace them. Below one of these furnaces there was a

very primitive tomb of a child. The skeleton was half concealed under the furnace. Two vases were placed at its head. A copper hair-pin and two copper rings still sticking to the finger-bone were found in the tomb; they were the personal ornaments of the dead. Several vases of the same period were also found in the trench. A fragment of a clay tablet of a later date bearing cuneiform inscriptions in Anzanite was discovered near an old well. Another well of the Arab period yielded interesting spoils consisting of fragments of fine glazed bowls, cups of white clay with nice floral designs in low relief, and bottles of moulded and blown glass. All these objects are samples of the Arab ceramics of the twelfth century, manufactured in Susa. The discovery of two potter's furnaces of this period and that of a stone-mould for vases with floral designs in low relief in the ancient Arab town situated in the City of Artisans dispels all doubts on this point, and refutes the opinion of German archaeologists that the Arab pottery found in Susa was imported from Samara.

AL-DJAIHANTS LOST KITAB AL-MASALIK VAL-MAMALIK:
IS IT TO BE FOUND AT MASHHAD?

By STEPHEN JANICSEK, Ph.D.

(PLATES I AND II)

ABŪ 'ABDALLĀH MUḤAMMAD IBN AḤMAD AL-DJAIHĀNĪ, the famous tutor, and later vazir, of the Sāmānid amīr, Naṣr ibn Aḥmad, is one of the most interesting figures in Arabic literature and history. From the scanty information which is to be found in Ibn al-Athīr,¹ Yāqūt,² and Mirkhwānd,³ we can judge that he was an excellent statesman and a good general, whose political and strategic abilities directed the affairs of the Sāmānids at one of the most critical periods in their history. Nor can it be doubted, from the information supplied by Ibn Ḥauqal,⁴ al-Muqaddasī,⁵ al-Mas'ūdī,⁶ and the *Fihrist*,⁷ that al-Djaihānī was a man of wide learning and a good writer, with an intelligence far above the average of Oriental authors. We know from the *Fihrist* that he wrote several books on different subjects, but unfortunately all his works are lost. The most valuable of these works was probably the celebrated *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik*. When we study all that the four writers just mentioned have to say of this book, and read the vague citations made from it by Ibn Rustah, al-Bakrī, Ghardīzī, Edrisī, Muḥammad 'Aufī (?), Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī,⁸ and Shukrallāh ibn Shihāb (?), we can establish beyond all doubt that it must have been one of the most distinguished and important studies in mediæval Arabic cosmography, descriptive geography, and above all ethnography.

It is very important to notice that al-Djaihānī's book was not merely a compilation—as the greater part of Oriental geographical works used to be. Although it was not entirely original, being based on the well-known *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of Ibn Khurdādhbah,

¹ Ed. Tornberg, 1862: viii, 59, 66.

² *Iṣṭihād* (Gibb Memorial Series VI), vi, pp. 293, 294.

³ *Historia Samanidarum*, ed. Wilken, Göttinge, 1808, p. 34.

⁴ Ed. de Goeje, p. 236.

⁵ Ed. de Goeje, pp. 3-4, 269, 280a, etc.

⁶ *Kitāb al-Taṣbīḥ*, ed. de Goeje, p. 75.

⁷ Ed. Flügel, i, 138.

⁸ It is interesting to note that an Arabic MS.—most probably a variation of Ibn al-Athīr al-Jazarī's geography—quotes al-Djaihānī's book as *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik ash-Sharḡiyya lil-Djaihānī*, and as the "pendant" of this the *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik al-Gharbiyya lil-Adhrī*. (See Brit. Mus. Add. 23384, fol. 3a.)

our Oriental sources make it quite clear that the structure of al-Djaihānī's geography differed greatly from that of Ibn Khurdādhbah's work. Further, we are told that al-Djaihānī asked the various travellers and merchants about the routes leading to the "kingdoms", and that he inserted the information thus acquired, which would be of the first importance for us, in his *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik*.¹ From the Oriental authors already cited, and from al-Muqaddasī in particular, we know that he gave little attention to descriptions of the different cities and to the provinces of the "seven climates", preferring instead detailed accounts of the different routes, of rivers, mountains, forests, in general of the upper surface of the Earth, and of the races, tribes, and clans of almost uninhabited territories lying far from the "civilized" countries of Islam. In this fact lies the chief merit of his work.

Moreover, it is well known that for the criticism of the Oriental sources, al-Djaihānī's work would be of the greatest importance to all research students who are interested in the tremendously complicated problems raised by the accounts given in the Arabic, Persian, and Turkish works referring to the races, tribes, and clans of Southern Siberia and South Russia, such as the early Hungarians, Russians, Khazars, Ghuzz, and so on. (It is interesting to note that the early Hungarians, or the Russians, are often mentioned in these Arabic, Persian, and Turkish compilations as "Turkish" tribes, although, as is widely known, neither the Hungarians nor the Russians are of Turkish origin.)

In view of all this we may ask: How is it possible that we have no copy of this celebrated *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī? We know that we have many thousands of copies of useful, and useless, Arabic and Persian works of the Middle Ages. And amongst all these manuscripts—down to the present—no "Book of the Routes and Kingdoms" of al-Djaihānī has been discovered! How is it possible?

A complete answer to this question would claim much time, but it may be briefly explained as follows:—

In all probability one of the positive causes why this geography, as written originally by him in Arabic, has not come down to us, is the undoubted fact that al-Djaihānī did not write his book for the general public. An al-Iṣṭakhri or Ibn Ḥauqal, and more especially a Mas'ūdi, a Qazwini, an Ibn Baṭṭūṭa, stood much nearer the Oriental public than an Ibn Khurdādhbah or an al-Djaihānī. From what

¹ al-Muqaddasī, pp. 3-4.

al-Muqaddasī says we can deduce with the greatest certainty that the geography of al-Djaihānī was a very long and tedious account for a Muhammadan reader. Probably it was very good as a compilation, but was not so good for copying. Further, we know that the history of the Sāmānids is not so well known as that of the Saljūqs or Barmakids, or the central Government of Baghdād, and consequently the history of their vazīrs is less known than, for example, that of the Saljūq vazīrs. Among the Sāmānids, though their dynasty has a distinguished place in the history of Islām, there was no Malik Shāh, no Yahyā ibn Barmak. In consequence of this we find no vazīrs among their subjects whose fame equalled that of a Nizām al-Mulk. Had al-Djaihānī been a vazīr of the Court of Baghdād, or had this vazīr of Naṣr ibn Aḥmad been in the service of a Malik Shāh or a Maḥmūd of Ghazna, we may guess that we should have known his life and works more fully than we do now. Finally, we think that if his *nisba*, instead of "al-Djaihānī", had been, for example, "al-Baghdādī" or "ad-Dīmishqī" or "al-Khuvārizmī" or "al-Harawī" or "al-Mauṣilī", or any other *nisba* relating to a celebrated city of Islām, it is likely that we should now know a little more about him. (It is curious to note that al-Djaihānī was not a Muhammadan, but a *thanaṭī*.¹)

Still, of course, we need not believe that his *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* is lost to us for ever. We cannot yet give up the hope of finding a complete copy of it, somewhere in Khurāsān, or in Bukhārā, or in some part of the Muslim world.

Everyone who is greatly interested in al-Djaihānī's *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* was very glad to hear Herzfeld's report that a copy of this lost geography was in existence in the famous library of Mashhad.² It would be an event of the greatest importance if this report should prove to be true.

Ivanow has given an account of the library of Mashhad with excerpts from its catalogue.³ In his list we cannot find the name of al-Djaihānī's lost work, but we find a certain *Masālik al-Mamālik*, without author's name.⁴ (Most probably this is a copy of al-Iṣṭakhrī's

¹ Yāqūt, *Irshād*, i, 142; *Fihrist*, i, 338.

² See in *Ephemerides Orientales*, Harrassowitz, Leipzig, 1926, No. 28, p. 7, Herzfeld's article ("Einige Bücherschätze in Persien"): "Und auch der Djaihānī selbst ist da!" (at Mashhad).

³ "A Notice on the Library attached to the Shrine of Imam Riza at Meshed," *JRAS.*, October, 1920.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 551 (No. 83).

geographical work; see below.) Some information about this same library may be found in Nicolai Khanukov's *Mémoire sur la Partie méridionale de l'Asie centrale*,¹ but without detailed particulars of the MSS. and other books. In this essay there is no mention either of a *Kutāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* or of a *Masālik al-Mamālik*. Besides I have recently seen a list of the books contained in the library of Mashhad in a work by Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān.² But I regret that I was unable to find the correct title of al-Djaihānī's lost geography in this catalogue either. . . . In general, anyone who has studied the system of Oriental copyists and cataloguers knows very well that we need to be very cautious in accepting the titles of different authors or their works, as given by them. We are well aware that the following remark of Ivanow's is of general application, and not only in the case of Persians: "It is a well-known fact that Persians in general, and the holy and learned mullahs in particular, are strikingly ignorant of all that concerns books of poetry, history, fiction, etc. . . . These people are particularly helpless when it is a matter of defining a book, the title of which cannot be found in the book itself."³ After this penetrating judgment can we still believe, on the authority of a brief remark, in the existence of a complete copy of al-Djaihānī's *Kutāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* in the library of the sacred mosque of Mashhad? Probably—no!

There is another difficulty, too, which must be taken into account, namely, that there are other Arabic geographical works which bear the same title (e.g. the works of Ibn Khurdādhbah, Ibn Ḥauqal, al-Bakrī, etc.). Further, al-Iṣṭakhri's book bears a very similar title (*Kutāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, often referred to as *Masālik al-Mamālik* or even *al-Masālik val-Mamālik*,⁴ or *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*,⁵ or *Kutāb Ṣuwar al-Ālam*,⁶ or *Kutāb al-Aqālīm*,⁷ or *Masālik va Mamālik*,⁸ or *Kutāb al-Ashkāl*.⁹ From the identical or similar titles of all these

¹ Paris, 1861 (62), p. 100.

² Muḥammad Ḥasan Khān (I'timād us-Saltānah, etc.), *Kutāb Moṣṭafā' ush-Shams* (Teheran ? 1884-6) 2 vols. (in the Brit. Mus.).

³ Loc. cit., p. 537.

⁴ See de Goeje's articles on Iṣṭakhri and Balkhi in *ZDMG.*, xxv, p. 57.

⁵ Ibid.

⁶ B.M. Or. 5305 (an Arabic variation of al-Iṣṭakhri).

⁷ See Moeller's edition of al-Iṣṭakhri (Gotha, 1839).

⁸ See the introduction to the Persian version of al-Iṣṭakhri in the India Office Library (No. 1026).

⁹ Ed. de Goeje (see the end of his edition).

Oriental geographical works we may guess how often they are confused with one another by Persian, Turkish, or Arabic authors.

I propose in what follows to discuss one of the most striking examples of this confusion, which, at the same time, has a close bearing on the interesting problem of al-Djaihānī's lost *Kitāb al-Masālik val Mamālik*. It would be desirable to give a brief summary of this subject, but unfortunately it is impossible.

There are two Persian manuscripts in the Oriental Department of the British Museum (Add. 23542 and Or. 1587) each containing several Oriental treatises. The first section in both MSS. bears the following title: "*Kitāb-Ashkāl-i 'Ālam-i al-Djaihānī ki az 'arabī bi-fārisī tardjume shode ta'lif-i Abul-Qāsim [sic!] ibn Aḥmad al-Djaihānī. . .*" (see Add. 23542). A careful comparison of Add. 23542 with Or. 1587 shows clearly that the two texts closely agree with one another, a fact which has already been stated in Rieu's brilliant *Catalogue Pers. MSS. Brit. Mus.* (p. 417). It is a great pity that neither MS. is old, both having been copied in the first half of the nineteenth century. Add. 23542 is dated at Baghdād, and Or. 1587 at Kābul. Sir Henry Rawlinson notes on the fly-leaf of the latter that this MS. was copied from a fine old MS. afterwards lost.

As we have seen, the first treatise in these two MSS. is claimed as al-Djaihānī's *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* (sic) by the translator who translated the Arabic original of this *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* "of al-Djaihānī" into Persian, by order of an *amīr al-mu'minīn* (sic), entitled "The Pride of Bukhārā" (*Iftikhār-i Bukhārā*), who himself attributed the original Arabic work to al-Djaihānī.¹ But in spite of this "attribution" we may question whether these two mysterious copies are in reality to be ascribed to al-Djaihānī.

In his *Catalogue* (pp. 415-16) Rieu has expressed the following opinion: "The attribution of the original [of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*] to Jaihānī, or, as he is called at the beginning of the translation, Abul-Kasim Ibn Ahmad al-Jaihani, is probably due to a vague recollection of the famous geographer of that name, al-Jaihānī, Vazīr of the Samanides." In the same columns he makes a comparison of the "*Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* of al-Djaihānī" with de Goeje's al-Iṣṭakhri, and comes to the conclusion that the former is a somewhat abridged, but otherwise fairly close translation of the latter. But a precise comparison of these MSS. with de Goeje's and Moeller's editions of al-Iṣṭakhri, also with the Persian version of al-Iṣṭakhri at the India

¹ See the Introduction prefaced to both MSS.

Office, and finally with the Arabic variation of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography (B.M. Or. 5305), shows clearly that there are great difficulties in the way of this identification.

In both MSS. the translation of the original (Arabic) text is preceded by a *muqaddima*, in which the translator says that his Prince, while studying in his own library, found a copy of the celebrated *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam-i Djaiḥānī*, and commanded that this distinguished work should be translated into Persian. After this rather long introduction, the translator begins the translation of the original (Arabic) text as follows¹: آغاز ترجمه کتاب اشکال العالم از تالیف جیهانی چنین گوید: مؤلف کتاب ابو القاسم [sic] بن احمد الجیهانی که در این مجموع ذکر اقالیم ممالک عالم کرده آمد [?] تا بلاد اسلام و کیفیت آن . . .

followed one or two lines later by :

و غرض از این کتاب تصور اقالیم جهان است نه نام مواضع.

It is very important to notice that in the Persian translation of the original Arabic text the name of al-Djaiḥānī is found nowhere except at the beginning of the work, cited above. (The Arabic text did not, of course, include the aforesaid *muqaddima*.) Instead of it we often find the following expression: "The author of this book said that . . ." On the other hand, at the end of the two MSS. al-Djaiḥānī's name is repeated, as follows²: تمام شد ترجمه کتاب اشکال عالم از تالیف جیهانی.

In a word we find al-Djaiḥānī's name only in the title of this work, in the *muqaddima* of the Persian translator, at the beginning of the translation of the original text, and at the end of the translation. Consequently, except for the citation of the name of this famous vazīr at the beginning of the original Arabic text, all the references to him are most probably due to the Persian translator himself. We can, moreover, prove with absolute certainty that this work cannot by any means be attributed to al-Djaiḥānī. Everyone who knows of al-Djaiḥānī's geography from the description furnished by the Oriental works mentioned above, and everyone who carefully compares these two copies of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* with al-Iṣṭakhri's geography, must agree with us in this conclusion.

How then is the mistake about the name of the real author of this *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* to be explained?

¹ Add. 23542, fol. 36; Or. 1587, fol. 46.

² Add. 23542, fol. 57a; Or. 1587, fol. 1266.

There are several possible explanations of this very typical phenomenon in the source-analysis of Oriental studies, but we think that the most positive interpretation would be on the following lines. The above-mentioned Oriental ruler probably found in his library a copy of an Arabic manuscript entitled *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*, without author's name. Being anxious to learn the name of the author, he examined the text, and saw the name of al-Djaihānī (as noted above ¹) at the beginning of the work. He did not know that these first three or four lines of the text were, most probably, only excerpts taken by the author of the *Ashkāl al-'Ālam* from al-Djaihānī's *Kutāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik*, and that the real beginning of the original text followed a few lines below (i.e. at *وغرض از این کتاب*). It is very probable that this prince "The Pride of Bukhārā" was familiar with the name of al-Djaihānī, but unfortunately did not know the correct title of al-Djaihānī's geography, and under the erroneous impression that the author of the *Ashkāl al-'Ālam* was al-Djaihānī, commanded one of his servants to translate this Arabic geography "of al-Djaihānī" into Persian. In this way it is easily understood why al-Djaihānī's name is mentioned at the head of the Persian version, as the author of the *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*, why it is twice recorded at the beginning of the translation of the original Arabic text, and finally inserted at the end of the Persian translation.

Who then was the real author of the *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*? To give a precise answer to this question is the most difficult problem before us. As regards the name of the work we can state with reasonable assurance that the name *Ashkāl al-'Ālam* belongs, as a title, to the geographical work of either al-Iṣṭakhri or al-Balkhī. We have already remarked that the correct title of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography was *Kutāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, and that of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. But we know very well that the names of these two works are not always quoted exactly by Oriental writers, and indeed have often been confused with one another. We have seen above that al-Iṣṭakhri's *Kutāb Masālik al-Mamālik* is sometimes designated by the title of *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. Further, we may conjecture that al-Balkhī's work appeared in two editions,² and that one or both of them was used, enlarged, and finally renamed by al-Iṣṭakhri *Kutāb Masālik al-Mamālik*. In consequence of this, al-Iṣṭakhri's work can be regarded

¹ i.e. in the Persian translation: *چنین گوید مؤلف کتاب ابو القاسم بن احمد الجیهانی*.

² See the above-mentioned article of de Goeje, pp. 50, 56.

as an enlarged edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. This fact is the source of the great complication in the so-called "Balkhī-Iṣṭakhri" problem. Therefore, in face of the difficulties attending the identification of these two geographies, or more precisely of their titles, we may assert with a fair degree of certainty that the correct title of the two British Museum MSS. which go by the name of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* is either *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* or *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*.¹

Now al-Iṣṭakhri states, near the beginning of his work, that in his book he has divided the inhabited part of the earth into twenty *iglims*. (This division was not his original idea, as he found these twenty *aqālīm* in al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*.) But on studying his *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* we find that in the headings of the different chapters relating to the twenty *aqālīm*, the numbers of the "regions" are never mentioned, whereas in the chapter-headings of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* we find the number of each "region" inserted along with the title. For example, in al-Iṣṭakhri the chapter-headings read as follows: ذكر ديار المغرب, or ديار المغرب, etc., while in the two MSS. of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* we find in the corresponding chapter-headings إقليم سوم ذكر ديار المغرب, etc. The importance of this fact cannot be overlooked, since we know from al-Muqaddasī (p. 4) that al-Balkhī divided his geography into twenty chapters, and it is not impossible that in the original *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* the number of each of the twenty "regions" was recorded in the chapter-headings, just as we have seen in the case of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*.

Besides, if we study the variations of al-Iṣṭakhri's geography already referred to, we find no mention of al-Djaihānī's name, either at the beginning of the work or elsewhere. But we have seen that al-Djaihānī's name was, in all probability, cited at the beginning of the original Arabic *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*. This very important fact cannot be neglected, and seems to provide an additional proof that the work cannot be attributed to al-Iṣṭakhri. It is, however, not impossible that al-Djaihānī's name was mentioned at the beginning of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*, since al-Balkhī is known to have been in personal contact with al-Djaihānī.² We may observe also that at the beginning of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* al-Iṣṭakhri speaks in the first person,³

¹ We have seen above that al-Iṣṭakhri's work is sometimes known as *Ṣuwar al-'Ālam*, which is practically identical in meaning with *Ashkāl al-'Ālam* :

² See *Encyclopædia of Islam* (s.v. al-Balkhī).

³ See B.M. Or. 5305 and de Goeje's edition.

but the author of *Ashkāl al-Ālam*, in the corresponding passages, writes in the third person.

The strongest argument, however, is that, if a careful comparison is made between the MSS. of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* and the above-mentioned variations of al-Iṣṭakhri's work,¹ it is found that the text of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* is longer than that of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*. Not only this, but there are some differences between the two works in regard to the description and enumeration of the cities, rivers, tribes, etc. Besides, the particular structure of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* cannot be identified with that of al-Iṣṭakhri's work, more especially as the former contains the names of different cities within the *aqālīm*.

The consideration of all these difficulties leads us to the conclusion that in all probability the original of the two MSS. of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* in the British Museum cannot be attributed to al-Iṣṭakhri, but either to an unknown author, or else to al-Balkhī himself.² It is probable indeed that the "*Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* of al-Djaihāni" is the Persian translation of a copy of the original second (or perhaps third) edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*. There are some two or three items in the text which are of a date posterior to both al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhri,³ but, as Rieu has already remarked,⁴ these passages are probably later insertions in the original Arabic text.

It is well known that al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* contained the maps of the twenty "regions". These maps were copied, and probably improved, by al-Iṣṭakhri. As Miller has recorded,⁵ there are three collections of al-Balkhī's maps, one in Berlin, one in Hamburg, and one in Bologna, and several facsimiles of these maps are published, along with some of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps, in his *Mappæ Arabica*. Moeller also published facsimiles of al-Iṣṭakhri's maps in his edition of the text, and in addition al-Iṣṭakhri's atlas may be seen in the India Office and B.M. copies of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*.

The two manuscripts of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* also contain maps of the twenty *aqālīm*, including (in both MSS.) the map of the inhabited

¹ These variations of *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik* also present certain differences in their texts, which must not be overlooked either. Consequently the problem of the existence of a second, or even of a third, edition of al-Iṣṭakhri's work becomes very difficult.

² As has already been mentioned, al-Iṣṭakhri's geography may be regarded as a much (?) enlarged edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar*.

³ al-Balkhī died in A.H. 322, and al-Iṣṭakhri probably in 340.

⁴ *Catalogue*, p. 416.

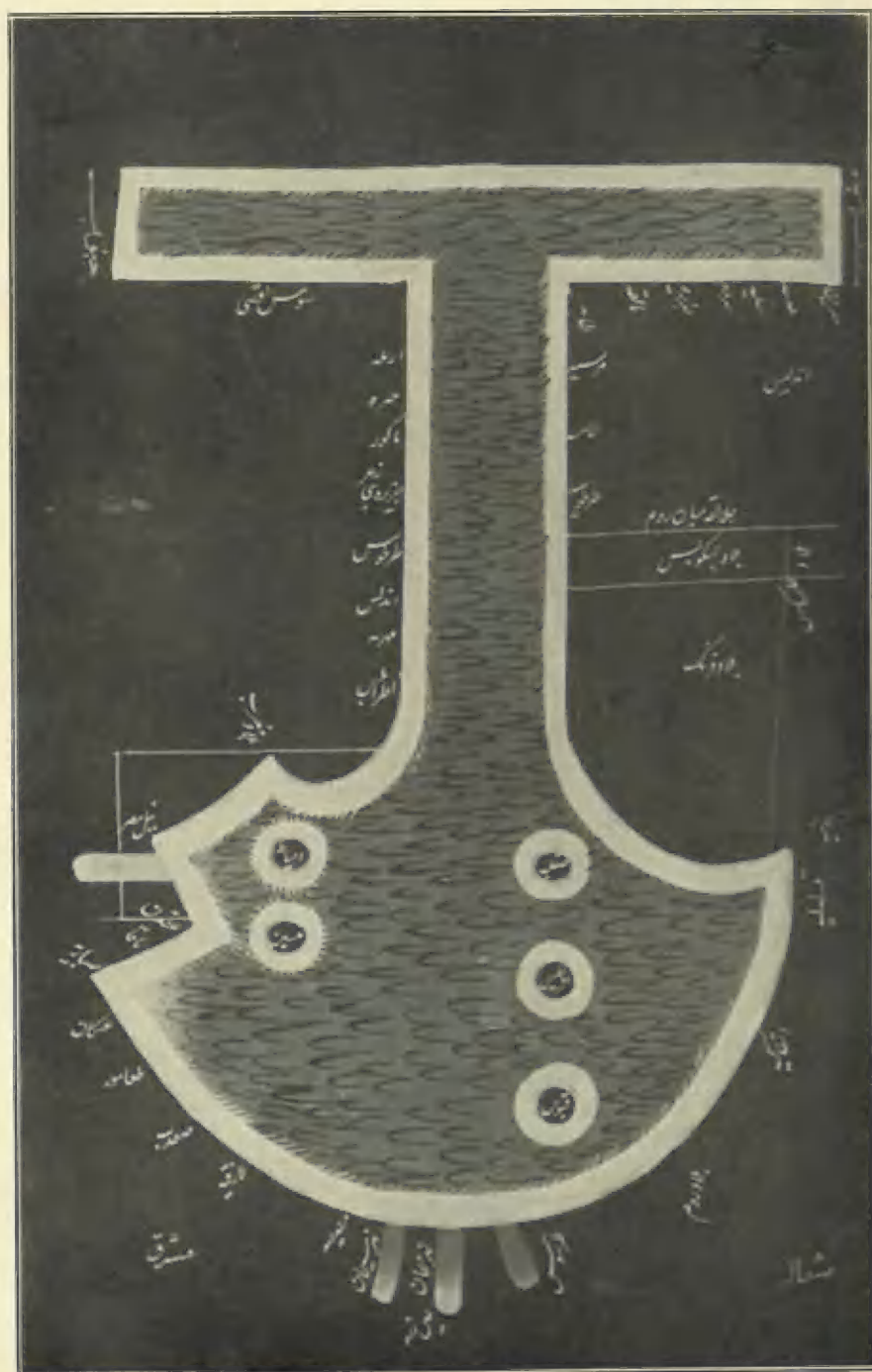
⁵ C. Miller, *Arabische Welt- und Länderkarten*, 1. Band, 2. Heft (Stuttgart, 1926), p. 17.

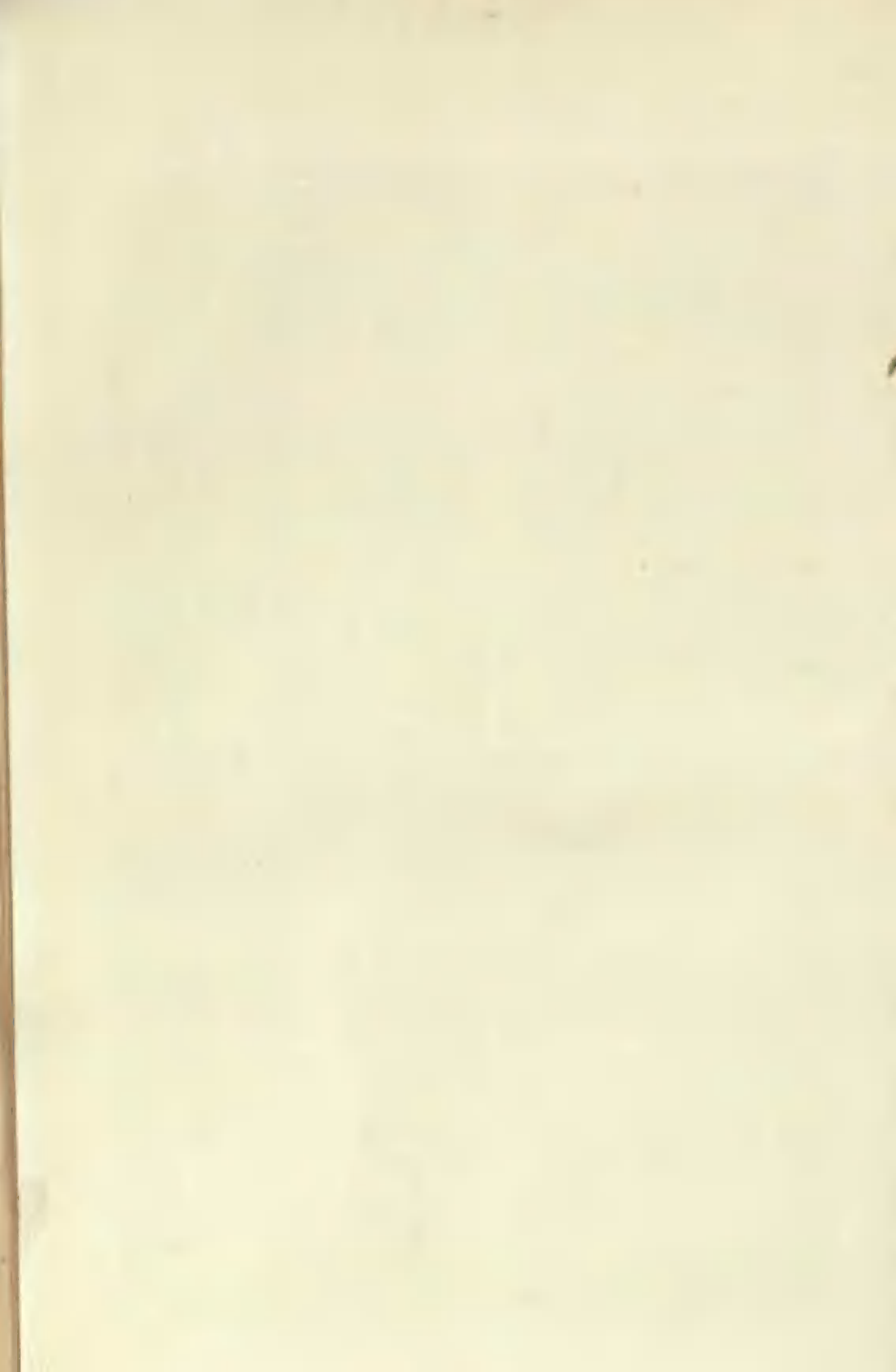
part of the earth. This map is not found in all the variant editions of al-Iṣṭakhṛī mentioned above. A careful comparison of all the maps of al-Balkhī and al-Iṣṭakhṛī with the painted drawings of the atlas of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* reveals clearly that the prototypes or archetypes of all these maps (including the latter) are those which may have been included in the first edition of al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*, and further, that amongst all these maps, the painted drawings of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* "of al-Djaihānī" betray the earliest origin, and show the most primitive technique.¹ As has already been mentioned, these two MSS. were copied in the first half of the nineteenth century, and we must suppose that their maps were painted at the same time. A study of these maps, however, proves undoubtedly that the painters were skilful artists and probably copied the original maps most faithfully. In them the continents are often drawn with the simplest lines (rectangular or obtuse-angled), a feature rarely found in the maps of al-Iṣṭakhṛī or in the facsimiles of the three Balkhī collections interpreted by Miller. In general, too, it may be affirmed that fewer cities, mountains, and rivers are shown on the maps of the *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* than on any of the other maps mentioned.

Miller seems to state, in the passage already referred to, that the extent maps of al-Balkhī in the collections at Bologna, Berlin, and Hamburg, are the oldest Islamic maps independent of Ptolemy. But on comparing these maps, published by Miller, with the maps of the two MSS. of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam*, we can establish beyond all doubt that these latter maps must be regarded as types of an older (probably the original) scheme of al-Balkhī's maps! If, then, it is true that al-Balkhī is to be regarded as the first atlas-maker in Islam who was (more or less) independent of Ptolemy, we can state, as an all but indubitable fact, that the maps in the London MSS. of *Ashkāl-i 'Ālam* are copies of the oldest Islamic maps which are (more or less) independent of Ptolemy. Thus the evidence of the maps seems also to bear out the argument that the author of this work was al-Balkhī, and that the text is probably that of the second (or perhaps third) edition of the *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*.

Against this conclusion only one serious argument can be raised, namely, that we are guessing that the text of the original edition of

¹ Of the two maps reproduced herewith from Add. 23542, Plate I, representing the Mediterranean Sea, should be compared with the reproductions in Miller's *Islam-Atlas* No. 6 (*Mappae Arabicae*, 1. Band, 1. Heft); and Plate II, representing North-West Africa and Spain, with those in his *Islam-Atlas* No. 3 (*ibid.*, 2. Band, Beiheft).







al-Balkhī's *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm* was shorter than that of the *Ashkāl al-'Ālam*. But de Goeje himself has already observed that al-Balkhī probably issued two editions of the *Ṣuwar al-Aqālīm*, and it is not impossible that it reached not only the second but also the third edition.

Finally, let us return to al-Djaihānī! We have seen from a striking example, discussed in the preceding pages, that a geographical work has already been wrongly attributed to this famous vazīr of the Sāmānids. Further, if we consider the immense confusion which exists among the names of al-Balkhī's, al-Iṣṭakhri's, Ibn Khurdādhbah's, and al-Djaihānī's works, we regard it as *not at all* certain that the real *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī, the discovery of which would be one of the greatest events in modern Oriental research, is to be found in the library of Imām 'Alī Rizā at Mashhad. As we have shown, Herzfeld's short report is quite insufficient to support any such belief. It might well happen that a research student who should examine this mysterious manuscript would find another *Ashkāl al-'Ālam* "of al-Djaihānī", or a copy of al-Iṣṭakhri's *Kitāb Masālik al-Mamālik*, or Ibn Khurdādhbah's work, instead of the authentic *Kitāb al-Masālik val-Mamālik* of al-Djaihānī.

But it is also true that the problem of whether al-Djaihānī's geography is or is not to be found at Mashhad cannot be solved in London. The city of the perfect solution of this urgently important question is . . . Mashhad.

THE DATE OF THE SUBHĀSITĀVALI

By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH

THE importance of dates in Sanskrit literature renders it desirable to examine critically the interesting attempt of Dr. S. K. De¹ to upset the accepted view that the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva, by reason of its reference to Jainollābhadra (i.e. Zaiṇ ul-Ābidīn, c. 1417-67), is not to be dated earlier than the second half of the fifteenth century. The piece of evidence on which Dr. De's theory rests has long been before us in the shape of a reference to verse 726 of the *Subhāṣitāvali* in the commentary by Vandyaghaṭīya Sarvānanda on the *Amarakoṣa*,² which, according to a note of the present date given in the comment on verse 21 of the *kālavarga*, was written when the Çaka year 1081 and the Kali year 4260 had expired. At first sight this seems conclusive enough, but I have always held that the citation is merely an interpolation, a view which I imagine has been shared by other scholars, since no attempt has hitherto been made, so far as I am aware, to make use of the citation as fixing Vallabhadeva's date. It is, however, very proper that the question should have been definitely raised, but full consideration of the available evidence strengthens me in my belief that we have to deal simply with an intelligent addition of some scribe.

It is, in the first place, obvious that the passage³ is precisely of the kind that can be interpolated with ease. It follows upon a grammatical explanation of the form *javā*, ending *javāyām tu japā striyām iti Dharmah*, and runs: *Kācṃīravallabhadevaracitasubhāṣitāvalyām api pakārāntaṣṭaḥ. tathā ca*, the verse then being given in full. This is decidedly a curious mode of citation, for which there is no precise parallel in the rest of the *Ṭikāsarvasva*, and this fact is in favour of the theory that it is a case where a scribe has added something. If the reference were original, why, it may be asked, has Sarvānanda not contented himself with *Subhāṣitāvalyām*, just as, for instance, he cites the *Āryākoṣa*⁴? To give the name of the author, and not merely the

¹ JRAS. 1927, pp. 471-7.

² Ed. *Trivandrum Sanskrit Series*, Nos. xxxviii, xliii, li, lii.

³ Pt. ii, p. 130.

⁴ Pt. ii, p. 63.

name but the description Kāsmīra, is clearly not in accord with Sarvānanda's usage throughout.¹

In the second place, study of the *Tikāsarvasva* reveals that the text as given in the edition is not in a state to cause any confidence in its reliability as representing Sarvānanda's own words. Of the many instances which might be cited, one is specially interesting. On the Koṣa, ii, 6, 22 : āpannasattvā syād gurviṇy antarvatnī ca garbhiṇī, Sarvānanda in the edition comments : guruḥ ino 'syā iti gurviṇī. Cāndrāṇām pippalyādiḥ. pūrvapādāt² ity ādinā natvaṁ kecid āhuḥ. āpannasattvā gurvī syād iti pāṭhaḥ. Puruṣottamadevena gurviṇīty asya Durghaṭe 'sādhutvaṁ uktam. tantrāntareṣu ca gurviṇy eva pāṭho dṛṣyate. The editor, naturally perplexed, adds the note : Durghaṭavṛttikāras tu Ṣaṇadevaḥ. In point of fact, we find in the *Durghaṭavṛtti* of Ṣaṇadeva (v, 2, 115) the following comment : katham gurviṇī ? gurutvaṁ invatīti. iva vyāptāv ity ataḥ kvipi valilope ṁnebhyo nīpi.³ gurur udare asya astīti vrihyādinir vā. This makes it perfectly clear that Ṣaṇadeva did not lay down that there was asādhutvaṁ of gurviṇī, while, on the other hand, it is impossible to suppose that *Durghaṭa* is anything save a contraction for *Durghaṭavṛtti*, and it is legitimate to suppose that we must attribute the confusion which has arisen to a faulty text tradition.

These arguments establish that the passage mentioning the *Subhāṣitāvalī* can be removed without injury to the comment ; that it is just the sort of note that often slips into manuscripts ; that the mode of citation is unique in Sarvānanda ; and that his text is far from established. The doubt which must be felt as to the possibility of using the passage to fix the date of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* becomes overwhelming when we consider the consequences which must be accepted if we insist on the genuineness of the passage. We must then admit that the *Subhāṣitāvalī* had become well known in Bengal, where Sarvānanda was doubtless born as his name Vandhyaghaṭīya attests, before A.D. 1160, and that all the poets whose works are used by Vallabhadeva lived earlier than, say, 1150, or more probably distinctly earlier. This conclusion involves, it will be seen, the assumption that a considerable number of interpolations have been made in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, and

¹ In lieu of full description Sarvānanda curtails, e.g. *Kīrāta* for *Kīrītārjunīya*, *Raghū* for *Raghuvāṇa*, *Vidagdha* for *Vidagdhamukhamāṇḍana*, *Durghaṭa* for *Durghaṭavṛtti*.

² *Pāṇini*, viii, 4, 3.

³ *Pāṇini*, iv, 1, 5 ; the text is not very satisfactory.

reason suggests that it is more logical to suppose one interpolation in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* than many in the *Subhāṣitāvali*. No one will probably maintain that the text of the *Subhāṣitāvali* has come down free from interpolation, but the question is, Why should we commit ourselves to belief in very widespread interpolation in the *Subhāṣitāvali* simply in order to assert the sanctity of the text of the *Ṭikāsarvasva*, which is preserved only in manuscripts from the south of India far from its probable place of origin?

Dr. De minimizes the amount of interpolation which must be assumed on his view in the *Subhāṣitāvali* by raising doubts as to Professor Peterson's identification of certain of the authors cited. Rājānaka Jonarāja, he suggests, may not really be the writer who continued the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, and who was a contemporary of Zain ul-'Ābidīn. But this suggestion becomes extremely improbable when he admits that Çribaka appears in the anthology as a panegyrist of that prince,¹ a fact which makes Peterson's identification certain. It is not denied by Dr. De that verses 608 and 609 refer to Shihāb ud-Dīn of Kashmir (c. A.D. 1335); if the *Subhāṣitāvali* ascribes them correctly to Amṛtadatta, then a large number of other verses must be condemned as interpolations, and even if we hold the ascription wrong, still verses 608 and 609 must go. It is also not improbable that Peterson is right in his identification of Arjunadeva with Arjunavarmadeva, author of the commentary on the *Amaruṣataka* in the thirteenth century. But what is much more important is that Dr. De asks us to believe that the *Subhāṣitāvali* contains contemporaneous quotations from a number of writers whose dates are thus placed by him before or about A.D. 1150, a doctrine which leads us into far more serious difficulties than can be readily faced in order to validate a single sentence in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* as edited.

The *Subhāṣitāvali* knows among many others Maṅkha, Kalhaṇa, Jenduka, Kalyāṇadatta, Jayadeva, and Çriharṣa. Now, as Dr. De himself holds, Maṅkha wrote about A.D. 1145, and the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī* was not finished before A.D. 1150, while Jenduka and Kalyāṇadatta may be, and it may be added, probably are, the poets mentioned by Maṅkha as his contemporaries. It requires frankly a good deal of imagination to accept the view that the author of the *Subhāṣitāvali* was a contemporary of these writers, and that his work, composed in 1150 or slightly later, could be used in the *Ṭikāsarvasva* in 1160. But

¹ See vv. 2632, 2633. There are twenty other verses by the poet in the anthology.

the case is worse with Jayadeva and Çrihara. The former was admittedly the court poet of Lakṣmaṇasena of Bengal whose reign closed at the very end of the twelfth century,¹ and it is really most implausible to seek to assign the *Gītagovinda* to as early a date as A.D. 1150. If, indeed, we accept the suggestion² that Çaraṇa who is referred to by Jayadeva is identical with Çaraṇadeva, the author of the *Durghaṭavṛtti*, we know that he cites an author whose great work was written in A.D. 1172, and to which the term *durūha* might certainly well be applied (Çaraṇaḥ çlāghyo durūhadrute).³ Çrutadhara, also cited in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, was another contemporary of Jayadeva.⁴ The case of Çrihara is equally difficult; the probability is that he wrote after A.D. 1160, possibly a good deal later in the century, and the likelihood of his work being well known and freely used by Vallabhadeva in Kashmir in A.D. 1150 is frankly negligible. Whether the Hemācārya cited in the anthology was really Hemacandra becomes, therefore, a matter of no real interest; but in view of the facts and of the obviously Jain character of the verse given it is certainly probable that Peterson's identification is sound.

The only conclusion, therefore, which seems to rest on sound principles of weighing evidence is to regard the new date for Vallabhadeva suggested by Dr. De as implausible and contrary to the weight of evidence. Even, however, if we assume that for some unknown reason Sarvānanda, who otherwise cites as briefly as possible, using name and work only when unavoidable as in *Gaṅgādharīyopādīṣṭi* and Durgasīṅha in the *Kātantraṭīkā*, not merely gives name and work, but distinguishes the author by locality, and did know the *Subhāṣitāvali*, the date achieved is of practically no value. It matters little what Vallabhadeva's own date was, if we have at the same time to admit that his anthology was later seriously interpolated, for we are thus precluded from using his date as determining the period before which the poets whom he excerpts must have lived. This negative result may be disappointing, but it is better than accepting the proposed dating on inadequate evidence.

¹ See Chintaharan Chakravarti, *IBQ.* iii, 188; the colophon of the *Sadukti-karṇāmṛta* gives Çaka 1127 as year 27 of the king's reign, or A.D. 1178 as the period of his accession.

² See Śrīś Chandra Chakravarti, *Bhāṣavṛtti*, p. 7.

³ There is a v.l., *durūhadruteḥ*. For a variant explanation, see Pischel, *Die Hofdichter des Lakṣmaṇasena*, pp. 24 ff.; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 220, n. 1. The matter is not ripe for solution.

⁴ Probably Dhoyī, author of the *Pavanadūtā*; Pischel, *op. cit.*, p. 35.

One matter, however, on which some light can be thrown may be mentioned. Dr. De, who is editing the text of the *Kīcakavadha*, mentions ¹ elsewhere that that little poem must be prior to the fifteenth century, but he suggests that it may belong to a much earlier date. That suggestion is clearly sound. The *Kīcakavadha* is several times cited in the *Tikāsarvasva*, which recognizes its character as a *yamakakāvya*,² and it is equally known as a *mahākāvya*³ to the *Bhāṣāvṛtti* of Puruṣottama, which is older than A.D. 1172.

Dr. De notes ⁴ that the *Tikāsarvasva* contains two references to the commentator Vallabha, as he is styled in accordance with Sarvānanda's usual love of abbreviation, and he assigns him to the first half of the tenth century. This, of course, is the date contended for by Professor Hultsch, but it appears to me that it is dangerous to accept this dating without further consideration of the objections urged by Professor Pathak.⁵ As the latter points out, it is the case that in his commentary on the Kavivaṇṇavarṇana of the *Çiṣupālavadha* Vallabha refers to Bilhana, at any rate in the version given in Durgāprasāda's edition of Māgha. This may be met by the argument that there is uncertainty regarding the reading, as Dr. Hultsch quite fairly urges.⁶ But there remains a serious argument which has not been yet satisfactorily answered. In his commentary on *Çiṣupālavadha*, iii, 23, Vallabha cites an explanation of *mahīdhra* which is found in Kṣīrasvāmin's commentary on the *Amarakoṣa*,⁷ and *prima facie* may well be taken thence, and it is very probable that Kṣīrasvāmin wrote at no distant date from Sarvānanda, and certainly long after A.D. 950. Further, Professor Pathak argues that the remark of Vallabha on *Kumārasambhava*, i, 35, regarding the use of *āsa* is based on a knowledge of Hemacandra's *Bṛhadvṛtti*, iv, 4, 1,⁸ and here, again, the argument is *prima facie* valid. It is, of course, possible that Vallabha really used some other sources than Kṣīrasvāmin and Hemacandra, but these facts must be set against the mainly negative evidence relied on by

¹ *JRAS.* 1927, p. 110.

² e.g., pt. i, p. 110 : *kṛtān vikanītan nītan* (also pt. ii, p. 58) ; pt. ii, pp. 153, 284 ; pt. iii, pp. 49, 179.

³ See Śrīśh Chandra Chakravartī's ed., p. 2.

⁴ *JRAS.* 1927, p. 472, n. 2.

⁵ *Meghadūta* (2nd ed.), pp. xiv-xvi.

⁶ See his trans., p. 224, n. 21.

⁷ Ed. *TSS.*, No. xliii, p. 44.

⁸ Mallīnātha's view is that *Çākatāyana* (iv, 2, 91) is used.

Professor Hultzsch and the mere conjecture¹ that Vallabha was the grandfather of Kayyaṭa, who lived in A.D. 977-8. It is, I think, decidedly inadvisable to regard the date of Vallabha as in any way definitely fixed as regards its more remote limit. It is significant that he is cited from almost at the same moment by Vardhamāna, author of the *Gaṇaratnamahodadhi* and by Sarvānanda, and a little later by Çaraṇadeva in his *Durghaṭavṛtti*.² The matter has some importance, for unquestionably there has been some inclination to exaggerate his value for the fixing of the text of the *Meghadūta* on the score of his early date.

¹ *Kāvyamālā*, i, 101.

² Ed. *TSS.*, No. vi, p. 65, commenting on *Kumārasambhava*, ii, 44. Sarvānanda refers to Vallabha's comments on Māgha, v, 24 (pt. ii, p. 23) and *Kumārasambhava*, v, 74.

A NOTE ON BHAGAVADAJJUKAM

By VENKATARAMA SHARMA SASTRI

DRŚYAKĀVYA, or the literature of the scenic art in Sanskrit, has been divided into ten classes: of these the present work falls under "Prahasana", or farce. Several manuscripts of the book have been obtained from different libraries in Malabar, but the first to bring out a printed edition¹ was Dr. A. R. Bannerjea Śāstri of Patna. His edition was based on a MS. which I sent him and another incomplete MS. obtained from the late Mahāmahōpādhyāya K. P. Bhaṭṭācārya of Calcutta. The edition was, however, not free from faults and left several points obscure. Scholars were looking forward to a better reprint when Mr. P. Annjan Achan brought out a second and independent edition. It was published by the Mangalodayam Co., Ltd., with a foreword by Dr. Winternitz, and was based on a MS. which Mr. Achan found in the library of his own family—one, by the way, rich in Sanskrit and Malayalam MSS. He consulted other MSS., e.g. that in the Bhandarkar Research Institute, and was able to bring out a tolerably good edition. There is also another edition of the work, based on MS. in the Madras Oriental Library.

The play *Bhagavadajjukam* was apparently intended by its author to bring into ridicule the doctrines of Buddhism—a method, among others, which the Brahmins employed to stem the rising tide of that religion. The chief characters in the play are a Parivrājaka or saint, his disciple Śāṇḍilya, at one time a Buddhist, and a young and beautiful courtesan. The play opens with a discussion between the master and the pupil on Hindu Dharma; but the attention of the latter is all for the young woman in the adjacent garden. As this one-sided discussion proceeds, the woman suddenly falls down dead from snake-bite. The young man is very much affected, but the older one offers to show him an example of the power of yoga and transfers his soul into the body of the courtesan who presently rises up and continues the philosophic discussion. The beholders are very much surprised, but their astonishment is not diminished when the body of the Parivrājaka which had fallen lifeless starts up again and talks and behaves as the courtesan used to. For the agents of Yama had made a mistake in taking the soul of the girl and had returned to restore it, but finding her body

¹ *Journal of the Bihar and Orissa Research Society*, March-June, 1924.

alive, infused her soul into the Parivrājaka's frame. All this must have provided a good material for mirth, and must have proved very popular on the stage.

The only definite statements as to the authorship of the play occur in the commentaries in two different MSS., and are conflicting; one mentions Bōdhāyana as the author, while the other mentions the name of Indracārūmaṇi.¹ There were several Bōdhāyanas, two of whom were poets and it is not easy to decide to whom the first of the above statements refers. Several plausible guesses have been made, based on evidence other than the statements in the two commentaries. It has been pointed out that the Bhagavadajjukam, in common with the plays of Bhāsa, lacks all reference to the author in the text, begins with a Sthāpanā instead of the usual Prastāvanā, and bear some resemblances to them in style and diction. On the other hand, it has been shown that the play shows similarities to the Mattavilāsa of Mahendra-vikrama Varman. Both plays ridicule Buddhist doctrines and extol Hindu Dharma. This argument gains strength from the fact that in the stone inscription at Māmuṇḍūr,² which has been proved to be that of Mahendra-vikrama, Bhagavadajjukam and Mattavilāsa are mentioned in company. Similarities in diction have also been traced between the two. It will therefore be seen that the authorship of the play is still uncertain, and will continue to engage the attention of scholars for some time to come.

There are two references to Bhagavadajjukam—one in the inscription above mentioned, and the other in Śīṅgabhūpāla's *Rasārṇavasudhākara*.³ Of these the inscription belongs to the seventh

¹ The Nāṇḍi-verse contains this word. The Commentator says:— **इन्द्रचारुम-**
णिरित्यनेन कविनाम सूचितं. This commentary is not a published one.

² South Indian Inscriptions, vol. iv.

³ Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. But in this edition the place where Bhagavadajjukam is mentioned, is not to be seen. I think it is due to an oversight on the part of Dr. Gaṇapati Sastrin. I give below the omitted portion:—

गुहं कीर्णं वैकृतं च तच्च प्रहसनं विधा ।
गुहं श्रोत्रियशास्त्रादेर्वेषभाषादिसंयुतम् ॥
चेष्टचेटीजनव्याप्तं तल्लयं तु निरूप्यताम् ।
आनन्दकोशप्रमुखं तथा भगवदज्जुकम् ॥
कीर्णं तु सर्ववीथ्यंकीः संकीर्णं धूर्तसंकुलम् ।
तस्मादाहरणं ज्ञेयं बृहत्सीमद्रकादिकम् ॥
यद्येदं कामुकादीनां वेषभाषादिसंगतैः ।

century, and the *Rasārṇavasudhākara* to the fourteenth century A.D. The date of the play cannot, therefore, be later than the seventh century.

There is only one reference to the scene of the play in one of the commentaries, where the word "nagaram" is noted upon as Pāṭaliputra.

षष्ठतापसवृद्धादिर्युतं तद्वैकुण्ठं भवेत् ।

कलिकेलिप्रहसनप्रमुखं तदुदाहृतम् ॥

These verses are to be found in ancient palm-leaf MSS. of *Rasārṇavasudhākara* and in a printed edition of the same in Andhralipi.

A FOURTEENTH CENTURY MARATHI INSCRIPTION

By W. DODERET

THE text of the Nāgāv^a inscription, alluded to at page 551 of the School of Oriental Studies *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Part III, was communicated to Sir George Grierson through the kindness of the late Professor P. G. Gune. It is given below with the kind permission of the former. The inscription is mentioned at page 351 of the *Kolābā Gazetteer*, is dated in the Śaka year 1289 (A.D. 1367), and was found engraved on the stone steps of Bhīmeśvara's temple at Nāgāv^a, 3 miles south of Alibāg in the Kolābā District of the Bombay Presidency. It is described in the *Gazetteer* as a Sanskrit inscription. But after line 4 the language is clearly archaic Marāṭhī. Professor Gune stated that the rubbing showed that three letters in the first line and one each in the sixth, sixteenth, and seventeenth lines have become entirely defaced. But that otherwise the lettering is clear and legible, with the exception of four or five letters. The inscription is important in that it contains in line 9 the rare ज्ञा genitive. References to India have so far failed to elicit other instances. It is also interesting as containing the following grammatical correspondences with the text of the Jñāneśvarī (A.D. 1290).

(a) Nominatives in उ—शकु, संवतु, श्री हंविह, आग्रह, प्रधानु, दातार, धरमु, वारिकह, पाटिकु, वैजकह, द्विगु. Also occurring in the proper names in lines 22-5.

(b) Nominatives in ओ—राओ, सिहिप्रो.

(c) Dative-genitives in आ, corresponding to the present-day *sāmānyarūpa*—अधिकारिआ, वाडिआ (l. 16), मळिया, कघाटआ.

(d) ऊवेयाळागी "for planting". It is noticeable that there is no instance in this inscription of जा, the abbreviated form of the जागी dative. The स dative occurs frequently. (This is discussed at p. 549 of *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Part III.)

(e) Instances of the conjunctive participle in नि occur, e.g. सडाउन, कहन (3 times), सोडवूनि, and of the ablative in नि in लागोनि (vide p. 570 of *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, Part III).

A tentative translation of the inscription has been added. Mr. S. G. Kanhere has made certain suggestions which are either adopted in the translation or discussed in the notes below. Yet difficulties and doubts as regards certain details remain unsolved. The general sense,

however, is clear. In brief, the inscription records a trust effected by Sihipro, the Chief Minister of a local Rājā in the Koṅkaṇ, in favour of certain *Agariās*, i.e. Śūdras or Kōḷis, who are so termed as they cultivated salt ricefields and worked in saltpans. These persons, with whom the village officials are joined in the grant, were charged with the upkeep of certain gardens, in which they were to plant trees. It may be surmised, having regard to the fact that this was a charitable grant, and seeing that the inscription was recorded on the steps of Bhīmeśvara's temple, that the fruits, leaves, and flowers from the garden were used in the worship at the temple.

TEXT OF THE NĀGĀV^A INSCRIPTION

- [1] स्वस्ति श्री हिज्जरत ६९ शकु संवत् १२८९ पऊवंग संवसरे आधेच * * *
- [2] श्रीमत्य प्रौढिप्रताप चक्रवर्ति महाराजाधिराज श्रीहंविह राज्ञो
- [3] ठाणें कोकणराज्य क्रीति सत्ये तखिन काळे प्रवर्त्तमाने धरमादि
- [4] पच लिखतें यथा सर्वव्यापारि सिहिप्रो तं निरोपित अठागर आधि
- [5] कारिआ कुसना अहासण नाकाचा सेणवै देऊं प्रोएहोन्ह वेळित स
- [6]*रंध चिचावळियाम पैकि तेथिळा मिजिगिति सिहिप्रो केळि तेथे मरंगी
- [7] आ ऊावेयाळागी अठागर समंध मुख्य नागवें आगरपैकि कोतऊ-वाडि
- [8] १ नारदे कवळिआ पैकि भाटाऊो १ उरी वाडिआ २ ससिमणऊ भोगा स
- [9] हित श्री रायाजा प्रधानु सिहिप्रो विकति सडाउनि चिचवाळिये-चिये मिजिगिति
- [10] वर भीषा मळिया कातिकवाडी विकिता द्रामा १६० नारदे कवळिआ जि
- [11] ये भाटाळिये विकिता द्राम ४० उरीवाडिआ २ विकिता द्रामा सते २००
- [12] हे द्राम वरत सकोश कवळिआ मुख्य करनि समळि आगरियांस भागिउ
- [13] डिळि घाअटा साळगोपऊवादनचे तळे अठि अवाटातु राह नाहिं वाडि
- [14] आ दातारेंहिन करनि जाळिआ ह्यणौनि समळि आगरियांस त्याति वि
- [15] कळि ते गुतिवैवाह सोडवूनि सिहिप्रो ऊागोनि वाडिआ विक्कि आहे
- [16]*वाडिआ कोविह दाताह डमेटळित गुति करि तर समष्टि आगरियांहि प्रति
- [17]*रावे हा धरमु सिहिप्रोचा तितो वड समष्टि आगरियांहि सभागि प्रति-पाळावें

- [18] झाडेआचि जमेतिस जेतुके आगर साहिआ उंखे पोड तेतुके आगरास
आ. प्र.
- [19] झाडाचे ति रोपडवा वाडि सिहिप्रो सासनविषय भोगनारी हा धरमु
समगि प्र
- [20] तिपाळावा आघाटणें पूर्व दिसें नाड झातारेयाचि वाडि उत्तर दिसे
चोरलेवाडि पष
- [21] चिम दिसे पठिआरावाडि दसिण दिसे कोणिष्टियाची वाडी ऐसि
आघाटणें चि
- [22] आर विवार तिआहि पाळक वरतअ कायहा कवळिआ प्रोगुवाअ
रास देउ
- [23] वेद म्हातारियावा धरमुदेउ विंड म्हातरआवा वाडरें पैकि वावंदेउ
कघाट
- [24] आ अवेयारि सोम्हाळ म्हातारा राडत नागदेउ भाई दार्यु म्हे सेटि
- [25] साड म्हातारा ताहदेउ वावंदे म्हातारा सवद म्हातारा गोब म्हातारा
- [26] साजकार सोदेअ जोटादेअ वारिकर वरतअ मुपल पाटैकु नागळा
पाटैकु
- [27] वैजकर हे जन १८ मुख्य करनि समगि प्रतिपाळावें अन्नाचे साचिता
- [28] नागांव जमेत पैकि टिंगु महाभद्र दाउवार आया शाजि दाउवार
आया

TRANSLATION

In the auspicious year of the Hejira 769 (and) the Śaka year 1289 in the cycle of Virgo it being enacted while the valiant and mighty universal Monarch, the King of Kings, King Śrī Hambīru was reigning at Thāne in the Koṅkan, a letter concerning procedure, etc., was written as follows—Sihipro, Controller of Affairs, sent it to the official in charge of the 8 āgars (salt pans or fields), having given it to Kusan*, the Śeṇavī in charge of Ahāsan* toll-bār in the afternoon

* * Sihipro (is) the inhabitant of the village of Ciñcāvāḷi. In order to (re)plant the plantain-trees, which had died there, Kotaḷavāḍi being the chief of the āgars in Nāg*vē village, the King's Minister Sihipro arranged for the sale of (i) the ricefield of Nāraḍe Kavaliā (and) (ii) Urauvāḍi = 2 (fields), together with the usufruct of the fruits on the boundaries, to the excellent inhabitant of Ciñcāvāḷi, Bhīgā Māḷi, for 160 drachmas the sale of the ricefield pertaining to Nāraḍe Kavaliā in Kāṭalavāḍi (was effected); for 40 drachmas the sale of Uraivāḍi (was effected); the sale of the two fetching 200 drachmas. These drachmas were divided among all the Śudra cultivators,

Kavaḷiā being the chief and including (in the money-distribution) the officiating watchman. The tank below the Sāla Gopā^avād pass had fallen into great disrepair, there was no road-approach, and the gardens had become ownerless. So they were sold to all the Śūdra cultivators and the gardens were sold by Sihipro, after freeing them from all encumbrances. Should any claimant make forcible obstruction, then all the Śūdras should restrain him. This is the injunction of Sihipro, and all the Śūdra cultivators should divide and care for the *ficus* trees therein. The Śūdras should care for all the fields, as many as have pits and trenches for trees in the whole collection. Being in the employment of Sihipro, the garden is to be enjoyed (by caring for) those young trees (in it). This injunction of Sihipro should be observed. The boundaries: to the east Nād^a Mhātārā's garden, to the north Corelevāḍi, to the west Paṭhiārāvāḍi, to the south Koṇiṭī's garden. Such are the boundaries in detail. The caretakers of that (garden) (are): the officiating watchman Kāphā Kavaḷiā, Rāsadev^a son of Pogu^a, Dharamudeva son of Ved^a Mhātārā, Vāvande^a of Vād^arē and son of Viṇḍ^a Mhātārā, Somhāl^a Mhātārā (dwelling) in the mango-grove of Kaghāṭ^a, Rāḍhat^a Nāg^adev^a, Bhāl Dāryu, Masde, Seṭisūḍ^a Mhātārā, Tāh^adev^a, Vavande Mhātārā, Savad Mhātārā, Goru Mhātārā, the temple-musicians Sondev^a (and) Joṭādev^a, the officiating roundsman, Mupal^a Pāṭiḷ, Nāg^alā Pāṭiḷ the Revenue Pāṭiḷ, these 18 persons, being the chief, all should take care (of the garden). Witness of relations—residents of Nāg^avē *enclave*, Mahābhadrā Dāuvar^a Ayā, Sāji Dāuvar^a Ayā.

NOTES

1. 1. **हिवरत ६९** [*sic*] **हिवरत ७६९** to correspond with Śaka year 1289 (A.D. 1367). **संवत्** = "year". **पळवंग संवसरे** [*sic*] **संवंग संवत्सरे**, "in the 41st year in the 60 year cycle." The Kolābā Gazetteer gives Hejira year 767 and Śaka year 1288. For the three blanks **सखि** may be conjectured, and **आधेअ** read as **आधेव**.

1. 2. **कोति** *sic* **करोति**.

1. 4. **सिहिप्रो**. The name is curious. Possibly **सिंह** + **पर** ("valiant," "great").

1. 5. **देऊ** = **देऊन**. The Śenvīs are otherwise termed Gaud Brāhmins. Their tradition is that they migrated from Bengal to the Koṅkan. They eat mutton and fish and claim to be only following

Vedic traditions. प्रोदहोह वेळित. Mr. Kanhere suggests "at the time of afternoon". Perhaps a corruption of प्रहर + उण + अहर "one watch less than the (complete) day", "from 3 to 6 p.m."

l. 6. A letter is missing before रंध and after स. Perhaps the reading was समंध "all", "the whole", which would suit the context. मिजिगिति. Mr. Kanhere gives "resident". The word recurs in line 9. Perhaps मि, a corruption of मध्ये + जिगिति from the Marāṭhī जगणे "to live". सरंगिच्छा[sic] मरून + गिच्छा = गेला. Cf. Gujarātī गया and Kāthodī (Kolāba Dist.) म्या.

l. 8. Mr. Kanhere takes कवळिच्छा as "plot" and equates it with कवळ = घांस "mouthful". नारदे is a man's name, and it is true that plots are named after their owners. But as the word कवळिच्छा recurs in line 22 in an enumeration of proper names, the point is doubtful. In line 12 कवळिच्छा appears to be a proper name.

l. 9. सडाउन[sic] साधुनि "having effected", "having arranged".

l. 10. मळिया[sic] माळिया. कातिऊवाडी[sic] कोतऊवाडी, l. 7.

l. 11. त्रिये भाटाळीये वित्तिता "the sale of which plot" [cf. लक्ष्मिये, वानिये, dat.-genitives of लक्ष्मी, वाणी in the Jñāneśvarī].

l. 12. वरत recurs in lines 22 and 26, and means "officiator". सकोश "with the treasury". The word probably means nothing more than "including" (the officiator in the share of the money distributed by Sihipro). भागिउ[sic] भागून "having divided".

l. 13. अवाटानु, cf. (S.) अ + वाट. Guj. अवड "ruined", "waste", अवटावु "to be entangled".

l. 14. दातारेंहिन करनि. Mr. Kanhere translates "ownerless". करनि is pleonastic. दातार, recurring in line 16, probably means a charitable owner, one who would hand over the fields to the Śūdras at a low price for the purpose of supplying the temple with fruits and leaves (see line 17, where the *figus* is mentioned). त्याति (Konkan Standard) = त्यातें (Deccan) = त्याचें (Konkanī proper), archaic dative, used here as an accusative and declined to agree with वाडिच्छा.

l. 15. गुंतिक्किवाड, a *Dvandva samāsa*. गुंति, recurring in line 16, means "obstruction", "hindrance". The derivation of किवाड is doubtful. Cf. किवाड "plot", "machination".

l. 16. डमेडकित. Cf. डमडम "brawl"; तऊणें "to oppress";

तऊतऊ "provocation". The blank at the commencement of the line was probably चे "to these", "to this" (F.).

l. 17. The blank was certainly का, i.e. प्रतिकारावें. तितो ? either a mistake for इति and to be read with the preceding sentence, or = तीतोळ "of in those" (gardens), to go with वड (figs tree), "the fig-trees in those gardens."

l. 18. उंखे पोढ, taken as a *deanlva samāsa*. पोढ in the current speech means "a pit to hold water and dug round a tree". उंखे is probably a local synonym, referable to the verb उखडणे "to dig up".
आ. प्र. abbreviations for आगरियाही प्रतिपाळावें (vide l. 17).

l. 19. सिहिप्रो सासन विषय, etc. These words imply that the *Agariās* were to work in and enjoy the gardens in the employment and under the orders of the minister.

ll. 21, 22. विचार = चार "four". विवार [*sic*] विवर "details". तिआहि = तिचे, referring to वाडिया. The Konkṇ Standard genitive "mine" is माहा, and so also in Māhārī. This ह goes back through Apabhraṃśa to the Prākṛit स, Sanskrit स.

ll. 22 et seq. Give the names of the eighteen caretakers of the gardens, including the temple musicians (साजकार) Sondev* and Joṭādev*, the officiating (वरतच) Pāṭi Mupal* and the Revenue Pāṭi (वैजकर) Nāg*lā. वजे in Gujarātī signifies land revenue. शेगु < स्वाधिक "resident". अज्ञाचे साचिता, here चे = ची [जे = जो, ते = ती, as in the Jñāneśvarī]. Cf. साचिता "witness", "evidence", with विक्रिता "sale" in l. 10.

ROMANI LES AND SANSKRIT TASYA

By R. L. TURNER

1. In European Romani the stem which provides a demonstrative or definite article and the pronoun of the third person is declined as follows :—

	Singular		Plural
	Masc.	Fem.	Masc and Fem.
Nominative	<i>ov</i>	<i>oy</i>	<i>ol</i>
Oblique	<i>les</i>	<i>la</i>	<i>len</i>

2. It is generally agreed that the nominatives *ov* and *oy* are formations from the demonstrative stem *u-* which appears in most of the modern Indo-Aryan languages, e.g. Nepali : direct *u*, oblique *us*.

3. In the oblique forms—*les*, *la* and *len*—Miklosich (*Über die Mundarten und Wanderungen der Zigeuner Europa's* xi, p. 15) saw the stem of Skt. *ta-*, which forms the oblique cases to the nominative *sā* and *sā*. Professor A. C. Woolner (*Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, New Series ix, p. 128) opposes this view for the very cogent reason that there seems to be no other instance in which an initial Indo-Aryan *t-* has become *l-* in European Romani : it becomes *l* regularly only in the intervocalic position. He derives it instead from a Prakrit pronominal stem *na-*. This however presents nearly as great a phonetic difficulty, for the regular representation of initial *n-* is by *n-* : there are a few exceptions only in some cases of metathesis or dissimilation, such as *len* river (if from *nadl*), *lilai* and *linai* beside *nilai* summer (*nidāghāḥ*).

4. Dr. Sampson (*The Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales*, p. 161) returns to the explanation of Miklosich, contending that *l-* here is really intervocalic on the ground of an enclitic form of the nominative *-lo*, and a fuller form of the oblique—*oles*, *ola*, *olen*—found beside the shorter forms in Greek and Hungarian Romani.

This explanation of the enclitic *-lo* is doubtful. It is used apparently only with *śi* 'is', *sas* 'was', *nai* 'is not' (op. cit., p. 196). Other verbs can be used in the 3rd singular without any pronoun or subject expressed. Is it possible that *śilo* represents Skt. *śīte* (cf. Khovar *śer* there is) with *-o* from *saslo*, in which I see the preterite ending *-lo* (Skt. *-ita-*) added to *sas*.

5. *Oles*, etc., seem rather to be formed from a contamination of nominative *o(v)* with oblique *les*. Similarly the nominative plural *ol* may be *o* + *l-* (cf. Skt. nom. plur. *tē*).

6. Outside Romani the only Indo-Aryan forms containing an *l* seem to be Tirahi *lā*, Kalasha plural *eledrūs*, Mavei Bhili *ēlō* (L.S.I. viii, 2, p. 96¹). Of these the Tirahi form is most like the Romani. The first part of Kalasha *ele-drūs* may possibly represent Skt. *eta-*. The *-lo* of Bhili *ēlō* or *ēplō* is probably the adjectival ending of Apabhraṃśa, *-illaū*. Among the Dardic group Romani does not seem to have specially close relations with Tirahi.

7. On the other hand, Romani belongs originally to the Central group, which includes the ancestor of the Hindi dialects (Turner, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, New Series v. 4). It is there rather than in Dardic that we should look for the cognate of so fundamental a word as a pronoun.

Dr. Sampson stresses the fact that the majority of modern Indo-Aryan languages form the oblique of a demonstrative from Skt. *tāsyā*. In the Central group these forms are found in almost every dialect. E.g.

Gujarati	.	.	<i>te</i>	<i>te</i>	East Hindi			
Rajasthani					Awadhi	.	<i>se</i>	<i>te</i>
Jaipuri	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tī</i>	Bagheli	.	<i>taun</i>	
Marwari	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tīp</i>	Chattisgarhi	.	<i>te</i>	
Panjabi	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tis</i>	Nepali	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tas</i>
West Hindi					Central Pahari			
Hindustani	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tis</i>	Kumaoni	.	<i>so</i>	<i>te</i>
Braj	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tāsu</i>	Garhwali	.	<i>so</i>	<i>te</i>
Kanauji	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tā</i>	West Pahari			
Bundeli	.	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tā</i>	Jaunsari	.	<i>so</i>	<i>tyā</i>
					Sirmauri	.	<i>se</i>	<i>tes</i>

With similar forms westward to Bhadrawahi.

It seems reasonable, therefore, to look for the origin of the Romani forms in the same word.

8. The theory that these forms are not derived from a Middle Indian stem **la-* receives some support from the evidence of Syrian Romani. In this language no demonstrative or pronominal stem with *l* appears to be recorded. On the other hand in the dative of the very heteroclite 3rd person pronoun, namely *ātūtā*, we seem to have the fully stressed descendant of Skt. *tāsyā*. In this form *-tā* is the post-position (or termination) of the dative; and the initial *ā-* is probably

¹ Of which Sir G. A. Grierson has kindly shown me the proofs.

a prothetic vowel of the same character as that in *dma* 'I' (cf. Pkt. *mae*), *dtu* 'thou' (*tuvām*), *dtme* 'you' (cf. Pkt. *tumhe*), which may be analogical from *dme* 'we' (cf. Pkt. *amhe*). The dative plural, *ātsāntā*, must be formed from the singular *ātus-*, since *-s-* cannot represent the *-y-* of Skt. *tēṣām*.

9. Because pronouns can be used in different conditions, as emphatics, unemphatics or enclitics, they are liable to special phonetic treatments. Indo-European had for the personal pronouns both full and enclitic or unemphatic forms, which are reflected in most of the Indo-European languages. And where the original forms have been lost, languages are continually recreating new sets, as, e.g., in French.

10. In view of the problem before us, namely the correlation of the initial of *les* with the initial of *tāsya*, I propose to examine a number of cases of pronouns, which show a peculiar treatment of the initial consonant. In the course of this examination it will be noticed that the special treatment of the initial is sometimes, though not always, the same as the regular treatment of a corresponding sound in the intervocalic position.

SANSKRIT

11. The *Yājñavalkya Śikṣā*¹ prescribes three pronunciations of *v* and *y*, namely heavy, light and very light. The heavy pronunciation is that of initial, the light of the intervocalic, and the very light of the final positions. But it prescribes the light pronunciation also for initial *v-* in the case of certain words :—

teadarthavācīnau vo vām vā vai yadi nipātajan |
ādēśās ca vikalpārthā īṣatsprṣṭā iti smṛtāḥ || (*Śikṣāsaṃgraha*, p. 23).

Of these words, *vah*, *vām*, and *vā* we know were enclitics; *vai*, although bearing the *udātta* accent, seldom in the earlier language, if ever, stands first in the sentence; and in Manu, Mahābhārata, and Kāvya usually is placed at the end of the line "as a mere expletive" (Monier-Williams, *s.v.*).

In the next verse, for initial *y-* (of similar grammatical forms, e.g. the relative pronoun ?) the light pronunciation is optionally prescribed :

vibhāṣayā yakārah syāt (sc. *īṣatsprṣṭah*) *tathā neti padātparaḥ |*

THE INSCRIPTIONS OF AŚOKA

12. The reality of this pronunciation of *y-* in certain forms is borne out fully by the evidence of the Aśokan Inscriptions and of the

¹ My attention was drawn to this fact by Dr. Siddheswar Varma.

literary Prakrits. In Aśokan *y-* normally remains. But as derivatives of the pronominal stem *ya-* the following forms occur :

At Kalsi : Sg. nom. n. *añ* and *e* beside *yañ* ; gen. *asā* ; plur. nom. m. *e* beside *ye*.

At Dhauli and Jaugada : Sg. nom. m. *e* beside *ye* ; n. *e* ; acc. n. *añ* ; inst. *ena* ; gen. *asa* ; plur. nom. m. *e* beside *ye* ; n. *āñi*.

In the Pillar Edicts : Sg. nom. n. *e* beside *ye* ; inst. *ena* beside *yena*.

At Rupnath : Sg. nom. m. and n. *e* ; acc. n. *añ* beside *yañ*.

At Gīrnar, Shahbazgarhi, Mansera and Mysore only forms with *ya-* appear. These inscriptions, together with those of Topra and Siddapura have *yathā*, which has the form *athā* at Kalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada, Lauriya and also at Topra.

Mansera has *atra* (*yātra*).

Kalsi, Dhauli, Jaugada and Topra have *ata* for the same.

PRĀKRIT

13. In Prakrit the normal development of *y-* is *j-* (Māgadhi *y-*). But Ardhamāgadhi has *yāñ* (*yāñi*) used adverbially (= Skt. *yad*) ; *yāvi* (*yāvad*) (Pischel : *Grammatik der Prakrit-Sprachen*, p. 303) ; *ahā* = *yathā* ; *āva* = *yāvat* ; *āvanti* = *yāvanti* (Pischel, op. cit., p. 229).

14. For the 2nd person pronoun Prakrit, besides the old enclitic forms *de*, *dī*, *e*, *i* (*te*), had also gen. sg. *umha*, *ubbha*, *uyha*, *ujjha* ; nom. pl. *uyhe*, *bhe*, inst. *umhehiñ*, *ubbehiñ*, *uyhehiñ*, *ujjhehiñ* ; abl. *umhatto*, etc. All these are found beside the regular forms *tumha*, etc. (Pischel, op. cit., p. 296).

SINHALESE

15. The reality of these forms is borne out by Sinhalese. In this language initial *t-* or initial *y-* normally remains. But beside *topi* (**tuṣme*, cf. Pali *tumhe*, Aśokan *tu(p)phe* at Dhauli, Jaugada, and Sarnath), there is another form for use with equals or inferiors, *um̐ba*, which Professor Geiger (*Literatur und Sprache der Singhalesen*, p. 66) derives from **yuṣme* (cf. Skt. *yuṣmān*).

THE KHAROṢṬHĪ INSCRIPTIONS

16. In the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions from Khotan (vol. i, edited by Rapson, Senart, and Boyer) an initial *s-* of Sanskrit normally remains *s-*, while intervocalic *-s-* becomes *-ṣ-* (Turner, *JRAS.* 1927, p. 232). To

the first rule there are three exceptions: *sa* (*sā*) always has *ṣ*¹; *sadha* with (*sārdhām*) which follows an instrumental is always written with *ṣ*, except twice² when, apparently under the influence of Sanskrit spelling, it is written *sardha*. The word for 'all' (Skt. *sārvah*) is written *sarva* twenty times, *sarva* twelve times. In any case, its spelling with *r* probably implies the influence of Sanskrit orthography.

17. *Sadha* can be considered an enclitic and its *ṣ*- thus being inter-vocalic has the ordinary development of -s-. *Sa* however usually comes first in the sentence; but it is a pronoun, and so liable to peculiar treatment.

18. *Sarva* also is a sort of pronoun (witness its pronominal declension in Sanskrit and the partially pronominal declension of the similar word in Latin, *totus*). The word for 'all' has peculiar phonetic treatment in other languages. In Hindi and other modern Indo-Aryan languages which have compensatory lengthening of a short vowel before Middle Indian double consonants, M.I. *sarvo* > *sab*, not **sāb* as in Gujarati *sāv*. This may be compared with the similar abnormal retention of the short vowel in two frequently used adjectives—Hindi *barā*, Nepali *baro*, Gujarati *vaḍo* 'big', opposed to Panjabi *vaddā*; and Hindi *bhalā*, Nepali and Gujarati *bhalo* good < *bhaltā* < **bhadlā* (cf. Skt. *bhadrāḥ*). Among the Romance languages, French has a word for 'all' going back to a form **tottus* > *tout*, opposed to Latin *tōtus* (> Spanish and Portuguese *todo*). And as in Indo-Aryan, the word for "good" in French, namely *bon*, rests upon an unaccented form of the adjective, of which the accented form appears in Old French *buen*.

ROMANI

19. In Syrian Romani initial *t*- normally remains unchanged. But the 2nd singular of the preterite, ending in -or, is probably to be explained as a past participle followed by the 2nd person pronoun: e.g. *bl̥r̥or* 'thou didst fear' < *bhūtō* (or **bhūtako*) *tuvām* (Turner, *Journ. Gypsy Lore Soc.*, New Series ix, 4).

¹ Usually in the phrase *sa ca*. Professor Rapson, in a communication he has very kindly made me, holds that *sa* is here equivalent to *asa* < *asya*, and that the representative of Skt. *sā* is *se* (very rarely *ṣe*: fem. *sa* or *sā*). Nevertheless, there appear to me cases of its use in which the context is better suited by a derivation from *sā* than by an equation with *asya*. If this is right, *se* would be the fully stressed form, which has survived in other I.A. languages (e.g. Sindhi *so*, Bengali *se*). I confess, however, that the interpretation of *sa* still remains in doubt.

² This and following figures must be looked upon as provisional only, pending the publication of Professor Rapson's index.

GUJARATI

20. The interrogative pronoun in Gujarati is *śo*. In Old Gujarati it was *kaśo*. Beames (*Comparative Grammar of the Modern Aryan Languages of India*, vol. ii, p. 325) explains *śo* as an abbreviated form of *kaśo*. No other satisfactory etymology has been offered. *Kaśo* (cf. Old Hindi *kaśā*, Nepali *kaso* 'of what sort?'), which itself has a peculiar treatment of the vowel of the initial syllable, is from **kūśaū* or **kāśaū* (*kīdrśa-* or **kādrśa-* : Hindi *kaisā*). For the development of this as a simple interrogative comparison may be made with Marathi *kāy* 'what?' < **kādrk* (Bloch: *La Langue marathe*, p. 209). The change of Middle Indian *s* to *ś* after *i* is regular in Gujarati.

21. Beames may be right in his similar explanation of Sindhi *chā* 'what?' namely that **kasā* > **ksā* > *chā*. In this case *-ā* must represent *-aam*, not *-ao*, which in Sindhi becomes *-o*.

AVESTAN

22. In Avestan, beside *yūšmākəm*, there are Gāḥā forms *xšmākəm*, *xšma'byā*, *xšmā* (< **šma-* : *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, I. 1. § 86). Bartholomae's explanation (*IF*, I. 186), that **šma-* was formed from *yūšma-* after the analogy of **wām* : **yucām*, requires firstly that the enclitic should influence the accented form, and secondly that the dual should influence the plural. May it not rather be a parallel to the Prakrit phenomenon, *yūšma-* > *umha-*? The shorter form survives in Pers. *šumā* (< **šmākam*), Osset. *smaz*.

ARMENIAN

23. In Armenian Indo-European *t-* becomes *th-*. But the 2nd person pronoun is *du* (cf. Latin *tu*, etc.), and the demonstrative *da* (cf. Skt *tām*, etc.). Of these Professor Meillet (*Esquisse d'une Grammaire comparée de l'Arménien classique*, p. 15) says: "Ce traitement anormal tient sans doute au caractère particulier de ces mots qui sont des éléments accessoires de la phrase et en cette qualité échappent en quelque mesure aux règles communes."

24. In the same language initial *k-* becomes *kh-*: nevertheless, in the interrogative pronoun, beside Skt. *kāh*, Latin *quis*, etc., we have *ov* 'who?', *ur* 'whence?', *him* 'why?'. The *kh-* has been maintained in other forms, e.g. *khan* 'that' (Meillet, *ib.*).

MODERN GREEK

25. In the dialect of Cappadocia *τ-* is normally maintained. But occasionally, especially as the initial of the article and pronominal

object, it becomes *d*-, or possibly a voiceless media (Dawkins: *Modern Greek in Asia Minor*, p. 69).

26. In the Lesbian dialect of Velvendos, which normally maintains initial τ -, we have $d^i < \tau\acute{\eta}v$, d^i and $d < \tau\omicron\upsilon$, (Thumb, *Handbuch der neugriechischen Volkssprache*, p. 37). The loss of τ - in South Italian Greek, $o = \tau\acute{o}$, $i = \tau\acute{\eta}v$, may be due to the analogy of the nominative forms of the masculine and feminine.

LATIN

27. A striking parallel to the loss of *kh*- in the Armenian interrogative is the loss of initial *c*- in some forms of the same family in Latin. Beside *quis*, *qui*, *quam*, *quando*, etc., Latin has *ubi* (but *nē-cubi*: cf. Oscan *puf*, Umbrian *pufe*: Skt. *kūha*, Avestic *kudā*; Old Slavonic *kūde*); *uter* (cf. Oscan *pūtereipid*, Umbrian *podruhpei*: Skt. *katarāḥ*; Old Slav. *kotorā*, Gk. *πότερος*: v. Walde, *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch*, s.v.); *ut* (Walde, *ib.*); *unde* (Walde, *ib.*).

Dr. Walde's objection to the division *ali-cubi* on the ground that it means 'anywhere', not 'elsewhere', appears to be invalidated by his admission of the division *ali-quis*, which similarly means 'anyone', not 'someone else'.

There has hitherto been no satisfactory explanation that this is the regular change of *kwu*- in Latin. Certainly if it remains as *cu*- in the interior (*ne-cubi*, *ali-cunde*, etc.), it should *a fortiori* remain initially; since in Latin the initial is a stronger position than the intervocalic (Juret: *Manuel de Phonétique latine*, p. 104). Is it not rather the peculiar treatment of the initial of a pronoun? Whether or not it was voiced (like *t*- in Armenian and in Modern Greek) before disappearance, we may note that there was a tendency for the voiced guttural before *w* to disappear in Latin, both initially and intervocalically.

KELTIC

28. In Welsh initial *y*- is normally maintained (Pedersen, *Keltische Grammatik*, § 44). Nevertheless, Pedersen derives Mid. Welsh *a* 'what who', which is used initially (*ib.* § 543), from **yos*, **yod* (*ib.* § 545. 3). J. Morris Jones (*Welsh Grammar*, § 162. vi. 1) derives this *a* from *ai*, the oldest attested form, which he explains as a metathesis for **ya*; but in deriving this last from **yo* admits that it was proclitic.

In the same way Pedersen derives *wy* 'they' from **yoi* (*op. cit.*, § 502); but Jones prefers the form **ei* (*op. cit.*, § 159. iv. 1).

efδ 'he' was reduced to *fδ* by the fourteenth century (*ib.*, § 159.

ii. 5); and this has now become the ordinary N. Welsh colloquial *o*, 'him.'¹

ef 'so' is derived from *hēf* (Jones, op. cit., § 159. iv. 1), with abnormal loss of *h*.

Similarly the conjunctive pronoun *yntau* 'he too' stands according to Jones (ib., § 159. iv. 3) for **hynn-teu* with loss of *h* on the analogy of *ef* 'he'. It may however, as in the previous case, be abnormal loss of the initial of a pronoun.

29. In Keltic there seems to be a general tendency to use, even at the beginning of the sentence, the mutated forms of pronouns and pronominal words, originally proper only in the interior of the sentence under certain conditions (cf. Pedersen, op. cit., § 316).

Thus in Welsh the dependent pronouns, although prefixed, show mutated forms: *fy* 'my' < **mene*, *dy* 'thy' < **teue* (Jones, op. cit., § 160. iv. 1).

ba 'what?' appears for *pa* even at the beginning of sentences; so too *beth* is more common than *peth*; *ban* 'when?' is used beside *pan* (ib., § 163. i. 2).

bob 'every' is used initially as well as *pawb*.

O. Welsh *guotig* appears in Mid. Welsh as *gweedy* or *wedy* and in Mod. Welsh as *wedi* 'afterwards'.

draw 'yonder' is probably to be derived from *trawf* (ib., § 220. ii. 10).

ENGLISH

30. Modern English normally maintains *þ*; but in the pronoun *thou*, and in the group of words belonging to the family of *the*, *that*, *this*, *then*, *there*, *though*, etc., earlier *þ* has become *d* (cf. Jespersen, *A Modern English Grammar*, i, p. 203).

31. In colloquial English *that* as a relative often becomes *at*, though it remains *dæt* as a demonstrative.

32. The above examples show that we may reasonably ascribe a peculiar treatment to the initial of a pronoun, and that the normal phonology of Romani in which *t*-remains, need not prevent us from following Miklosich in deriving *les* from *tásya* (and *la* and *len* from **tāyās* and **tānām*). The special treatment of *tásya* in this case is confirmed by another peculiarity. I have attempted to show elsewhere (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 232 ff.) that *-assa* < *-asya*, as a termination, became

¹ According to a communication from Mr. N. B. Jopeon, whom I have to thank for bringing a number of details concerning Welsh to my notice.

-asa (at a time when in the body of the word -ss- was still maintained. Thus in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions the genitive singular of the masculine ends in -asa, not -asa. Nevertheless in dissyllables where -assa necessarily forms the body of the word, as well as being the termination, the double -ss- may be expected to remain. Actually in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions we usually find *yasya* (which I suggest is a Sanskritization of *yasa*, i.e. *yassa*). In Romani also, which preserves closed *a* as *a*, but changes open *a* to *e*, we find Skt. *kāśya* > Middle Indian *kassa* > Rom. *kas*.

33. But Skt. *tāśya* > *tassa* > Middle Indian **tasa*, which appears as *tasa* in the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions and as *les* in Romani. *Tāśya* thus shows peculiar phonetic development in two particulars: -ss- > -s- and *t-* > *l-*. The one peculiar treatment is attested also by the Kharoṣṭhī Inscriptions, the other by a considerable number of parallel phenomena in other languages.

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NOTES ON THE PRONUNCIATION OF PASHTO
(DIALECT OF THE HAZARA DISTRICT)

By G. MORGENSTIERNE and A. LLOYD-JAMES

THE authors of these notes had an opportunity of observing the pronunciation of Naqibullah, son of Nairullah, a Bumba Khel Pathan from the village Dhudiyal, north of Mansehra in the Hazara district, during some eight sittings at the School of Oriental Studies in May, 1927.

Naqibullah, who was for several years a sailor, has settled down in London, where he keeps a boarding-house for Asiatic sailors. Being married to an Englishwoman he does not speak Pashto with his family; but his boarding-house is very much frequented by Pathan sailors, Peshawaris, Chhachhis, and Bangashes. The Peshawar and Chhachh dialects may have influenced his pronunciation slightly; but he is an intelligent person, and appeared to be quite conscious of the difference between Peshawari forms and those belonging to his own dialect, even in cases where he would generally be inclined to employ the former ones. He reads and writes Hindostani, and to some extent English, but not Pashto.

Mr. Morgenstierne, who generally put the questions, was accustomed to Pashto sounds, but might also be influenced by pre-conceived ideas, based upon the written forms, etymology, or the pronunciation of other dialects. Mr. Lloyd-James approached the study as a phonetician, without any knowledge of Pashto.

A few notes on the pronunciation of other dialects by Mr. Morgenstierne are signed M.

Mr. Morgenstierne's thanks are due to the School of Oriental Studies for enabling him to come to London, and to the Norwegian "Institute for Comparative Research in Human Culture" for supporting his Pashto studies on this occasion also.

A. CONSONANTS

Chart of Consonants

	Bilabial	Dental	Alveolar	Alveolo-Palatal	Retroflex	Velar	Uvular
Plosive	p(ʰ), b	t(ʰ), d	(t(ʰ), d)		ʈ(ʰ), ɖ	k(ʰ), g	q
Affricate				c, ʃ			
Nasal	m	n			ɳ	ŋ	
Lateral		l					
Tapped			r		ɽ		
Fricative	v, f (?)	s, z		ʃ, (ʒ)	ʂ	x, ɣ	
Semi-vowel	w			ɹ, etc.			
Glottal	h, ɦ, ʔ						

1. *Plosives*

Voiced Plosives.—b, d, ɖ, (d), g are only half-voiced as initials. The voice sets in at the same time as the explosion. In final position after n the explosion is very weak: ʈunᵈ “blind”, ɖrɔnᵈ “heavy”, (I.I.-J. heard a faint explosion in stənᵈ) “needle”, but not in nēn “to-day”).

Unvoiced plosives have a tendency towards a slight aspiration.

This tendency is most marked in the case of the labial, which is aspirated in front of all vowels, as well in initial as in intervocalic position. E.g. pʰr “a saint”, pʰvɔnᵈ “heel”, dəpʰa:ra “for the sake of”, spʰe “dog”, ʰga:pʰi “barks”. In quite unstressed syllables only, such as in paʰkor kʰe “in the house”, p seems to be unaspirated.

k, t, and ʈ are, if at all, very slightly aspirated before wide vowels, and in intervocalic position. E.g. kor “house”, kʰa:wr “he works”, to:ɾ “black”, ta:ɾ “wire”, taʰre:gr “(the hen) cackles”, ʔaʰtə “eight”, ʰgota “finger”, to:l “all”. But kʰele “village”, kʰrʰa:b “book”, kʰoʰe “a well”, kʰe:nəm “I sit down”, kʰe “in”, tʰora “sword”, tʰra:ra “darkness”, tʰe:ra “sharp”, tʰrk “correct”.

q is less aspirated than k: qolʰme “entrails”, qʰa:mat “day of judgment”.

According to LL.-J. the unvoiced stops are probably pronounced with unclosed glottis; but this question cannot be finally decided without kymograph tracings.

The dentals are articulated against the upper part of the teeth. As initials the "cerebrals" are non-retroflex alveolars: *tʰag* "thief", *tʰokʰa* "morsel", *tʰal* "a swing". They do not differ very much from dentals, e.g. in *tʰo:l tʰo:r dr* "they are all black". In intervocalic and final position, however, they are retroflex alveolo-palatal sounds: *pʰəʃ* "concealed", *kaʃ* "bed". Similarly *de:r* "much", but *gaʃwaʃ* "mixed". The surrounding vowels also influence the character of the "cerebrals". The *t* in *seʃ* "neck" is more advanced than that in the obl. *seʃa*, and, according to Dr. Grahame Bailey, both are more advanced than the Urdu cerebral. According to him *doʰde:r* "bread" has Urdu *ḍ*; but it becomes advanced e.g. in *gel doʰde:r* "twenty loaves".

The velars are not appreciably advanced in front of palatal vowels. The uvular *q* is plainly distinguished from *k*: *qa:(h)r* "anger", but *kar* "work".

2. Affricates

c, *j* are alveolo-palatal affricates (*ʃ*, *ʒ*): *ca:ʰa* "knife", *cirg* "cock", *jiʰne:r* "girl".

3. Nasals

ŋ occurs before *q*, *t* only (*ʰəŋqʰa* "lip"), *ŋ* before velars (*loŋge:r* "a scarf"). But the group *ng* also occurs: *ʰlɪŋga* "puerperal, pregnant", *zanʰgun* "knee".

Vowels, especially long ones, are nasalized before nasal + consonant (more so than before a single nasal), and the nasal is possibly somewhat reduced: *ʰlē:ŋge* "calf of the leg", *ʰmē:ŋge* "ant", *ʰmē:nde* (ʰd) "mothers", *bē:ʰɕ* "rafter".

Note the pronunciation of *kāʰiā da* "she is blind" as *kaʰʰanda*.

4. Laterals and Tapped Sounds

l is dental and voiced, even after unvoiced plosives: *plar* "father". Double *l* is found in words like *ʰaʰtallæ:s* "eighteen".

The rolled *r* is alveolar, as an initial it has two taps (*raz* "day"), in final position probably only one (*kor* "house"). A very weak *r* is heard in *de:ʰɕ* "thirty" (cf. Khatak *de:ɕ*.—M.).

The flapped, retroflex ɽ in ɽund "blind", ma'ɽɛz "quail", mo:ɽ "satisfied" is probably to some extent lateral. Its acoustic effect is more l-like than that of the Norwegian "thick l".

In front of dental plosives we find a slightly advanced variety of ɽ developed from r: p'ɽɽda "veil", p'ɽɽ'tun "trousers". (In some other dialects such loan-words with *rt*, *rd* may be pronounced either with the original r, or with an advanced ɽ.—M.)

The so-called *n* (intervocalic and final) is a nasalized, fricative, retroflex r: ɽ̃, which to some extent nasalizes the surrounding vowels: k'ũɽ̃ "deaf", f. kã'ĩã (kaṇa), rã'ĩã: "brightness". (Some Western Pashto dialects have a real *n* (ŋ).—M.)

5. Fricatives

Bilabial *v*, *v.s.*, semi-vowel *w*.

Bilabial *ɸ*, or labio-dental *f*. faoz, fəoz "army", fɛ'e'da "use", ar'ea:d "lament", far'zan(d) "child".

Dental *s*, *z*: sa'ɽɛ "man", n'w'a'sɛ "grandson", la:s "hand", st'ən "needle", 'lostəl "to read", zo:r "force", wa'zar "wing", ma'ɽɛz "quail", 'z'da "known". But *z* is moving towards *ʒ* in ni'z'de/ni'ʒ'de "near". Common Pashto *z* is lost in ɽə "heart" (ɛrəh). Etymological *ts* (*c*) and *dz* (*j*) are pronounced exactly like ordinary *s*, *z*: sa'lo:r sa'ɽɽ "four men" (calōr sarī). (In Peshawar there sometimes appears to be a slight difference, *s* < *c* being pronounced a little further forward, and perhaps with stronger pressure of the tongue.—M.)

Alveolo-palatal *ʃ* in ʃel "twenty", teʃ "empty", de:ʃə "thirty", mea:ʃt "month", ʃ'ta, ʃta "it exists". (It seems doubtful whether *t* is retracted after *ʃ*.) After a dental there is a glide: 'ba:d'ʃa: "king", 'te:z'ʃə (tɛz ʃəh) "became sharp". Apart from cases like ni'z'de (*v. supra*), *ʒ* is found only as part of the affricate *ʃ*.

Regarding the retroflex fricative ɽ̃ *v.s.* 4.

The velar fricative *x* has a fair amount of scrape. No difference exists between etymological *x* and *ʃ*: xã'ra:b "bad", max "face", 'xəza "woman" (ʃəja). *g* is a back velar, approaching the uvular *ŋ*. As an initial (ga:x "tooth") it is more strongly articulated than in intervocalic position ('ra:gələ dɛ: "he has arrived"). In the pronoun 'Aga "he" the *g* is frequently very weak.

6. Glottal Sounds

Unvoiced *h* in hum "also", har "every". Voiced *ɦ* in ba'dsa'ɦa:n

"kings", qɑ:(ʃ)r "anger". No h is heard in 'aga "he, that", 'alək "boy", etc., or as a final in 'ba:da "king", 'po:a "understanding" (pōh), po'e:gəm "I understand".

The final "hā-i-zāhir" has a curious, abrupt acoustic effect, and it is probably sometimes nasalized: q'bəh, q'bəh̃ "water", ʔa'təh "eight". But it is not always perceptible: ʔa'tə, u'ə "seven".

Initial vowels are frequently, but not constantly, accompanied by a glottal stop: ʔa'təh "eight", 'ʔu'basr "he takes away". It is always found in hiatus between two words, but not within a word: u'ə "seven", 'po:a "understanding".

7. Semi-vowels

The labial semi-vowel is to some extent interchangeable with the voiced bilabial fricative. Generally w before front-vowels: 'wine "blood", 'wēna "tree", wu "he was", but also uə: "they were" (f.), and frequently v in the neighbourhood of labial vowels (through differentiation?): u'uum "seventh", 'uum "I weave", uu, wu "he was", also le'uəh "wolf". Always 'o'r "he weaves", generally 'q'u "we weave", but also 'quu. It may disappear, nearly or completely: u' (ʷ)ə "seven", u'əm, u'um "seventh", 'q'əm "I weave", (ʷ)u "he was", dēr 'ka'um "I give you", 'zə ba 'ka:r ka,um "I shall do some work".

Before back vowels we find q: qar "door", 'qa:wre "snow", dqa, doa, "two", qar'ēz "cloud".

The labial semi-vowel is very weakly pronounced after consonants in n'ʌ'se: "grandson", 'n'g'ē:nde "daughters-in-law", stronger after x, as in xqar "poor", 'xwē:nde "sisters". It has disappeared completely after r in raz "day" (ruaf).

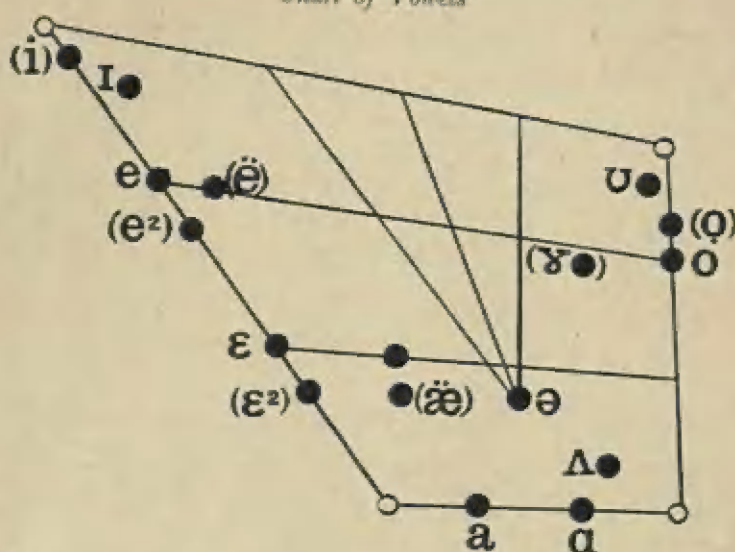
The palatal semi-vowel is very changeable, according to the following vowel: im "I am", re're:gəm "I fear", nea: (nēa:) "grand-mother", mea:st, mea:st "month", eə "one", eor "husband's brother's wife", 'b'erta, 'berta "again". It has disappeared before i in 'ina "liver" (yina).

8. Groups of Consonants

The ordinary Pashto groups of consonants are found; but, as initials, zd, xp, xk, and ng(w) are supported by a very short vowel: 'z'da "known", 'x'p'el "own", 'x'p'a "foot", 'n'go:r "daughter-in-law" (other dialects n'go:r, ŋ'go:r, M.). sta and s'ta "it exists".

B. VOWELS

Chart of Vowels



In this dialect one experiences great difficulty in ranging all the different vowel-shades into distinct phonemes. There is no absolute break in the sequence of short vowels from *a* to *ə* and *e*, although *a*, *ə* and *e* must be considered as separate phonemes, and even *o* and *ɔ* may, when absolutely unstressed, become *ə*. *u*, in certain cases, approaches very nearly to *o*, and *i* to *e*.

1. Phoneme *i*

Length is not dependent on etymology. Generally common Pashto *i* is shortened; but a secondary length develops before groups of consonants and, in some cases, in stressed position. We find *i* in *nir'z'de*, *niz'de*, *nrz'de* "near", *'dre:wist* "twenty-three", but generally *i*: *'wina* "blood", *'winem* "I see", *p'ru'zə* "five", *ur* "he may be", *sa'ir* "men".

2. Phoneme *e*

The short *e* has a rather wide range, but is generally near, or a little above the cardinal point: *'k'e:le* "village", *æl* "twenty", *'jeba* "tongue". *'k'elr* with *e* not far below *i*. A retracted variety is found before *r* and *n*: *'lère* "far", *nèn* "to-day", *'wəna* "tree".

The long *e*: is near the cardinal point: *le:var* "husband's

brother ", 'oxe " tears ", 'lēre " far ". A little lower, when nasalized (e²): 'mē:ŋge " ant ", 'lē:ŋge " calf of the leg ".

3. Phoneme ε

Generally near the cardinal point, or a little higher: 'krele " village ", 'lere " gut ", not appreciably lower in sa'ɽe: " man ". Perhaps a little wider in 'beerta " again ".

ε is decidedly wider in xε's'ta " beautiful " (*šāyistah*) (ε²). still more so when nasalized: bē:ɽ " rafter ", 'mē:ɽe " mothers ".

4. Phoneme u

Generally u: ɽund " blind ", 'uga " garlic ", 't'ura " sword ". In lor " daughter " the u seemed to be a little higher and further forward, moving towards Norwegian u (u). In ox " camel ", o'ə " seven " the u was lower, approaching o. In 'mōŋga " we " y may be heard. Completely unstressed u is sometimes reduced to ə (cf. B, 7).

Etymological ū is shortened, but length in some cases develops from ō (e.g. in o'ə " seven "), or from strongly stressed o ('ʔo'manəla " obeyed "). A very short o is heard in x'u'la " mouth ".

5. Phoneme o

o is generally long and close to the cardinal point: kor " house ", 'o:xa " tear ", 'go:ɽəm " I see ". It is considerably higher in 'o:xe " tears ", 'go:ɽɽ " he sees ". o is found also in 'o'om " I weave ", 'o:ɽəh " flour ", o'bəh " water ". In o'(w)xε: " brother-in-law " the o is below the cardinal point. The unstressed vowel is shortened in oo'ga " cloak ", and in proclisis we find nə " now, then " at the side of no, nō.

6. Phoneme a

The long a: lies generally a little nearer to cardinal vowel No. 5 than to No. 4: la:r " road ", ma:r " serpent ", slightly advanced in la:s " hand ". It is retracted in front of nasals (nearly cardinal point 5): ɽā:nde " blind " (m.pl.), mu'da:m " always ". Before palatals it is advanced: me:ɽt " month ", (m.pl.) advanced and shortened in 'dearlēs " thirteen ".

The short a has infinite varieties:—

a in raz " day ", oar " door ", sa'ɽe: " man ", 'aga " that ", gal " thief ", ʔa'tə(h) " eight ". Very short in 'x'p'əl " self ", 'x'ka:r " horn ". Final in 'wēna " tree ", 'xəza " woman "; but in this position it approaches a, especially after a, ɽ in the preceding

syllable: 'aspa "mare", ʃan'da "blind" (f.), 'aga "that". Probably also xa "good" (m. and f.), and da "she is".

Other varieties are ē in the diphthong ēi (spēi "bitch"), and in dēr "to thee", ma'ʃēz "quail", and æ in læs "ten".

7. Phoneme ə

There is a sharp distinction between a(Δ) and ə in such forms as: 'kor ta "to the house": tē "thou", 'ra:za "come!": zə "I", 'aga "he, that": də ʔa'gə "his", re'rə (r'a'rə) "nephew": re'ra "niece", g'la "thief" (f.), g'lə(h) "thieves" (m.). This difference is not dependent on stress or tone only, cf. e.g. ʃan'da "blind" (f.): də ʔa'gə. It is, however, possible that the ə in these cases is due to the influence of the, frequently dropped, "hā-i-zāhir" -h (cf. A, 6), and is not to be taken as a separate phoneme.

But cf. also ə e.g. in 'sterga "eye" (plur. 'stérge), lə're "thou hast", səl "hundred", 'xəza "woman", stən "needle", bən "co-wife", and, slightly raised towards u, p'əʃ "concealed", p'ax'ton "Pathan", 'ʔog'd "long" (very short). Very short also in g'la "thief" (f.), but plur. gle:

ə appears as a reduced form of o, i, and o: mo'sa:fir, mə'sa:fer, etc., "traveller," nə, no, no: "now, then".

8. Diphthongs

Common Pashto au becomes o: in o'(w)xə "brother-in-law" (*auxšai), etc., but a diphthong is preserved in eao (əao) "one", kəon'tara "pigeon". wū (cf. A. 7) "he was" is sometimes, when stressed, pronounced woo, and ao is found in wao'lot "he blew" (wālwat).

-ai becomes -ēi, -ēe (also ei, ee) e.g. in u'sēi "female markhor". ai > ae in zae "place", xwae'na:k "slippery".

9

Vowel harmony is very pronounced. Generally it is regressive: 'gorəm "I see": 'gorr "he sees", 'sterga "eye": plur. 'stē(ē?)rge, karr "work" (a ea. 4½): plur. ka'rōna (4½), 'k'elz "village", plur. 'k'elr, etc. But there is a slight difference between the ē's in 'oʔe "spring" and 'k'elz "village", and a marked one between the ə's in 'wiməm "I see", 'u'basəm "I take", 'gorəm "I see", 'moməm "I find" (ka'wom "I do").

The strong nasalization which takes place before a nasal + consonant has been mentioned above (A, 3). A weak nasalization

frequently takes place in the neighbourhood of a nasal, preceding or following, e.g. *la'sūnā* "hands".

C. STRESS AND TONE

1

Stress affects vowel-length. Unstressed long vowels become half-long, as finals frequently short: *'ko:r* "house": plur. *ko'runā*, *sā'ɽe:* "man": *'k'e:le* "village", *lā're:* "thou hast": *'xəze*, *xəze* "women". The stressed preverb *wu-* is lengthened: *'ʔo'manəla* "obeyed".

Stress probably affects the quality of vowels also, but this is uncertain.

2

Stressed syllables generally have a high, falling tone: *'xəzā* "woman": *xə's'tā* "beautiful", *'əgā* "garlic": *ə'gā* "shoulder", *'pā:jā* "leaf": *bā:jā* "eyelash". But in connected speech: *'xəzā xə's'tā dā* "the woman is beautiful", *xə's'tā xəzā dā* "it is a beautiful woman". Long, stressed syllables often have a high, level tone: *'rā:gē* "he came", but *'əgā* "garlic". Note: *zā 'rā:glām* "I came", but *zə 'rā:galē-iŋm* "I have come". *ə'gē:* "shoulders": *ə'gā* (sing.), *ə'bō:* "water" (abl.): *ə'bāh* (nom.).

SPECIMEN TEXTS

Ganj-i-Paštō, 1

'pa ɛəo 'zæ k'e: ɛəo 'ʔa:ləm 'ʊo | ɛə zə'ɽe: zə'ɽe: ɛr'r'ɽe: ɛ: 'ɛəo

In one place (in) one sage was, who old old rags by him one

zæ 'k'e:ɽe: ʊe: | o p'ə p'ag'ɽe: k'e: 'e: 'n'gaxtele ʊe: ||
place collected were, and in turban (in) by him tied-up were.

'zɑ:fiera 'xalko tɑ: 'gɑ:ɽa p'ag'ɽe: 'xka're:dəla | o pɑ 'k'e:
Outwardly people-to large turban it appeared, and inside

'e: də zɑ'ɽo: ɛr'r'ɽo: nɑ 'bəl sə 'nɑ'ʔo ||
of it (of) old rags from other what not was.

2. *The Sun and the North Wind*

(Cf. Peshawar Specimen in *Le Maître Phonétique*, April, 1927, p. 20)

də 'qutub 'ba:d ə 'n'ar pə jɑg'ɽa sɔ: | ɛr 'so:k
Of North wind and Sun in quarrel came, whether which

zo'ra:wer dɛ. || pa 'de: k'ɛr ɛə mo'sa:fər 'ra:ɣɛ | ce 'garma
strong(er) is at that (time) in one traveller came who warm

co'gar 'a:ɣosti wa || 'aga ɔ'u'e ce | 'har ɛəɔ ɛr ɔ'a:wəl
coat by him put on was. He said that: every one who first

də mə'sa:fɪr na co'ga 'ɔ:bəsɪr | 'aga bə də 'bəl na zo'ra:war
(of) the traveller from coat takes, he (of) other from strong(er)

ɔr || be'a də 'qotəb 'ba:d pə 'dɛr 'zo:r 'ra:ɣɛ | 'wele
may be. Then of North wind in great force came; but

'har 'səmra ɛr wəɔ'lot | no məs'a:fər ɛx'pələ co'ga 'no'ra
all whatever that he blew, then the traveller his coat only

't'ɪŋa kɪa | tər'dɛ: ɛr də 'qotəb 'ba:d 'ɔ:dre:d | bea 'nʷar
tight made, until that of North wind stopped. Then the Sun

dɛr 'te:ɛʒə(əʔ), o mo'sa:fər 'zər(zɪr) ʔx'pələ co'ga 'ɔ:ɪstɛla |
very sharp became, and the traveller quickly his coat took off,

o də 'qotəb 'ba:d 'da: 'ɔ:manələ | ɛr 'nʷar zo'ra:war dɛ ||
and of North wind this acknowledged, that the Sun strong(er) is.

URDU INTENSIVE AND PSEUDO-INTENSIVE VERBS

By D. C. PHILLOTT

(α) (1) The intensive compound is of commoner use than the simple verb. Practically every verb is made intensive¹ by prefixing the root of the simple transitive or intransitive verb, or the causal form, to one of the following "serviles":—*Lenā* "to take"; *denā* "to give"; *dālānā* "to hurl, drop, pour," etc.; *mārānā* "to strike, kill, destroy"; *jānā* "to go"; *parnā* "to fall" (gently or metaphorically), "to be in a lying position"; *uthnā* "to rise, stand up"; *baiṭhā* "to sit". The prefixed root remains unchanged, but the suffixed "servile" is regularly conjugated. The prefixed root gives the general meaning, but the suffixed "servile" modifies or intensifies this meaning. The shade of meaning may often be expressed in English by an adverb or by the tone of voice, as *baiṭhā* "to sit, be seated", but *baiṭh-jānā* "to sit down", *thagānā* "to cheat", *thag-lenā* "to cheat out of".

(2) While the simple and intensive forms are not identical in meaning, the simple form can often, but not always, be substituted with no more than some loss of force. It is sometimes no easy matter to render the exact shade of meaning given by a particular intensive.

(3) In *mahāwat hāthī kī gardan par swār hotā hai lekin Rājā ṣūḥib haude mē baiṭhe hai* "the mahout rides on the elephant's neck, but the Rājā in the *hauda*", you could not rightly say *baiṭh-jāte hai* without altering the meaning, for the latter would mean here "sits down" (instead of standing up). So, too, "the pulse has been cooked till it is soft" is *dāl gal galī*; you cannot substitute *galī hai*. *Ṣuḥbat burī milī* means "he happened to encounter evil company", but *ṣuḥbat mil-galī* "he fell into and associated with evil company and was affected by it". A study of the numerous examples given below illustrate the various shades of meaning and the loss of force that can result from the use of an incorrect compound. The Intensive and Pseudo-Intensive verbs are a difficulty that has been much slurred over in Grammars.

(4) The Intensives have all an inherent sense of completion, which has perhaps something to say to the fact that their Past Participles² (which already suggest completion) are not in use.

¹ This applies also to the Pseudo-Intensives.

² *Jannā* "to give birth to" has no intensive.

The particular servile used is fixed by usage, thus *hās-parṇā* "to burst out laughing (suddenly)" is used, but *hās-uthnā*, which might mean "to laugh out loud suddenly", is doubtfully correct.

(5) The serviles do not entirely leave aside their primitive meaning, as a close study of the following numerous examples will show.

(b) (1) The commonest intensives are formed with *lenā* and *denā*. *Lenā* refers the action back towards the doer, or implies "for the doer's benefit", while *denā* signifies the reverse, or is more imperious and implies "do it". Thus *nikāl-lenā* means "to take out" (towards oneself), but *nikāl-denā* is "to turn out" (away from oneself); *yih rūpiya bāt-lo* "take and divide this money amongst yourselves", but *yih rūpiya bāt-do* "give and divide this amongst them"; *yih khat(f) parh-lo* "read this letter to yourself", but *yih khat(f) parh-do* "read this letter to or for me"¹ (said by one illiterate); *ham āpas mē hās-lete* the "we were joking amongst ourselves", but *ham hās-dete* the "we were giving out laughter", i.e. "we laughed out at some provocation" or "we laughed out unrestrainedly at something"; *muskarā-lenā* "to smile at some provocation"; *muḥje ṣāhibne muṣibat se bachā-liya* "the ṣāhib saved me by pity, or took me under his protection", but . . . *bachā-diyā*² = "saved me and let me go my way, or saved me as a duty"; *baith-lenā* means "to take one's seat".

Koch-wān ne ghoṛe ho rok-liyā "the coachman pulled up his horse (towards himself)"; *poliswāle ne ghoṛe ko rok-diyā* "the policeman stopped the horse (from the front)"; *larke kamre se bāhīr jāte the ki ustād ne Ḥusayn ho rok-liyā* "the boys were going out of the room when the master stopped Ḥusayn (by calling him back from the door)"; *Ḥusayn bāhīr jāne hī ho thā hī ustād ne rok-diyā* "Ḥusayn was on the point of leaving the room when the master stopped him (by opposing him)".

(2) To take and do a thing may also suggest achievement, or doing a thing after effort, as: *sharḥo ko qabūl kartā hū*³ "I agree to the conditions", but *sharḥo ko qabūl kar-letā hū* "I (hesitatingly) agree to the conditions", or, if said with a certain inflection of voice, "well, I do agree to the conditions"; *māi ne imḥtīhān pās kar-liyā* "I have managed to pass my examination".

(3) *Lenā* may connote priority of action, as: (*Jab*) *Yih kitāb*

¹ = *parh ke sunānā* "read it aloud to me".

² Here, therefore, *denā* is not so polite as *lenā*.

³ Of course, were a particular word stressed by the insertion of the enclitic *to*, etc., the simple statement would be modified.

likh-lo (or *likh-chuko*) to *mujhe khabar denā* "when you have finished writing your book, tell me": here *likh-do* could not be used; *lenā* suggests here not only priority but also the property of the subject.

(4) *Denā* may also suggest greater decision or completeness both of time and action, or the result of an action, as: *Jab mai wahā gayā laykā hāstā thā* (not *hās-detā thā*) "when I went there the boy was laughing (i.e. was laughing before I arrived)", but *jab mai usko gudgudātā thā wuh hās-detā thā* "whenever I tickled him he laughed at it". *Jab mai thetar mē pahūchā us he do hī ek mināt peshtar darwāza kholā gayā thā* "when I arrived at the theatre I found that the doors had been opened just a minute or two before", but *mere pahūche se bahut pahle darwāza khol-di-yā gayā thā* "some time before my arrival the doors had been thrown open". *Wuh chal-di-yā* "he started off"; here *di-yā* indicates decision or intention.

(5) It is not always easy to decide on the exact difference between the two. For instance, a mistress might say to her cook, *wuh dahī mujhe chakhā-do*, or *chakhā-lo*, "give me a taste of that *dahī*." *Chakhā-do*, however, would mean "give me a taste for my benefit as I want it"; but if she were superintending the cooking she would say *mujhe chakhā-lo*, which would mean let me taste it for you so that I can tell you what it is like (fresh or stale ¹).

(6) Further examples of *Lenā* and *Denā* as intensives:—

<i>Shāhzāde ke ākh ūthālete hī—</i>	the moment the prince withdrew his gaze.
<i>Ro-denā</i>	to shed (a few) tears: the idea of <i>denā</i> here is to happen suddenly and stop suddenly.
<i>Ro-lenā</i>	to weep (for some time); to weep for some time and then stop; to have "a real good cry".
<i>So-lenā</i>	to sleep one's full.
<i>Ro-parnā</i>	to weep suddenly and to continue; to burst out crying.
<i>Muskurā-parnā</i>	to smile suddenly.
<i>Mujhe bachā-lo</i>	just save me (out of your pity, etc.).
<i>Mujhe bachā-do</i>	save me (more imperious, as though it were a duty).
<i>Dast khat(t) kījiye</i>	please sign.
<i>Dast khat(t) kar lijiye</i>	please sign this and keep it.
<i>Darwāza band kar-lenā</i>	to shut the door on oneself.

¹ Implying that she suspected the cook (*māmā*) was fraudulently supplying an inferior and cheaper quality of *dahī*.

Darwāza band kar-denā
Dast khat(i) kar-dījiye

Jūtā šāf kar-lo

Jūtā šāf kar-do

Maī ne ākhīr ko imtīhān pās
*kar-liyā*¹

[*Maī imtīhān pās kar-chukā*

Ba^ṣ sārjint ham logō kī bolī
*khāṣṣī tarh bol-lete*² *the*
Qaydī ne ākhīr zahr khā-liyā

*Zang lohe ko*³ *khā-lete hai*

Us ne rūpiye ko zamīn par dāl-
diyā

Us ne rūpiye ko apne jeb mē dāl-
liyā

Us ke ba^ṣd maī bhī ghore par char-
liya

Wuh us ke pichhe ho-liyā

Mere sāth ho-lo

Tum hārā kām ho-liyā

Jo honā thā wuh ho-liyā

Kal ta^ṣtīl hai, uskā kām āj kar-lo

Jab maī yih kām kar-lūgā tab
kisī dūstre kām kī taraf muta-
 wajjih hūgā

to shut the door against people.
 please sign this and return it
 to me.

clean your shoes (said to the
 wearer or owner).

clean the shoes and give them to
 so-and-so.

at last I have managed¹ to pass
 my exam: (*liyā* indicates that
 something is gained).

I have completed my examina-
 tion.]

some of the English sergeants
 spoke our language pretty well.
 the prisoner at last *managed* to
 swallow the poison: (*liyā*
 indicates difficulty).

rust eats *away* iron: (*liyā* because
 it takes away something).

he threw the rupee *down* on the
 ground (away from him).

he placed the rupee (or money) in
 his own pocket (*liyā* = for
 his own benefit).

after him, I *took my turn* in riding.

he followed him.

come with me.

is your business finished? (implies
 that the person addressed is
 doing the work).

what *was* to happen has happened
 (and is done with).

to-morrow is a holiday, do its
 work to-day: (manage to do
 it to-day).

when I have finished (will finish)
 this business of *mine*, I will
 attend to something else: (here
-lūgā means *my work*; if
kar-chukūgā were substituted
 it would mean anyone's work,
 while *kar-dūgā* would suggest
your work).

¹ "How did you manage to go there?" is *tum wahā kaise jāne pā^ṣe*: *jā-liye* would have the same meaning but it is not used.

² *Lete* indicates "managed to".

³ Note the *ko* to distinguish the (though indefinite) object from the subject.

<i>Zindagī ke dīn buṭṭse kāṭ liye ga,e</i>	life is passed pleasantly: (<i>liye</i> is used because something is gained; <i>diye</i> could not be substituted).
<i>Zindagī ke dīn taklīf se kāṭ diye ga,e</i>	life is passed in trouble: (here <i>diye</i> is used as nothing is gained).
<i>Jab maī khānā khā lū (= khā-chukā), tab ānā</i>	come, when I have finished my dinner.
<i>Samajh-liyā?</i>	got it? have you twigged my meaning?
<i>Sab sāmān ā-liyā</i>	have all the paraphernalia arrived? (completion).
<i>Maī usko jā,liyā</i>	I overtook him: (I went and overtook him). ¹
<i>Wuh mujhe ā-liyā</i>	he overtook me ¹ : (he came and overtook me).
<i>Maī ne yih bāt us se kah-dī</i>	I told him this clearly, or once for all.
<i>Likh-denā</i>	to write to or for someone else.
<i>Likh-lenā</i>	to write for oneself, or to finish writing and keep it.
<i>De-denā</i> ²	to give away (completion).
<i>Bhej-denā</i>	to send away.
<i>Aṣgharī aīsī bhoṭī na thī ki māmā kī bātko taslīm kar-letī</i>	Aṣgharī was not so simple as to believe the maidservant's explanation.
<i>In mē se ek ādmī ṭaṭṭū par kyā nahī ho-letā = chaṛh-letā?</i>	why is not one of the two there on the pony?
<i>Ab tum chaṛh-lo</i>	do you now take your turn in riding.
<i>Betā tum sawār ho lo</i>	son, do you become mounted.
<i>Bihishṭī ne kahā maī ne bādshāh kā mahall dekh-liyā aur bādshāh kī gaddī par baiṭh-liyā</i>	the <i>bihishṭī</i> said I have seen the king's palace and taken my turn on the king's throne.
<i>Samjhā-denā</i>	<i>samjhā-denā</i> if said to one being sent = explain thoroughly to him on my behalf; <i>samjhā-lenā</i> = take upon yourself to explain all.
<i>Samjhā-lenā</i>	to explain thoroughly.
<i>Le-lenā</i>	to take for oneself, to appropriate.
<i>Tayyār ho-lo</i>	get ready (said to one getting ready without assistance).

¹ Note the implications of *jānā* and *ānā* here.² *Denā* alone might mean "to hand".

[<i>Tayyār ho-jā, o</i>	go and get ready (implies motion, such as going into another room).]
<i>Tor-denā</i>	to snap and put aside.
<i>Tor-lenā</i>	to snap and gather up.
[<i>Tor-dālnā</i>	to smash or break into several pieces.]
<i>Zindagī ke dīn izzat se kāṭ diye</i> ¹	life is passed in honour : (1) <i>diyā</i>
<i>ga, e</i> (or <i>kaṭ liye</i> ² <i>ga, e</i>)	because the honour is from the performance of a duty, and (2) <i>liyā</i> ² because something is gained.
<i>Jab maī pahūch-liyā</i> ³ = <i>jab maī</i>	
<i>pahūch-chukā</i>	
<i>Sāp tumhe kāṭ-legā</i> (or <i>kāṭ</i>	the snake will bite you.
<i>khā, egā</i>)	
<i>Ghaṛe ko zamīn par girā-do</i>	let the <i>ghaṛā</i> drop on the ground or throw it down on the ground.
<i>Kah-denā</i>	to say clearly or once for all.
(c) (1) <i>Dālnā</i> "to hurl" as a servile indicates vehemence, as : <i>mārnā</i> "to beat, to kill", <i>mār-dālnā</i> "to kill outright" = <i>jān se mārnā</i> ; <i>khā-dālnā</i> "to eat hurriedly, to gobble down"; <i>kah-dālnā</i> "to speak out without concealment"; <i>de-dālnā</i> (= <i>zūr se de-denā</i>) "to throw money to (a beggar)"; <i>badal-dālnā</i> "to change completely, clothes, money (implies force); <i>badal-lenā</i> "to change for yourself, to keep the change", but <i>badal-denā</i> "change and give me"; <i>paṛh-dālnā</i> "to read through hurriedly and throw on one side for good"; <i>dekh-dālnā</i> "to look through, to 'do' a thing (in the American sense)", (implies a cursory view); <i>bech-dālnā</i> "to sell outright, get rid of".	
(2) Some further examples of <i>Dālnā</i> in Intensives :—	
<i>Maī ne khānā khā-dālā</i>	I hurried through dinner.
<i>Qaydī-ne zahr ko khā-dālā</i>	the prisoner hastily swallowed the poison.
<i>Maī ne imtīhān pās kar-dālā</i>	I have got rid of my examination : (indicates more dislike than <i>pās kar-chhoṛā</i>).
<i>Mai ne sūrā hāl kah-dālā</i>	I poured out the whole of the story.
<i>Kaṭ-dālnā</i>	to cut down, or to cut off.
<i>Bhes utār-dālo</i>	cast off your disguise.

¹ Dīhli idiom.² Lakhnau idiom.³ When any portion of a compound verb is intransitive, the agent case in *ne* cannot be used.

(d) *Mārnā* "to beat, to kill" as a servile gives the idea of force or hastiness, and hence may connote folly or impropriety. *Maī-ne bād shāh ko sīdhā likh-mārā* "I dashed off a letter to the king"; here *mārā* signifies without deliberation: *maī ne kitāb-khāne ko chhān¹-mārā* "I ransacked through the whole library"; (indicates thoroughness).

In *samandar lahrō ko patthar de-mārtā hai* or *de-patakā hai*, *mārnā* is not used as an intensive servile. The meaning of both verbs is retained.

*De-mārnā*² "to throw something at, to dash one thing against another" (meaning of both verbs retained).

In *maī ne uske sar par patthar de-mārā* "I threw a stone at his head and hit him", the *denā* implies that the stone left the hand of the thrower, and the *mārnā* that it hit; but *maī ne patthar se uskā sar kuchal-dālā* "I crushed his head with a stone".

(e) *Jānā* "to go"³ may express completeness or finality (i.e. going through to the end), to be "through" (in the American sense), or else it may express change of state, or going away,⁴ as: *Khā-jānā* "to eat up (go through quickly to the end)" and sometimes, as a pseudo-intensive, "to eat and depart"⁵; *gir-jānā*⁶ "to fall down"; *baith-jānā* "to sit down"; *dūb-jānā* "to sink down," to drown"; *āp khānā khā-ga*,⁷ "are you 'through' with your dinner?"; *mar-jānā* "to die (and leave for good)". In *āth hī mahīne ke ba'd sipāhī kī jagah mil-ga, lēkin*—"after a mere eight months I got the position of a regular sepoy but—", the *mil-ga, lē* gives the idea of after expectation. *Honā* "to be or to become" but *ho-jānā* "to become altogether"; the latter indicates a greater change of state, than the simple verb *honā* indicates.

Some further examples of *jānā* as a servile:—

<i>Tama' aīsī-burī chīz hai ki bayā</i>	covetousness is such a deceptive
<i>siyāna ādmī bhī is se dhokhā</i>	thing that the cleverest man
<i>khā-jātā hai</i>	even is absolutely deceived by it.

¹ *Chhānā* tr. "to sift, to search minutely". *Chhāt-lenā* "to explore, or sift and keep". *Chhān-dālā* "to ransack through"; *dālā* here not a servile.

² *De patakā* "to dash a thing at or down".

³ All verbs compounded with *jānā*, *ānā*, and *rahnā* are liable to be ambiguous, as these may retain their literal sense.

⁴ Literal meaning, vide note 3.

⁵ But *gir-parnā* "to fall down suddenly".

⁶ *Dūb-mārnā* "to die by drowning of one's own accord"; *dūbke-mārnā* "to be drowned accidentally".

- Ham ā-jā,ē*
Maī roktī kī roktī rah-ga,ī
 Ham ā-jā,ē
 Maī roktī kī roktī rah-ga,ī
 Maī apnā sā mūh lehar rah-gayā
 Ham mūh dekhte rah-ga,e
 Terī tadbīr khūb chal-ga,ī
 Apne apne ghar jāne kī ijāzat
 mil-ga,ī
 Wuh ku,ē mē gir-gayā
 [Wuh jāte jāte gir-parā
 Samajh-ga,e
 Sāhib ā-ga,e
 [Tis baras ke baʿd pinshan milī
 hai
 Tis baras ke baʿd pinshan mil-
 jāti hai
 Angrezī topī pahinne se sir mē
 dard ho-jātā hai (not hotā hai) ²
 Jab sāl tamām hu,a
 Jab sāl-tamām ho-gayā
 Ga,e kī itnī lambī dumholī hai hī
 uskā sirā uske mūh tak pahūch-
 jāti hai
 Do billiyō ko kahī se eh rotī
 mil-ga,ī
 Ab yih ʿaurat apnī sazā ko
 pahūch-ga,ī
 Awal to usko ghuṣṣa nahī ātā
 aur jo kabhī ā-jātā to ʿaql uskī
 thikāne nahī raktī
- shall we come in ?
 all my (fem.) hindering her was in
 vain ; I got " left " .
 I was left alone looking foolish.
 I remained witless, I remained
 looking blank, foolish.
 your plan came off, was crowned
 with success (contrary to
 expectation).
 they got permission to go to their
 respective homes (expectation).
 he fell in the well (and *went to*
the bottom).
 he fell down suddenly (or accident-
 ally) while he was going along ¹.
 have you *thoroughly* understood ?
 the *ṣāhib* has arrived (denotes
 anticipation).
 one gets a pension after thirty
 years (a mere statement), but
 after thirty years one *does indeed*
 get a pension, or gets it by
 regulation.]
 one gets a headache by wearing
 an English hat.
 at the end of the year (no idea
 of expectation).
 at the end of the year (idea of
 expectation).
 the cow's tail is sufficiently long
 to reach its face : (here *jānā*
 indicates change of position ;
pahūchti hai would mean
 habitually reaches).
 two cats somehow unexpectedly
 happened to get a loaf of
 bread : (*jānā* here indicates
 a welcome surprise).
 this woman has now got her
 deserts : (here *ga,ī* indicates
 after some time).
 in the first place he seldom got
 angry, but when he *did* he
 used to lose his head com-
 pletely.

¹ Statical.² *Hotā hai* "there is (always) a headache experienced".

Billī dabe pā,ō shikār he pās the cat stalks its prey: here *pahūch-jālī* might be used in speaking, but would not be so good, as the whole clause gives an intensive idea.

(f) All verbs compounded with *jānā*, *ānā*, and *rahnā* are liable to be ambiguous as these suffixes may be used in either a literal or an idiomatic sense. When a verb is both intransitive and transitive the suffixes *jānā* and *denā* may sometimes conveniently be used to differentiate, as: *wuh bahut ghabrā-gayā* "he got much upset" and *mujhe mat ghabrā-dotr.*: *wuh larā,ī mē (or ko) hār-gayā* "he lost the war"; *wuh rūpiya hār-gayā* = *us ne rūpiya hār-di-yā* "he lost the money"; *us ne sab dushmanō ko harā-di-yā* "he defeated his enemies"; *zakhm khujlātā hai* "my wound is itching"¹; *zakhm ko mat khujlā-do* (rare = *khujlā,o*). Vide also Pseudo-Intensives.

Rah-jānā "to be left behind, to get 'left'", generally implies some helplessness or ineffectiveness, as *laṛkā rotā hī rah-gayā* "the child 'got left' crying"; *hāth pā,ō rah-ga,e* "I (my limbs) am tired out".

(g) (1) *Parṇa* "to fall" lightly or metaphorically, to be in a fallen state, as a servile indicates suddenness or unexpectedness, and if possible action *downwards*, as: *Phisal parṇā* "to slip suddenly or unexpectedly"; *ghus-parṇa* "to enter suddenly and intrusively"²; *ho-parṇa* "to happen suddenly"; *ro-parṇa* "to fall weeping suddenly"; *chūlā-parṇā* "to burst out crying aloud" (with or without tears); *pāgal bhāgā aur kū,ē mē hūd-parā* "the madman fled and suddenly jumped down into the well"; *billī mez par dafṣatan kūd-ga,ī* (not *kūd-parī*) "the cat suddenly jumped (up) on to the table"; *billī dafṣatan kirkī mē se kūd ā,ī* "the cat suddenly jumped in at the window" (not *kūd-parī*). *Ṭūt-parṇa* always gives the idea of falling from a height *onto* or *into*, as: *uske ūpar chhat- ṭūt-parī* "the roof fell in upon him, broke and fell"; *pul yakāyak ṭūt-gayā* "the bridge suddenly broke", but *yakāyak ṭūt-parā* "suddenly fell into something". *Pul yak-ā-yak gir-gayā* "the bridge fell down suddenly", does not indicate so much suddenness as *yak-ā yak gir-parā*. *Parṇā* indicates much the same suddenness as *uthnā* q.v. as *muskurā parṇā* = *muskurā uthnā*.

(2) *Rah-parṇā* "to remain over", *ban-parṇā* "to be effected, managed", *le-parṇa* "to lie down with", are pseudo-intensives and contain no idea of suddenness: the literal meaning of both verbs

¹ *Zakhm mē khujlī hotī hai.*

² *Ghusā rakhā hai* "he remains as a visitor intrudingly".

is retained. *Mai kamzor thā is liye dushman kī (qismat) ban-parī*
 "I was weak and so my enemy got the upper hand".

(3) Further examples of *parṇā* in Intensives :—

<i>Wuh hās-parā</i>	he suddenly laughed, he burst out laughing.
<i>Chhallā nikal parā</i>	my ring has unexpectedly come off and fallen down.
<i>Wuh bol parā</i> ¹	he said unexpectedly.
<i>Larkī jāg-parī</i>	the girl awoke suddenly.
<i>Ā-parṇā (-par)</i>	to attack suddenly, to fall upon.
<i>Larā,ī ho-parī</i>	war broke out suddenly.
<i>Chhat tūt-parī</i> ²	the roof suddenly fell on someone.
<i>Chhat gir-parī</i>	the roof suddenly fell in (general).
<i>Chhat gir-ga,ī</i>	the roof fell down (general).
<i>Zor lagāne se gārī chal-parēgī</i>	the carriage will start off (suddenly) by pushing.
<i>[Apnī thailī usko yād parī</i>	the remembrance of his purse, suddenly occurred to his mind.]
<i>Ghore se jaldī utar-paro</i>	dismount at once.

(h) (1) *Uṭhnā* "to rise" (of action or voice, etc.) has an idea of suddenness³ and often corresponds to the English vulgarism "to up", as in "I up and hit him", or "did you up and sauce your mother?" It suggests starting up suddenly to do a thing, as: *Bol-uṭhnā*⁴ "to exclaim out"; *chillā-uṭhnā* "to cry out"; *hās uṭhnā* "to laugh out suddenly" (probably incorrect); *pukār-uṭhnā* "to shout out, to exclaim"; *bilbilā-uṭhnā* "to whine or sob out"; *kah-uṭhnā* "to say out (aloud and suddenly)." It has much the same force as *parṇā*, thus *ghabrā-uṭhnā* = *ghabrā-parṇā*; *mār-uṭhnā* = *mār-parṇā*, vide (j) (1).

(2) Further examples of *uṭhnā* in Intensives :—

<i>Ghar mē āg jal-uṭhī</i> ⁵	the house suddenly burst out into flames.
<i>Larkī nīnd se jāg-uṭhī</i>	= <i>jāg-parī</i> woke up suddenly.
<i>[Ghar mē āg lag-ga,ī</i>	the house caught fire.]
<i>[Ghar mē āg jal-parī</i>	a fire broke out in the house.]
<i>Ūchī āwāz se bolo, bātē chabū chabū</i>	kar mat bolo
<i>Kahī wuh pūchh-ūṭhe kī—</i>	suppose he asks right out, if—?

¹ *Bol-uṭhā* "he exclaimed, he said suddenly".

² *Parṇā* here indicates "falling down on".

³ It cannot be simply substituted for *parṇā*.

⁴ *Wuh bol-parā* "he unexpectedly said".

⁵ But of smouldering fire *bhāruk-uṭhnā* "to flare up".

[*Nayā makān qarār pā-gayā hai,*
*āp to us mē uth chalē*¹
Muḥammad Ṣāqil ghuṣṣe ke mārē
tharrā uthā
*Wuh dafṣat^{2a} ghabrā uthā*¹

the new house has been fixed on
 let us shift into it.]

Muḥammad Ṣāqil burst out trem-
 bling with anger.

he suddenly started up upset ;
 (the meaning of both words is
 retained).²

to start off at a run, to take to
 flight.

to run away.]

he suddenly smiled.

to beat suddenly.

*Bhāg-uthnā*²

[*Bhāg-jānā*
Mushurā uthnā
Mār uthnā

(i) (1) *Baiṭhnā* "to sit, to be seated" implies to be at leisure and often, as a servile, adds the idea of carelessness or aimlessness. It suggests sitting down after doing a thing (completion), or a change of position (suddenness). Hence it may connote impropriety or lack of forethought, as : *uth-baiṭhnā* "to sit up suddenly" (from a supine position) ; *kar-baiṭhnā* "to do suddenly without forethought or in an improper manner" ; *mār-baiṭhnā* "to beat suddenly in a burst of excitement (and hence without sufficient reason)" ; *de-baiṭhnā* "to fork out (pay up reluctantly, give and then sit down in dejection)" ; *kah-baiṭhnā* "to blurt out, to say tactlessly" ; *laṭ-baiṭhnā* "to begin fighting suddenly" ; *ghurak-baiṭhnā* "to scold suddenly (and then regret it)".

(2) Further examples of *baiṭhnā* in Intensives :—

Ai nā-murād laṭkī ! sūjh to, ultī
kaliyā lagā-baiṭhī

good-for-nothing girl, can't you
 see you have sewn on the frills
 upside down ?

Wuh aiśi aḥmaq nathī ki jald bigar-
baiṭhī

she was not so foolish as to get
 cross without a reason.

Jab tum qismat ko ro-baiṭhoge to—

when you despair of everything,
 give up all hope, then—

Wuh qismat ko ro-baiṭhā

he resigned himself to Fate : (com-
 pletion : he even finished weep-
 ing at his Fate).

Maī rūpiye ko kho-baiṭhā

I lost the money (unexpectedly
 or in an improper manner).

[*Maī ne rūpiye ko kho-dala*

I chucked the money away for
 nothing.]

[*Maī ne rūpiye ko kho-diyā*

I lost the money altogether, I
 definitely lost it.]

¹ Pseudo-intensive.

² *Bhāg kharā honā* "to run off in haste with long strides". *Kharā hai* in such cases is the opposite of *kar-baiṭhnā* "to sit down after doing".

[*Mujh se rūpiya kho-gayā*

*Afsos mai apnī gharī usko de-
baithā hū*

Wuh bahut sā rūpiya mār-baithā

[*Usne hamārā bahut sā rūpiya mār-
liyā*

Wuh merā haqq mār-baithā hai

*Ah! mai kaisī ghalafī kar-
baithā*

Wuh bigul bajā-baithā

Kahī wuh jhūt na bol-baithē

[*Kahī wuh jhūt na bol-uthe*

Wuh qāzī ho-baithā

[*Shāhjahān ke marne par uskā
betā Awrangzeb pādīshāh hu'ā*

*Pādīshāh ke marne par bihishtī
pādīshāh ban-baithā*

Maī ghātā de-baithā

I lost the money : implies it was
not my fault.]

alas I have *foolishly* given him
my watch (I wish I had not).

he embezzled quite a lot of money
(on a single occasion ; comple-
tion).

he embezzled quite a lot of my
money (over a long period.)

he has always deprived me of my
dues.

what a *thoughtless* mistake I have
made.

he (suddenly) sounded the bugle
at an improper time (or when
it was not wanted).

I hope he won't make a mis-
statement.

I hope he won't speak out a
falsehood on *purpose*.]

he (wrongfully) assumed the office
of *qāzī*.

on the death of Shāhjahān his
son Awrang-zad became king
(naturally).]

on the death of the king, the
bihishti became king (im-
properly, etc.).

I had to pay up the loss and that's
that (completion).

PSEUDO-INTENSIVES

(j) (1) Nearly allied to the Intensives are what I have ventured to name the Pseudo-Intensives. These are formed by prefixing the shortened form of the *Conjunctive Participle* to any suitable verb and so the meaning of both verbs is retained, as *khod-nikālānā* = *khodkar nikālānā* ¹ "to dig out". As the shortened form of the *Conjunctive Participle* happens to have a form now identical with the root,² only a knowledge of the language or the dictionary can help the student to distinguish between the two compounds. Ambiguity is further increased by the fact that in some cases a compound can be both an Intensive and

¹ *Nikālānā* is not a servile.

² Sir George Grierson has pointed out that this confusion of the Conj. Part. with the root is modern. In mediæval Hindi, as still in some dialects, the Conj. Part. ended in *i* as *kārī* (= *kar*).

a Pseudo-Intensive. Thus in *maī khānā khā-gayā* "I have eaten up my dinner"¹ the verb is intensive; but in *kuttā khānā khā-gayā* "the dog has eaten its dinner and gone away", the verb is a Pseudo-Intensive and can be used only if the dog has gone away. If it be desired to indicate that the dog stayed where it was, the expression is *kutte ne khānā-liyā*.

(2) Other examples of Pseudo-Intensives that might be mistaken for Intensives are: *Mā bachche ko le-parī*² "the mother lay down with her child"; *khānā thūs-baiṭhnā*³ "to sit down and stuff oneself with food"; *uwḥ dafʿatān ghabrā uṭha* (= *ghabrahar uṭha*)⁴ "he started up confused"; *bhāg-uṭhnā*⁵ "to start up and run"; *ko,ī shāʿir kah-gayā hai* "a deceased poet has said"; *fulān kitāb mujhe de-jā,o* "bring me such and such a book and then go"⁶; *jo kuchh sāhib tum se kahē uwḥ mujhe kah-jānā* "whatever the sāhib says to you come and report it to me"; *tum mujh se kah-ga,e the ki maī Lāhor jā,ūjā magar ab tak yihī ho* "you told me when you left me that you were going to Lahore, but you are still here".

Le-jānā (= *lekar jānā*)⁷ "to take away" and *urā-jānā* "to make to fly, to squander"; *de-ānā* "to give and return"; *de-jānā*⁸ "to give and depart"; *rok-rakhnā* "to bespeak, engage beforehand" are also not intensives.

(3) The shortened form of the Conj. Part. binds it closer to the main verb than its full form; thus *mīl-baiṭhnā* "to combine against", but *mīlkar baiṭhnā* "to meet and sit together". The second form suggests an interval of time between the two verbs.

(4) Further examples of Pseudo-Intensives:—

<i>Kawcā samjhā ki ghare ko kṛ,ī</i>	the crow thought, guessed, that
<i>chhoṛ-gayā hai</i>	someone had abandoned this
	<i>gharā</i> (left it and gone off).
<i>Sun-jā,o</i>	just listen before you go (said to
	one in a hurry).
<i>Lejānā</i>	to take away.
<i>Le-chalnā</i>	to take and start.

¹ No idea of going away.

² *Parā* here is not a servile and does not suggest suddenness.

³ *Baiṭhnā* here not a servile.

⁴ *Uṭhnā* is not a servile.

⁵ *Bhāg kharā honā* "to run off in haste with long strides". *Kharā* in such cases is the opposite of *kar-baiṭhnā* "to sit down after doing".

⁶ This might be said to a person in the next room.

⁷ The Conjunctive Participle *le-jākar* is in common use.

⁸ *Maī kuchh rupai tum ko detā jā,ā* "I will give you some money before I go".

Urā-lejānā

Lā-phasānā

Bhāg-nikalnā

Tum apnī taraf se koshshish kar-
chhoṛo

De-chhornā

Kirnō ne ākhīr musāfir ko thakā
hī kar-chhoṛā

Ghasūt-lejānā

Khūb, mere wāste do jagah parsō
ke tūge mē kah-rakho or rok-
rakho

Do "rizarō" jagah mere wāste
rok-rakho

Pahre-wāle ne merī motar ko ek
ghantā¹ rok-rakhā

Is bāt ko sun-rakho

Maī ne koī bāt kahne se uṭhā
na-rakhā²

Is hitūb ko uṭhā-rakho

Is dastūr ko uṭhā-rakhā

Us ne mujhe tang kar-rakhā hai

Is bāt ko samajh-rakho

Tarkārī āp he liye tayyār kar-
rakhī³

Tambāko pīnā ḥarām kar-rakhā

Maī ne ākhīr imtiḥān pās kar (or
karke) chhoṛā⁴

Maī imtiḥān pās karke rahā⁴

[*Maī ne imtiḥān pās kar-liyāṛā*

Ākhīr maī ne bhūt ko nikāl chhoṛā
or nikāl-kar chhoṛā⁵

to abscond with living beings
(human or otherwise).

to bring and snare.

to flee forth.

have a good try (and leave the
rest to luck).

to give away completely (to one
who can keep it).

at last the rays of the hot sun
left the wayfarer quite tired out.
to drag away.

all right, book me two seats by
the tonga for the day after
to-morrow.

book two theatre stalls for me.

the sentry detained my motor
for an hour.

heed this (and keep it in your
mind).

I left nothing unsaid.

take up this book and keep it.

he abolished this custom (took
it up and put it aside).

he has kept me in a position of
discomfort.

bear this in mind.

he has got ready vegetables for
you some time ago.

he made tobacco unlawful and
kept it so.

I eventually with difficulty passed
my examination (expresses
relief).

I was contented only when I
passed my exam.

I have managed to pass my
examination (achievement and
completion).]

at last I managed to expel the
ghost.

¹ Or *ek ghante tak*.

² The idea is of taking up a thing and down only when done with.—Kempson.

³ Not *lī* or *kar-lī hai*, which would mean "has lately got ready".

⁴ I rested only when I had passed.

⁵ Or not so good *nikāl-pāyā*: no *ne* before *nikāl-pāyā*.

<i>Maī ne imtiḥān pās kar-ḍālā</i>	expresses more dislike than <i>kar-chhoṛā</i> .
<i>Ham jumʿa masjid ko deḥh ā, e hai</i>	we have seen, and returned from, the congregational mosque.
<i>Maī khud āp ke hamrāh ho-ātā hū¹</i>	I am going to accompany you.
<i>Maī ḍāk khāne se ho-āyā hū</i>	I have been to the post and come back.
<i>Īshwar ne sab kuchh de-rakhā hai</i>	God has <i>kept</i> him affluent.
<i>Wuh donō mere khilāf mil-baiṭhe</i>	those two combined against me.
<i>Daryā charḥ-āyā</i>	the river has risen <i>up</i> (in our direction ²) in flood.
<i>Achchhā, jā, o kar-ā, o³</i>	all right go and do it and come back (said only to a person present).
<i>Usko karke³ ā, o</i>	(said either to one present or at a distance.)
<i>Tum apnī tarafse hoshish har-chhoṛo</i>	have a good try and leave the rest (to luck or to God).
<i>Kal tak kitāb ko paṛh chhoṛāgā</i>	I shall have <i>quite</i> finished and put aside the book by to-morrow; (more emphatic than <i>paṛh-chukāgā</i>).
<i>Ai ʿawrato, tum ne apne hāthō apnā waqr kho-rakhā hai</i>	O Women! by your own doing you have <i>kept</i> yourselves in an <i>undignified</i> position.
<i>Kisī tarḥ kām chal-niklā</i>	the business somehow managed to get a start.
<i>Guzar-chhorna</i>	to pass over <i>completely</i> .
<i>Sikh-rakhnā</i>	to learn a trade (<i>by way of precaution against poverty</i>).
<i>Injan itnī gāriyō ko khīch le-jātī hai?</i>	can the engine pull along so many carriages?
<i>Jab sūraj ūchā charḥ ātā hai</i>	when the sun rises high; (the idea is that the sun rises towards one: <i>charḥ-jātā hai</i> would be wrong). ⁴
<i>Khandaq ko khod-ḍālo and khandaq ko khodkar ḍālo</i>	dig out the ditch (the ditch being the object): both these have much the same meaning, but the second indicates a greater interval of time. But <i>khod-nikālo</i> and <i>khod kar nikālo</i> "dig <i>something</i> " out from the ditch.

¹ Present tense for immediate future.

² *Daryā char-gayā hai* has much the same meaning, but has not quite such an imminent meaning.

³ The shortened form *kar* joins the two verbs closely, the fuller form *karke* implies an interval.

⁴ But *ḍāb-jātā hai* for the setting sun.

(l) PSEUDO-INTENSIVES FORMED WITH *Rahnā**Ākhir ro dhokar baiṭh rahā*¹he sobered down at last after much lamentation; (*baiṭh-rahā* = he sat down in that state of mind).*Maī so rahā = maī so-gayā*

I composed myself to sleep, I went to sleep naturally.

Tumhē sharm ke māre mar-rahnā chāhiye

you ought to "drown yourself" (die on purpose), from shame.

Jaldī kyā hai, kām ho-rahegā

what's the hurry, it will be accomplished of itself (some time or other);

Abhī abhī ho-jā, egā (not *ho-rahegā*)but
it will get done soon.*Kaewā samjhā ki kuch na kuchh pānī to zarūr hī mil-rahegā*the crow said to itself I shall almost certainly get water there: (here *zarūr* and *rahegā* modify each other).*Chirāgh jalte jalte maī so rahūgā*
(or *so-jā, ūgā*)

whilst the lamp is still burning I will go to sleep.

Dam ṭorkar rahegā

he will exhaust himself in the effort.

Dam ṭorkar rah-gayā

he exhausted himself.

*Taqḍīr mē hogā tophir gum-shuda bachcha mil rahegā*if Fate please, you will recover the lost child: (here *rahegā* means "and he will remain with you").*Chūhā parde ke pīchhe ho-rahā*

the mouse went behind the screen and kept there for some time.

*Layke ne kahā ki pānī ke bāhir yih machhliyā mar-rahī hai*the boy said, these fish are dying from being out of the water: (here *mar-rahī hai* is the immediate or pure present² tense).*Maī imtīhān pās kar-ke rahā*

I did finish the exam.

Maī ne imtīhān pas kar-chhorā

somehow or other I passed (and won't face it again).

Giddh ne ḍkhē band karke so-rahā
(or *so-gayā*)

the vulture closed his eyes and settled to sleep.

(k) Pseudo-Intensives formed with *chalnā* "to start". *Bol-chalā* "he started speaking" = *bolne lagā*; *bārah bag-chalē* "it is on the stroke of twelve", *lit.* "it has begun to strike twelve".

(l) (1) If both elements of an Intensive or a Pseudo-Intensive

¹ But *baiṭhā-rahā* "he remained sitting".

² *Jātā hai* "he goes" is an Aoristic Present; *jā-rahā hai* "he is going now" Pure Present.

are transitive, the Conjunctive Participle and the Passive voice can be used as *mār dālkar* "having killed", *dhāk rakhkar* "having kept covered"; *wuh mār dālā gayā thā* "he was killed". But if one element of the compound is neuter these parts of the intensive are not used, thus: *gir-parkar*, *bol uṭhar*, *khā jākar bhāg nikalhar* cannot be said.

Kar-dikhāyā gayā "it was done and shown"; *kar-chhoṛā-gayā* "it was done and left"; *parde khīch rakhe gaye* "the curtains were kept drawn", are correct.

For the murdered soldier you cannot say *mār-dāla hu,ā sipāhī*, but *khūn kiyā hu,ā* or *mārā hu,ā* or *maqtūl sipāhī*.

(2) *Pakar lākar* "having arrested and brought" are not one compound but two separate verbs.

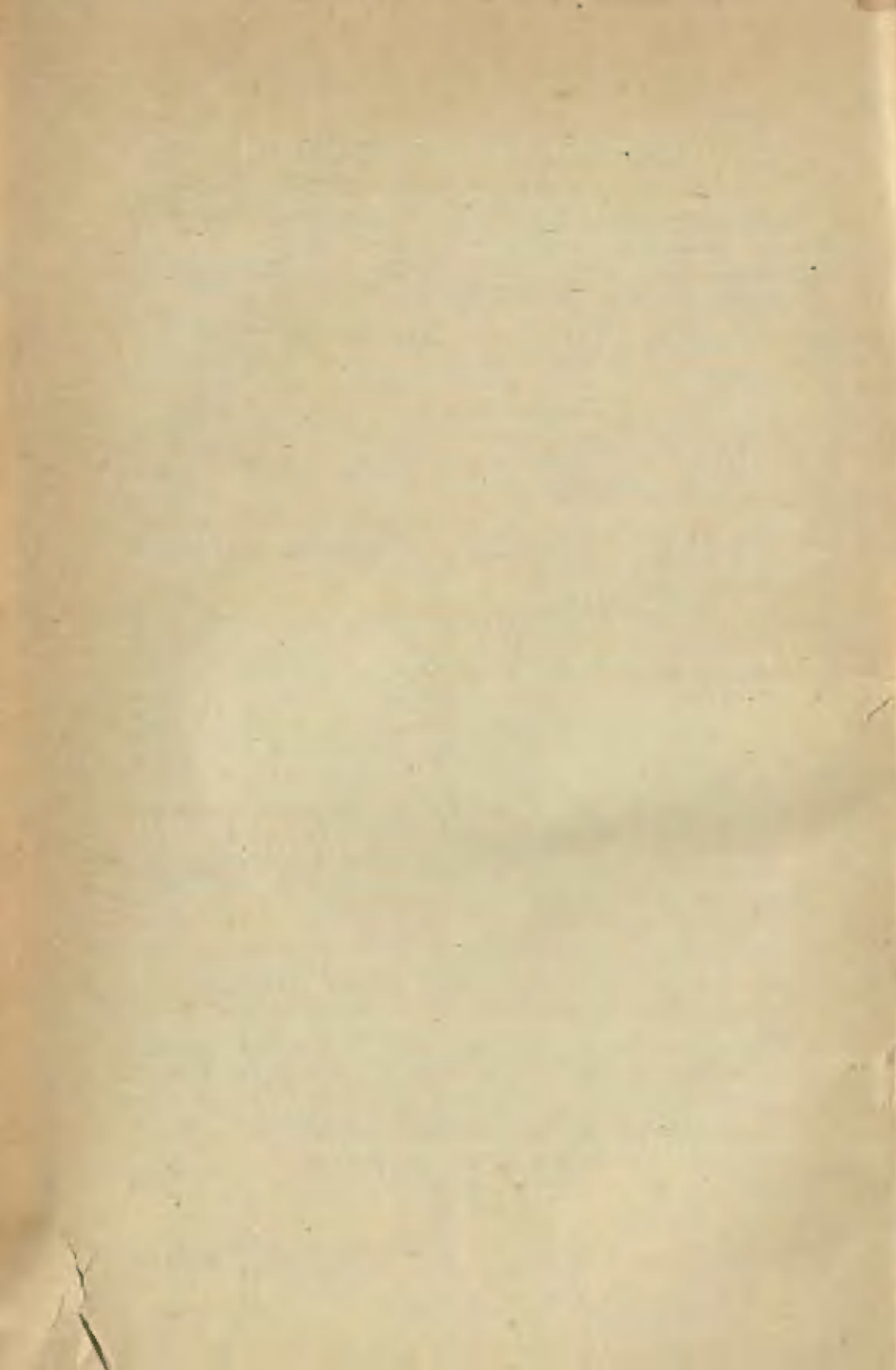
(3) *Le-jāhar* and *lākar* (*le-āhar*) are however correct, perhaps because they are regarded as two single verbs.

(4) *Le-jāyā gayā* the passive is used.

(o) (1) Intensives are not ordinarily used in the negative. An Intensive intensifies the action and a negative negatives it, so the two cannot be used together. Exceptions are clauses implying expectation or exception, conditional clauses, clauses after *jab tak*, *kahī* "I fear lest", and interrogations expecting the answer "yes" or intended to remove doubt, as: *usko chhoṛ-do* but negatively *usko mat chhoṛo*: *chhoṛ mat do* indicates expectation of release. *Do to sahī maī use khā na jā,ūgā* "well, give it to me, I am not going to eat it up (as you seem to expect)". *Unko is bāt kī bayā khayāl thā kī kahī goī kī mār ke andar na ā-parē* "they took good care not to come within range"; *wuh mar nahī¹ gayā* "he did not die (as you expected)". *Maī ne kāṭ nahī dālā, faqat chhīlā hai* "I did not cut it down, I merely peeled it"; *kyā us ne darakht ko kāṭ nahī dālā* "what, did he not cut down the tree?"

NOTE.—The above compounds have been chiefly extracted from *The Bride's Mirror* and have been discussed with a Hindu gentleman of Delhi (a graduate of Cambridge), a Muslim resident of Lakhnau (a graduate of Allahabad) and with several other Indian gentlemen who have been for some years resident in England.

¹ Note position of *nahī*.



A CHAPTER FROM THE ULIGER-UN DALAI

By S. YOSHITAKE

THE Buddhist Birth-Stories have spread widely among the Mongols chiefly in two collections: the *Üliger-ün Dalai* (The Ocean of Parables) and the *Altan Gerel* (Golden Gleam). The former, according to Professor Berthold Laufer,¹ is an adaptation of the *mDzains-blun*, the Tibetan translation contained in the *Kandzur* of the Chinese 賢愚經, which has been edited and translated into German by I. J. Schmidt under the title *Dzanglun oder Der Weise und der Tor*. In the preface² of his work Schmidt points out that while the two versions, Tibetan and Mongolian, agree in the main, the tales in the Mongolian text have been amplified and paraphrased, often with supplementary matter not found in the Tibetan version, although in the latter are found in places short passages which the Mongolian version has not.

Professor J. Takakusu,³ on the other hand, is inclined to doubt the Tibetan origin of the Mongolian text on the ground that in the second chapter of the *Üliger-ün Dalai* the phrase "thousand princes" is erroneously given as "ten princes", and that such a mistake can only arise from a mis-reading of the Chinese character 千 as 十.

However that may be, that the Mongolian text resembles closely both the Tibetan and the Chinese versions will be seen from my translation of the fifth chapter of this work which I give here with the corresponding Chinese text. For the translation the Mongolian text contained in Kowalewski's *Chrestomathy*⁴ has been used, while the Chinese text has been taken from the 大正新修大藏經.⁵

In the present transliteration the words spelt inaccurately in the original text have been corrected and are marked with an asterisk. The same applies also to the dative-locative termination -tur or -tür used with a noun ending in a vowel or the consonant n or l, which I have altered arbitrarily into the more usual form -dur or -dür, although I have seen this somewhat abnormal use of -tur or -tür in a certain Buddhist Manuscript.

¹ Б. Я. Владимирцовъ: Очерк монгольской литературы (a translation of B. Laufer: *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*. *Keleti Szemle-Revue Orientale*, viii, 1907). Ленинград, 1927, p. 58.

² Vol. i, pp. xvi, xvii.

³ J. Takakusu, "Tales of the Wise Man and the Fool, in Tibetan and Chinese": *JRAS.* 1901, p. 459.

⁴ О. Ковалевский: Монгольская хрестоматия. Казань, 1836, vol. i, pp. 5-13.

⁵ Vol. iv, pp. 334-5.

dalai-daki tegri asagugsan-u jüil ann ene bui.

This is the chapter concerning the
Questions of the God of the Sea.

品問海
第船神
五人難

eyin kemen minn sonusugsan nigen čag-tur, ilaju tegüs nügčigsen
burqan ann siravasun balgasun-dur ilagugčı qan köbegün-ü četeglig-tür
itegel ügei idegen öglige-tü ger-ün ejen-ü bayasqulaq-un küriyen-dür*
sagun amui.

Thus have I heard. The most
enlightened and perfect (*bhagavān*) Buddha
was once staying in the city of *Śrāvastī*, in
the pleasure-garden of the house-holder
Itegel ügei idegen öglige-tü (giver of food to
the unprotected: *anātha-piṇḍada*) in the
park of Prince *Ilaḡugčı* (conqueror: *jetr*).¹

園樹舍一如
給衛時是
孤國佛我
獨祇在聞。

tere čag-tur, tere gajar-taki tabun jagun tedüi qudaldučı kümün
dalai-dur* erdeni abun yabuqui-dur, eyin jüblertün, bide edeger
kümün-ü dotor.a ann nigen sayın uduridugčı kümün ügei bügestü tülü
bolumu kemeldüged, tere gajar-taki nigen ubası-yi uduridugčı bolgan
abugad, dalai-dur odsugai kemen jübsiyeldüjü.

At that time, five hundred merchants
of the same city contemplated an expedition
out to sea in quest of gems, and came to an
agreement: "We need an able leader
among our crew. Let us nominate an
Ubaşı (*upāsaka*) of the town as a leader,
and then set out in our quest."

人議海五爾
用言探百時
作當寶買此
導求自客國
師明共入有

tedüi tere ubası-yi abugad, dalai-dur orugad tüb dumda kürtigsen-
dür, dalai-daki tere tegri ann ması aynqu mettü qab qar.a önge-tü
soyogaban degegside irjayıgsan terigtün-dür-iyen gal sitagagčı teyimü
nigen rakša bolun qubilugad teden-ü dergede ireged, ai kümün ta ene
onggoča-ban nadur ög kemen ögüleged.

¹ ilagugčı qan köbegün-ü četeglig-tür . . . bayasqulaq-un küriyen
corresponds to *Jeta-vana Anāthapiṇḍada-ārāma*, 祇樹給孤獨園. Some-
times the phrase *ger-ün ejen-ü* (of the house-holder) is replaced by *qotala*
(whole, entirely).

Taking thus an *Ubaši* as their leader they put out to sea. When, however, they reached mid-ocean, the God of the Sea approached them, in the assumed form of a jet-black *Rakša* (demon: *rakshas*) of a dreadful appearance, with its head ablaze and its fangs turned upwards, and said to them, "Give me this ship of yours, Men!"

其牙其一海塞便
船頭色夜中共請
上青叉海入一
火黑形神大五¹
燃口體變海戒
來出醜身既優
牽長惡作到婆

basa kü eyin kemen asagur-un, ai tan-u ulus-tur nadur adali masi ayugulugöi eyimü kümün buyu, kemen asagbasu uduridugöi ubasi ögüler-ün, éimača neṅ masi ayugulugöi teyimü kümün manu ulus-tur bui kemen ögölgesen-dür, dalai-yin tegri ögüler-ün, teyimü bui bügestü tere ken gegöi bui kemen asagugsan-dur,

"Is there in your world," continued the God, "any one who is as dreadful as I?" To this the *Ubaši*, the leader, answered, "In our world, there are men who are much more dreadful than thou." "If that is so, who are such men?" the God insisted.

者海畏對我問問
是神劇曰者可估
耶復汝更無畏客
問數有賢有曰
何倍可者過世

ubasi ögüler-ün, manu tere ulus-tur muṅqag teneg nigül-tü üles-i durabar üiledügöi amin nitulqu ba, ese ögögösen-i buligöi ba, burugu küsel-iyer tačiyagöid ba, qudal ögüleḡöid ba, endekü üges-i ögüleḡöid ba, qagurmag ögüleḡöid ba, sirigün ögüleḡöid ba, yeke urin tačiyangui-tu ba, magu üjel-iyer yabuqui teyimü kümün anu törül yegüdgeju amitan-u tamu-dur* törüged,

"In our world," answered the *Ubaši*, "there are stupid and ignorant men who wilfully commit sinful acts, such as, for example, taking a man's life, taking things which have not been given to them, indulging in sensual pleasures, speaking lies, talking nonsense, using abusive and slanderous expressions, saying rude things, flying into passions, and behaving themselves in unseemly ways; such men will be born in a living-hell at rebirth."

入瞋舌姪諸答
地悲惡嫉不曰
獄沒口無善世
受在綺度殺有
苦邪語妄生愚
萬見貪言盜人
端死欲兩竊作

¹ "Of five precepts" is not in the Mongolian text.

tamu-yin sakigulsun erlig-üd-te barigdaju, jarim-dur anu meses-iyer çabçin esgeged, jarim-dur anu terge-dür* külijü keseg keseg oğtaçin, jarim anu aguur-tur kijü nitugad, jarim anu tegermen-dür tegermeden, jarim anu ildü-tü agulan dabagulun, jarim anu gal-un ögças-tur tülegdeged, jarim anu jes togogan-dur müstin ba magu burdag usun-dur çinaju*, jagun mingan jil boltala testekü tügei teyimü eldeb jobalaç-i üjegçi tere kümün anu çimadaça ülemji ayuqu metü bolai, kemen ögüleksen üges-i dalai-yin tegri sonusugad saça ültü üjegden odbai.

"They will be dealt with by the *Erlig*, the watchmen of hell," he went on. "And, some of them will be cut to pieces with the sword, some will be tied up to a cart and torn to pieces, some will be crushed or milled to death in a mortar or in a mill, while some will be forced to walk over a hill of swords. Besides, some may be burnt on a burning pile, while others are boiled in a copper in foul and icy water. Now, these men who undergo such unbearable tortures for a hundred thousand years are, it would seem, much more dreadful than thou." As soon as he had heard these words spoken to him, the God of the Sea disappeared.

獄卒阿傍。取諸罪人。種種治之。或以刀斫。或以車裂。分壞其身。作數千段。或復臼擣。或復磨之。刀山劍樹。火車鑊湯。寒水沸屎。一切備受。荷如此苦。經數千萬歲。此之可畏。劇汝甚多。海神放之隱形而去。

basa kü dalai-dur* yabun atala, dalai-daki tere tegri anu masi qatagsan sirbusun yasun-dur* torugsan teyimü nigen kümün bolun qubilun ireged, eyin ögüler-ün, ai kümün ta ene ongoça yugan nadur ög kemen ögüleged,

So they went further out to sea, when the God of the Sea appeared again, but this time in the form of a man completely withered and reduced to skin and bone, and said to them, "Give me this ship of yours, Men!"

復筋形化海船。來骨體作神進。牽相瘠一復數。船連瘦人更里。

basa eyin asagur-un, ai kümün tan-u ulus-tur yadan qatagsan, sirbusun yasun-dur* torugsan eyimü kümün buyu kemen asagugsan-dur*, tere uduridugçi çibasi ögüler-ün, manu ulus-tur çimadaça ülemji

yadan qatagsan teyimü olan bültge, kemen ögülebesü, dalai-yin tegri ögüler-ün, teyimü bui ele bügestü, teyimü ken gegüi bui.

"Is there in your world," continued the God, "any one who is worn to a shadow like me?" The *Ubaši*, the leader, answered, "There are in our world many people who are much more emaciated and withered than thou." "If that is so, who are such men?" the God insisted.

復汝有無羸問
劇海羸賢瘦諸
耶神瘦者有人
復甚答劇曰
問劇言我世
誰於更者問

kemen asagbasu, ubasi ögüler-ün, manu ulus-tu munqag teneg qaram sedkil-tü, ayidangui* sedkil-tü, öglige ülü öggügöi, teyimü kümün anu törül yegüldgejü birid-tür törtüged. bey.e anu yeke agula-yin tedüi, qogulai anu teben.e-yin sübe-yin tedüi, üstün-iyen uriyalduju yadan qatagsan olan jagun mingan od boltala, usun-u ner.e-ber ülü sonusugöi tedeger anu cimača masi ülemji buyu, kemen ögüleged sača ülü üjegden odbai.

To this the *Ubaši* answered, "In our world are stupid and ignorant men of an avaricious and envious nature who would give nothing in charity. They will be born at rebirth as a *Birid* (the Monster of Hades: *preta*) whose body is as large as a mountain while its throat is as small as the eye of a needle." "These men," continued the *Ubaši*, "who are emaciated and withered, with their hair rough and matted, and who have not heard the word 'Water' for many hundreds of thousands of years, indeed outstrip thee." And, no sooner had the *Ubaši* spoken these words than the God disappeared.

汝不髮餓惡賢
海識長鬼怪者
神水亂身貪答
放穀形大嫉曰
船如體如妬有
沒是黑山不愚
而之瘦咽知癢
不形數如布人
現復千針施心
劇萬鼻死性
於歲頭墮弊

tendece basa činagsi odun atala, dalai-daki tegri anu masi goo.a üjesküleñ*-tü teyimü nigen kümün bolun qubilju ireged, eyin ögüler-ün, ai kümün ta ene ongoča yugan nadur ög kemen ögüleged, basa eyin asagur-un, ai kümün tan-u ulus-tur minu mettü sayin üjesküleñ*-tü kümün buyu.

Again the merchants sailed forth. The God of the Sea appeared yet once more, this time in the form of a person with a most beautiful figure and great charm, and said to them, "Give me this ship of yours, Men!" "Is there in your world," continued the God, "any one as beautiful and elegant as I?"

船行數里。海神
復化更作一人。
極爲端政。復來。
牽船問諸商客。
人之美妙。有與
我等者無。

kemen asagugsan-dur, ubasi ögüler-ün, čimača jagun mingan ilegü ülemji sayin üjeskülen-tü kümün manu ulus-tur bui kemen ögülebestü, dalai-daki tegri ögüler-ün, nadača neq ülemji sayin üjeskülen-tü ken gegči bui kemen asagbasu,

The *Ubaši* replied, "There are in our world people who are a hundred thousand times more beautiful and elegant than thou." "Who are the people," demanded the God, "who are much more beautiful and elegant than I?"

賢者答曰。乃
有勝汝百千
萬倍。海神復
問誰爲勝者。

ubasi ögüler-ün, manu ulus-tur tegüs mergen oyutu, qotala tegüs buyan-i üiledügsen bey.e kelen sedkil-ün üiles ugugata arigun bolugsan gurban erdenis-i masi süsül-ün bisiregči, yambar ba ed bui ele bügestü, teden-i takil-un ed bolgan takigčid,

Answering, the *Ubaši* said, "In our world, there are people who are wise and prudent, and who maintain the works of their body, tongue, and mind, in absolute purity by observing perfectly the ten meritorious deeds, and who pay great respect to the *Gurban erdenis* (three jewels: *triratna*) by offering them whatever they possess."

賢者答曰。世有
智人。奉行諸善
身口意業。恒令
清淨。信敬三寶。
隨時供養。

tedeger kümün anu törül yegüdgedeged, sayin törül-tü tegri-ner bolun törtüged, masi goo.a üjeskülen-tü önge sayitu čim.a-ača jagun mingan ilegü ülemji bui.j.a; tegün-lüge čimai adalidqabasu, balai bečün arsalan qoyar-i adalidqagsan-dur* adalı bolai.

"These people," continued the *Ubaši*, "will be born at rebirth as heavenly beings of good lineage with a beautiful and fine appearance, who surpass thee a hundred, nay a thousand times. To compare thee with these beings is equal to comparing a blind monkey with a lion."

編以於端天其
猴汝汝政上人
比方數無形命
彼之千雙貌終
妙如萬殊皎生
女瞎倍勝潔於

tedüi dalai-daki tegri anu nigen alag.a dügüreñ usun abugad, eyin ögüler-ün, ai ubasi-a dalai-yin usun yeke buyu, alagan-daki usun yeke buyu kemen asagugsan-dur*, ubasi ögüler-ün, alagan-daki usun yeke bui.j.a. dalai-yin usun üügüken buyu, kemen ögülebestü.

Thereupon the God of the Sea scooped up a handful of water and said, "Which is greater, O *Ubaši*, the water in the sea or that in the hand?" "The water in the hand," answered the *Ubaši*, "is greater and that in the sea less."

水賢水而海
多者多問神
非答海之取
海曰水曰水
水掬多掬一
也中耶中掬

dalai-yin tegri ögüler-ün, ai ubasi dalai-yin usun üügüken bolugad, alagan-daki usun yeke kemektü éinu qudal buyu.j.a. kemen ögülebestü, ubasi ögüler-ün minu ene üge ünén bui.j.a. qudal busu bui, ünén yusun-i anu ögülestügei, éi-bar sayitur sonus, yerü dalai-yin usun yeke kemektü éinu ünén bui atala, éag-tagan kürbestü magad sirgimtü.

Then the God of the Sea asked, "Is not, O *Ubaši*, thy declaration that the water in the sea is less, and that that in the hand is greater possibly a false statement?" "This my statement is true and is not false," answered the *Ubaši*. "I will prove its verity, so listen thou well. Whilst the water in the sea is usually greater, as thou rightly deemest, it will certainly be exhausted in the course of time."

必有枯竭
何以明之
此言真諦
爲至誠不
海神重問
汝今所說
賢者答曰
不虛妄也
海水雖多

galab ebderektüi éag-tur, ene naran-ača öber-e ba, nigen naran garugad bulag ba, qamug üüken usun sirgimtü. gudagar naran garbasu qamug üüken müred sirgin qatamui. dödüger naran garbasu qamug* yeke urusqu müred sirgimtü. tabdagar naran garbasu yeke dalai-yin usun-u jarim inu bagurayu.

"When *galab* (*kalpa*), the Age of Destruction, is here," he went on, "from the present sun will emanate another, and the two will dry up all the springs and ponds. With the emanation of a third sun, all the small brooks will be rendered dry; with the emanation of a fourth sun, all the larger streams will be exhausted, while with the appearance of a fifth sun, the water in the ocean will begin to decrease."

五	諸	悉	三	泉	劫
日	大	皆	日	源	欲
出	江	枯	出	池	盡
時	海	乾	時	流	時
大	悉	四	諸	悉	兩
海	皆	日	小	皆	日
稍	枯	出	河	旱	豈
減	竭	時	水	涸	出

jirgudugar doludugar naran garbasu, yeke dalai-bar sirgin qatagad sümbür agula-bar tüllegden sitagad, nigedüger diyan-ača inagsida sitayu.

"When a sixth¹ and a seventh sun emanate," he continued, "great oceans will completely dry up, and Mt. *Sümbür* (*Sumeru*) will catch fire and everything from the first *diyan* (*āhyāna*) region down to this material world will be completely reduced to ashes."

地	崩	海	滅	六
際	壞	水	二	日
皆	下	都	七	出
悉	至	盡	日	時
焦	金	須	出	三
燃	剛	彌	時	分

ken kümün masi čin bisirel-tü sedkil-iyer alag.a düğüren usun-iyar burqan-dur takil ergüged, bursan quvarag-ud-i takigsan ba, ečige eke-dür ergüged, ügeğü guyilinci ba, ariyatan kiged-tür ögbesü, tegüntü buyan anu *galab*-tur kürtele barasi ügei bolqu-yin tula buyu.j.a. teyimü-yin tula dalai-yin usun üčügükün bolugad, alagan-daki usun yeke bolqu yusun teyimü bolumui.

"If, on the other hand, one makes an offering, with a sense of ardent devotion, of a handful of water to Buddha or to the Spiritual Assembly, or dedicates the same to one's parents or gives it to the poor or to the wild beasts, one's meritorious deeds will never die till the end of the world.² It is therefore the order of nature that the water in the sea is less and that that in the hand is greater," he concluded.

海	歷	窮	施	一	若
爲	劫	給	僧	掬	復
少	不	與	或	水	有
掬	盡	禽	奉	供	人
水	以	獸	父	養	能
爲	此	此	母	於	以
多	言	之	或	佛	信
	之	功	句	或	心
	知	德	貧	用	以

tedüi dalai-daki tegri masi bayasugad, tere ubasi-dur* olan erdeni-yi ergüged, degedü sayin erdenis-i burqan ba, bursan quvarag-ud-tur takir.a ögüt ilegebei. tere ubasi terigüten qadaldučı nigen erdenis-iyer qanju, amugulan-iyar öber-ün gajar-tur-ıyan qariju odbai.

The God of the Sea was very pleased and offered many costly things to the *Ubaşı* and sent through him the most excellent treasures to Buddha and to the Spiritual Assembly. Both the *Ubaşı* and the merchants were delighted with the treasures and went back contentedly to their own country.

已 卽 及 兼 珍 海
足 與 僧 寄 寶 神
還 賢 時 妙 用 歡
歸 者 諸 寶 贈 喜
本 採 賈 施 賢 卽
國 寶 客 佛 者 以

tedüi tere ubasi terigülen tabun jagun qadaldučın burqan qamig.a bükü tere orun-dur* kürüged, ilaju tegüs nügëigsen burqan-u köl-dür* oroi-bar-ıyan mürğüged, öber öber-ün erdenis-i ergüged, dalai-daki tegri ögüt ilegegsen erdenis-i burqan kiged bursan quvarag-ud-tur ergütü bür-ün,

Then the *Ubaşı* and the five hundred merchants arrived in the place where Buddha had his seat, and bending their heads to the feet of the most enlightened and perfect Buddha they offered to Buddha and to the Spiritual Assembly their own treasures as well as those which the God of the Sea had sent.

佛 并 舉 稽 賈 是
及 海 已 首 客 時
僧 神 各 佛 咸 賢
所 持 足 詣 者
寄 寶 作 佛 五
奉 物 禮 所 百

tede bügüdeger-ber ebütüg-ıyen kütür-e sögüdütü, ilaju tegüs nügëigsen burqan-a eyin kemen öcibei, burqan-a cınu şasin-dur* biden-i toyin bolgan soyorq.a kemen öcibestü, burqan jarlig bolur-un, ai ubasi sayin sayin kemen sayisiyagad* saça, saqal üstün inu öbestüben unaju*, nom-tu debel emüsügsen ayag.a tegimlig bolbai.

* Both the Tibetan and the Chinese texts read: "When a sixth sun emanates two-thirds (of the water in the ocean) will dry up." This, however, is not in the Mongolian version.

* Mongolian version reads: "until the *Kalpa* is reached." Here the "*Kalpa* of destruction", 壞劫, is meant. Tibetan and Chinese: "throughout many *Kalpas*."

Kneeling down to the ground they all appealed to the most enlightened and perfect Buddha, saying, "Condescend thou, O Buddha, to make us devotees to thy teaching." Buddha consented to this, saying, "Very good, *Ubaši*, very good." And as soon as Buddha uttered these words the *Ubaši*'s hair and beard fell off by themselves and he became a Buddhist mendicant clad in a priest's robe.

悉皆長跪。叉手白佛。
願爲弟子。稟受清化。
佛尋可之。善來比丘。
鬚髮自落。法衣在身。

tere ubasi-dur ilaju tegüs nügöigsen burqan yambar ba nom-un ilgal-i üjegülügsen-iyer, qamug nisvanis baragdagad, dayin-i darugsan-u qutug-i olulug.a, tedeger qamug-nugud*.bar, ilaju* tegüs nügöigsen burqan-u jarlig-i sayisiyan bisirejü bayasbai.

Then the most enlightened and perfect Buddha explained to the *Ubaši* what was to be explained of his teaching and freed him from all worldly desires. The *Ubaši* thus obtained the dignity of being a conqueror of his enemies (*arhān*), while the others all took delight in their belief in the teaching of the most enlightened and perfect Buddha, to whom they paid utmost reverence.

佛爲說法。應適其情。
卽時開悟。諸欲都淨。
得阿羅漢。時諸會者。
聞佛所說。皆大歡喜。
頂戴奉行。

THE MARRIAGE CEREMONY OF A HIGH-CLASS GURKHALI KSATTRIYA

Presented to Col. J. M. MANNERS-SMITH, V.C., C.S.I., late Resident in
Nepal.

Transcribed by Brig.-General Hon. C. G. Bruce, C.B., M.V.O.,
LL.D., etc.

Note on the orthography. The spelling of the original MS. (which is that of most Nepali MSS. and books) has been strictly followed. The chief points to notice are (1) inconsistencies in the use of *i* and *ī* and of *halanta*; (2) use of *anusvara* (ँ) for *ā*, *ī*, or *u* finally or before a consonant; (3) *ष* for *kh*, *व* for *b*, *व* for *ie*.

विवाहा गर्ने काम को कारदा

पैले लग्न को कागज लेखिक् तेस्का पूर्वगि को टाईम साही पाटा को छापा लगाउने टाईम कँन्यादान दिने टाईम को साथैत घडी पला लेखि तयार गर्छन् ॥ १ ॥

पूर्वगि भनेको अघी का टाईम मा गणेश बटारनु कलश बाँधनु पुजा गर्नु धान मुकाउनु चौबि माटी पत्रु यज्ञ बनाउनु कपडा छेक्नु बाँस केरा का थाम तोरण बाँधेका डोरि मा बाँधे पीपल चाँपा का पात फुलहरू उल्लु चँदुवा टाँगनु पर्छ यो काम गर्दा बाजा बजाउनु गीत गाउनु र सबै सगुन को सराजी तयार गर्नु पर्छ ॥ २ ॥

भार बाँधनु भनेका मा माछा सिगा उपर र दही को ठेकी पालुंगा को सागदार वा मुठा १ खेत हाली बाँधनु पर्छ ॥ ३ ॥

येति भै सकिया पछी साही पाटा का टाईम मा पाट थान १ मलमल थान १ मा दुलाहा ले सीँदुर को आफ्ना हात को पंजा को छापा लगाउनु पर्छ ॥ ४ ॥

ताहाँ पछि त्यो लग्न को कागज र साही पाटा सँगै दुलही का घर लै जानु पर्छ तेस मा अघी बाट पंच बाजा तेस्का पछी दही ठेका २ माछा अरु फल फुल मिठाइहरू का भागहरू नम्बर सँगै लार्ने ब्राह्मणहरू ले त्यो लग्न को कागज साही पाटा को कपडा लि जानु पर्छ ॥ ५ ॥

फेरि अरु पल्टन आफोसर आफ्ना दृष्ट मीत्र भला आदमी जो छन् ति पनि सँगै साथ मा पुग्याउन जाने दस्तुर छ ॥ ६ ॥

दुलहि का घर ति सामास पुग्या पछी साही पाटा पनि तही दि तेस्का आफ्ना पहीले चली आया वमोजीम को मुन का असर्फि रुपैया भेटि राखि दिनु पर्छ लग्न का कागज मा रहेको फुल प्रसाद ब्राह्मण ले दुलही लार्ने दस्तुर छ ॥ ७ ॥

स्वयंवर गर्दा दुलाहा ले आफ्ना प्रोहीत अरु ब्राह्मण २/४ ईष्ट मीच २/४ साथ मा ली दुलही का घर जानु पर्छ ताहाँ प्रोहीत ब्राह्मणहरू ले सगुनहरू दिनकन दुलाहा लाई दुलही पछी वाट टिका लगाई दीन्छन् दुलही ले दुलाहा लाई भेलि तिमि लाई वरण गरौं भनी फुल को माला पहिर्दा दी ब्राह्मणहरू लाई दक्षिणा दी वीदा दीने दस्तुर छ ॥ ८ ॥

विवाहा का दीन गर्न को

विवाह पले दुलाहा का घर यह सांती को यम्य अघी वनाया का यम्य मा होमपूजा ग्रहपूजा गर्केन तेस्मा आफ्ना सय्य अनुसार को सराजाम पूजा को नैवेद्य को राखी दीनु पर्छ तेस यज्ञ मा गणेश वटारेका र अघी पूर्वमि मा सिंगारि पूजा गरेको मुन चाँदी तौवा को वनायाको ठुलो कलस जो छ तेस्मा सींगार पटार गरि पिचडी का चावल दनेवरा कसार भेटि स्नेत हाली तेस कलस मा पानी स्नेत भरि हाली भार स्नेत गरि यम्य मा राखी यम्य गरी पुरा गर्नु पर्छ ॥ ९ ॥

जंती निजाँदा का कारंदा

जंती जाने बेला मा दुलाहा ले आफ्ना घर मा माच का पुजा गणेश पुजा गरेका देवता लाई पुजा गरि भेटि चढाई ढोग दी निस्कने दस्तुर छ ॥ १० ॥

ढोका मा निस्कँदा घेरि दुलाहा का आमा ले दुलाहा लाई सगुन दही पुवाउनु पर्छ दुलाहा ले भेटि राखी ढोक दी निस्कने दस्तुर ॥ ११ ॥

छ जंती जाने मा अघी वाट पंच वाजा ताहा पछी वादसाही वाजा ताहा पछी नाच गान गर्नेहरू ताहा पछी ठुला दहि का ठेकी र भार मंगल गाउने केतिहरू अघी माथी लेथियाको ठुलो कलस कलसेउली ले वोकि अगाडी पकाडी मडेउलीहरू लागी जँवर पंथा हाकी हवाली का मालहरू स्नेत साथ लागदकन ताहा पछी दुलाहा को पालकी रहन्छ ताहा पछी अरु वाजा गाजा आफसर अरु पल्टन मानीसहरू जाने दस्तुर छ ॥ १२ ॥

जंती दुलही का घर पुग्ने बेला मा दुलही का घर वाट कलस पर्सने फुल पाती आफ्ना ईष्ट मीच साथ मा ली अलि वर सम्म आई दुलाहा लाई प्रदक्षिणा ३ फेर गरि दुलही का वावु ले दुलाहा लाई टीका लाई दीन्छन् तेसै वषट्मा दुलही का कलस ले दुलाहा का कलस लाई ढोक दीनु भनि कलस जुदाउँछन् तेसै लाई कलस जुदायाको भने दुनिजा मा बोलीन्छ ॥ १३ ॥

ताहा पछी दुलही का घर मा वनायाका यम्य मा दुलाहा लाई लागी षडा राखी दुलही का वावु ले वागदान भने को आज देखी मेरी छोरी तोमि लाई अर्पण गरौं भन्या वचन को वोलि वोली जटाबाल नरिवल पगरि जनि सुपारि असाफि भेटि दुलाहा का हात मा दीने दस्तुर छ ॥ १४ ॥

वरणी गर्दा दुलही का वावु ले पनि दुलाहा ले पनि घडे वसनु पर्छ दुलही को पनि दुलाहा को पनि दुवै कलस वरणी न सकनज्याल् वोकिने राखनु पर्छ कलसेउली ले भै मा राखनु जैंदेन ॥ १५ ॥

दुलही का वावु ले दुलाहा का अगाडी हात जोडि वीनति गरी केही बेर वसि ताहा पकी झारि मा पानी हाली तेसै पानी ले ३ फेर प्रदक्षिणा गरी पुजा गरि अर्घ दी सबै चप्पाउने वस्तुहरू सबै दी सक्वा पकी दुलाहा ले दुलही का वावु वा वरणी गर्न अर्क मानीस छ ता पनि ती लाई टीका लगाई दीन्छन तेसै ठाँउ मा दुलाहा दुलही का वावु को रूपैया राखि होक भेट गर्छन ॥ १६ ॥

वरणी गर्दा घेरि दुलाहा लाई नचा पीरका मा पहेलो कपडा वीकाई तेसै मा पाउ रापाई उभाई राखनु दस्तुर छ ॥ १७ ॥

ताहा पकी दुलाहा लाई पाल्की मा रापी दुलही का वावु ले दुलाहा को पाल्की वोकिने दस्तुर छ ॥ १८ ॥

वरणी भै सक्वा पकी को काम ।

दुनिजा मा कसै का दुलाहा लगायर गैड्र जंती गयाका मानिस लाई भात को भोजन गराउने चाल्छ कसै का मीठार् रोटि पुवाउने चाल्छ राजनहरू का घर मा आज काल श्रैन वमोजि का रूपैया भोज पानु भनि दिने दस्तुर चलायाका छं ॥ १९ ॥

कन्यादान दिने दस्तुर ।

कन्यादान दिने सायेत भंदा अलिक १/२ घंटा अघी वाट दुलही लाई वुकुवा लगाई नुहाई धुवाई सफा गरि दुलही का वावु आमा ले आफ्ना तर्फ को गहना कपडा लगाई सिंगार पटार गरि तयार गरि राखनु पर्छ । तेसै वयत्ता दुलही ले वुकुवा लगाई सेष रहेको वुकुवा दुलही का घर का केटिहरू ले दुलाहा को पाउ धुन आउँछन तेस्मा ति केटिहरू लाई सकने ले १/१ जोर पोसाक दीन्छन नसकन्या ले जो सकेको रूपैया नगद दिन्छन यो दस्तुर छ ॥ २० ॥

कन्यादान दिने सायेत को वेला आया पकी कन्यादान दिने ठाँउ मा कन्यादान दिँदा दीन लाई भै सराजां खेत को पलं तयार गरि गोडधुवा झारि पड्डा गायी अरु गोडधुवा का भाँडाहरू तयार गरि राखिन्छन तहाँ पकी तेसै पलं मा दुलाहा दुलही लाई येकी पलं मा रापी संगल् कलस दुवै पट्टि का पनि तहोँ रापी पैले दुलही का वावु आमा जो कन्यादान गर्न लाई निराहार वसेका छं तिनीहरू ले दुलाहा दुलही को भौडा धुन्छन पकी वाट आफ्ना दाज्य भाई ईष्ट भौब ले गोडा धुने दस्तुर छ ॥ २१ ॥

ताहा पक्की दुलाहा ले दुलहि लाई दीन भनि लग्नाको गहना पोसाकहरू दुलही लाई दीग्ले पक्की वाट दुलाहा लाई दुलही का वावु ले पोसाक गहना दोसझा जो सक्काको सिर पाउ दि पैहाई दीने दस्तुर छ ॥ २२ ॥

ताहा पक्कि कन्यादान दीने साथैत को बेला मा दुलही का वावु ले दुलहि को दाहीने हात को बुढी आँटी समाई अउ तिल कुस पानी नि संकलप समाउँछ दुलही का आमा ले झारि ले पानी संकलप पढी न संकन्याल संम हालि रहनु पर्छ दुलाहा ले दुलहि का हात भंदा मुनी वाट हात थापि रहनु पर्छ संकलप पढी सके पक्कि दुलही का वावु ले त्यो दुलहि को हात को बुढी आँटा दुलाहा का हात राखी दीनु पर्छ तेति भया पक्कि कन्यादान भयो फेरि तेसै ठाउ मा कन्यादान दीयाको दानप्रतिदान भनी मुनतोला १ दान दुलाहा लाई दीग्ले फेरि दुङ्गनी गाई को गोदान गर्नु पर्छ ॥ २३ ॥

कन्यादान का लग्न का बेला मा लगनगाँठो भनि दुवै पट्टी को जने मुपारि सिंदुर दहि अचेता भेटि १०/२० जो सक्ति छ दुवै पट्टी वाट वरावर हाली सुभ मंगल मंच ब्राह्मण वाट पढन लगाई आफ्ना मोहित गुरुहरू ले वलियो गाँठो बाँधनु पर्छ ॥ २४ ॥

त्यो गाँठो वीवाह न सकिञ्चाल दुलाहा दुलही ले छोडनु जँदै न साथै मा ली राखनु पर्छ ॥ २५ ॥

वाहीर यग्य मा राख्नु बेला को कां

याहा पक्की दुलाहा ले दीयाको गहना पोसाकहरू दुलही लाई पैहाई यग्य मा ल्याई दीग्ले ताहा दुवै तर्फ को कलस पनि सँगै रहंछ पैले यग्य मा होम गर्छन् वहा पक्की दुलाहा दुलही लाई यज्ञ मा भाँडो घुमाई दुलही का भाई ले दुलही का हात मा लावा हाली दीग्ले र होम गर्छन् तेसै ठाँउ मा सिलीटो जोहरो लाई पुजा गरिग्ले तेसै जोहरो मा ३ फेरा दुलाहा ले दुलही को गोडा को बुढी आँटी समाई मंच पदञ्चाल समाती राखनु पर्छ यो काम ३ फेरा गरि सक्का पक्की होम सपिछ ॥ २६ ॥

ताहा पक्की सीधुरे पगरि पसारि तेसै मा दुलाहा ले सिंदुर को धर्का पारि ३ फेरा दुलही का सिउँदा मा सिंदुर हाल्छन् सिधुर हालेको वट्टा पनि दुलहि लाई दीग्ले तेसै बेला मा दुलाहा ले दुलहि लाई उचा ली ठाँउ सारी आफ्ना वाजा तर्फ राख्छ दुलही ले दुलाहा लाई वसनु हवस भनु पर्छ तेसै बेला मा पाँडो जगाउनु भनि आफ्ना देस का राजाहरू को पुहसार्त को मंगल गरि तलवार घुमाउँछन् ॥ २७ ॥

माझर भनेको दही काँसा का थान मा हाली दुलही ले अघोपाक गरि भाग लगाई दुलही ले दुलही लाई दुलाहा ले दुलही लाई पुवाउँछन् जस ले अघी वाट पुवाउन सकछ उसले जीवो भन्छन् दुलाहा दुलही का सिर माथी कपडा टाँगी तेस्मा लावा हालो चँवर ले भुटि चीपासा घेलाई श्रीना हेराई दुवै ले मुषामुष सामने गरि मंत्र पढेज्वाले घेली रहनु पर्छ ॥ २८ ॥

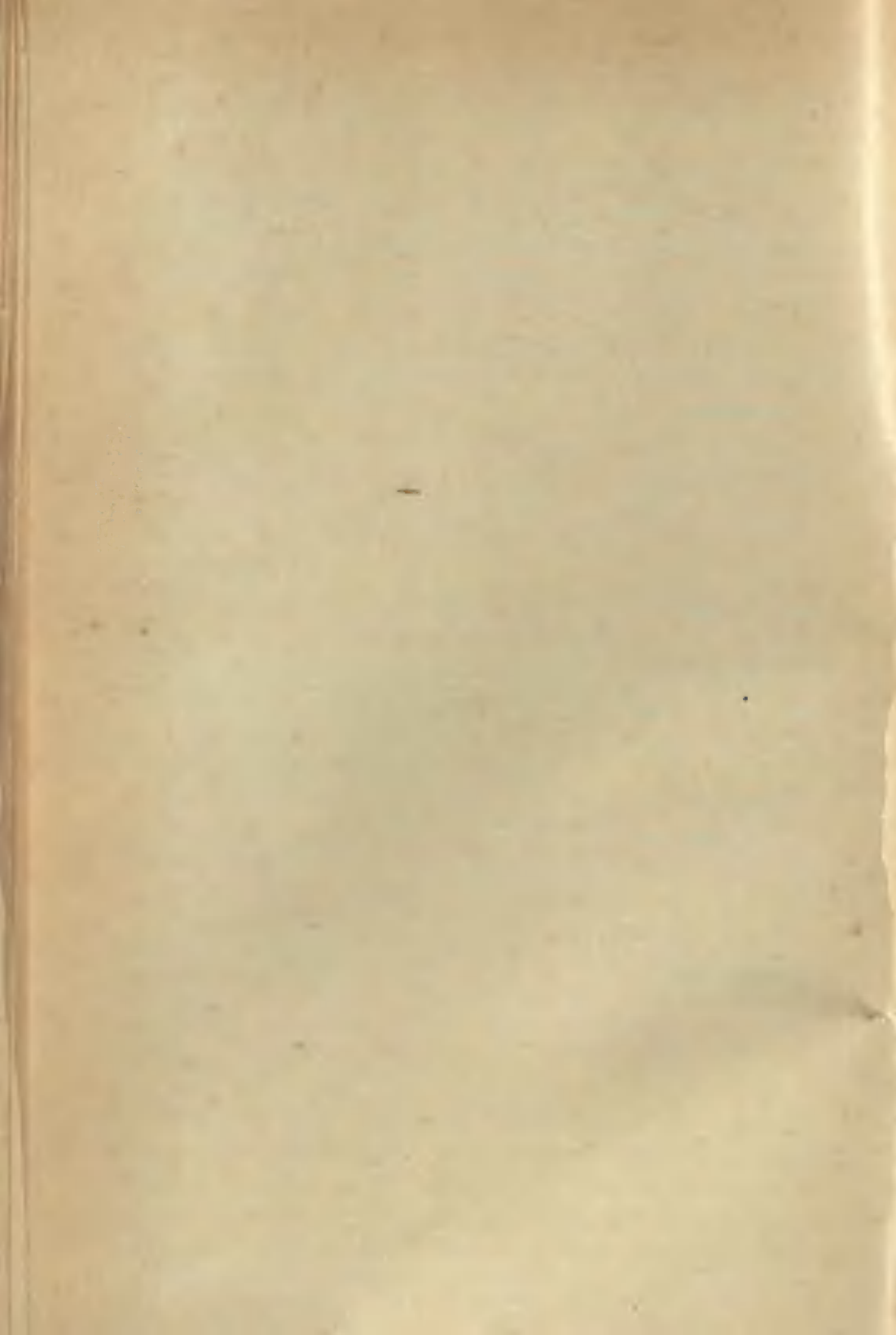
फेरि दुलाहा दुलही लाई ब्राह्मण ले दहो अचेता को पैले दुलाहा लाई लाईकन तेही सेय दुलही लाई टोका लगाई दिनु पर्छ येस लाई ग्रहतिनक भन्छन् ॥ २९ ॥

यज्ञ सक्या पछी अरु जंतीहरू वन मा जंत वापरो भनि भोज पान जान्छन् दुलाहा दुलही लाई दुलही का घर मा भात को भोजन भाँसा गराउँछ जंति ले जंते वापरो भोज पाने सराजा दुलही का घर वाट दिनु पर्छ ॥ ३० ॥

वेलुका जंति फाँदा अरु सबै कां सावीक वमोजीं ऊँछ पाल्की माच दुलही को दुलाहा को भंदा अगाडी हीँडाउनु पर्छ ॥ ३१ ॥

जंती घर आई पुग्ने बेला मा पर्सने सराजाहरू दुलाहा का घर वाट लाई दुलही लाई पर्सनु पर्छ दुलाहा की दोदि ले चारती सेवली भनि पुजावत्तीवाजी दुलही लाई टिका लगाई दीनखीन् दुलही ले माझर घाल कटीरा दचीणा दीनखीन् दुलही का पाल्की ले त्यो चारती को वत्ती निभाई भीच जानु पर्छ ढोका मा टोका छेकी दुलाहा को बैनी वस्त्राकी ऊन्दीन् तीन लाई लगन चोली दिउँला भनि भीच जानु पर्छ वहा पछी गणेश माची का पुजा तिनीहरू वाट गराई सगुन दि सकेपछी दुलही ले र सासु ले धान पाथी भर्दछन् वहा पछी सासु वुहारि को चुलठो हाली जोरि तेस्मा ब्राह्मण ले घीउ दीनु पर्छ ॥ ३२ ॥

तहा पछी रात मा दुलाहा दुलही ले येकै पलं मा सुकाला गजे दस्तुर चलेको छ ॥ ३३ ॥



AN ACCOUNT OF THE MU'NISU'L-AHRAR: A RARE
PERSIAN MS. BELONGING TO MR. H. KEVORKIAN

By MIRZA MUHAMMAD IBN ABDO'L WAHHAB OF QAZWIN

WITH a magnanimity which is singularly rare these days Mr. H. Kevorkian, a curio-seller of New York, lent me a year ago his exceedingly precious and valuable MS. of an anthology of Persian poetry, giving me full permission to utilize or publish it, and I take this opportunity of thanking Mr. Kevorkian for his liberality. The MS. is entitled *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār fi Daqā'iqi'l-Ash'ār* and contains copious extracts covering all branches of Persian poetry, from the elegy, the ode, and the double-rhyme poem to the quatrain and the unit, quoted from two hundred Persian poets whose names are found on the first folios of the MS. and are here reproduced lower down.

The author of this anthology is Muḥammad ibn Badr Jājarmī. Badru'd-Dīn Jājarmī, the father of the author of the present anthology, was a notable poet of the seventh century A.H. during the Mongol regime, and was, moreover, one of the favourites of the Ṣāḥib-Dīwān, Shamsu'd-Dīn Juwaynī (brother of Aṭā Malik Juwaynī, the author of the *Jahān-gusha*), and an account of him is generally to be found in the Biographies of Persian poets, for example, the *Taḥkirah* of Dawlatshāh ed. Professor Browne, pp. 219-21, the *Ātashkada* under Jājarmī, and the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣahā* of Hidāyat, pp. 168-9.

Badru'd-Dīn Jājarmī's son, Muḥammad ibn Badr Jājarmī, the author of the present anthology, was one of the poets of the beginning of the eighth century A.H., and a contemporary of Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī, the author of the *Ta'rikh-i-Guzida*, and compiled the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār* in 741 A.H. If the verses which the author cites, from his own productions, in the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār*, be made the basis for estimating the quality of his poetry, he cannot be included amongst first-class, or even second-class poets, but, on the other hand, in selecting verses from so many Persian poets, whose poetical works and sometimes whose very names have been lost, he has rendered a great service to Persian literature, and, from this point of view, his present anthology, the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār*, becomes a work of extreme importance and value, especially as this MS., owned by Mr. H. Kevorkian, is the only MS., written from beginning to end by the author Muḥammad Badr Jājarmī himself in a fine Naskh script, and complete. قادری

month of Ramaḍān, 741 A.H., as stated by the author in the following quatrain given at the end of the MS. :—

در هفصد و جل بود ویل اندر رمضان مهر اندر حوت و ماه اندر سرطان
بر دست محمد بن بدر شاعر مجموعه تمام شد بفضل یزدان

"It was in the month of Ramaḍān, in the year 741 A.H., when the sun was in the Pisces and the Moon in the Cancer,

That, by the grace of God, this collection written by the hand of Muhammad ibn Badr, the Poet, was completed."

It appears in several ways that formerly this original MS. was jealously guarded by its owners in Persia, and stored away in one of the libraries, rendering it almost inaccessible to scholars, for without trying to dogmatize I can hardly recollect having read even the name of the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār* anywhere save on p. 6, vol. i, of the preface of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*, and it is extremely probable that it is this very MS. of Mr. H. Kevorkian which had been utilized by Hidāyat, the author of the *Majma'u'l-Fuṣṣḥā*. Similarly, although I have searched both public and private libraries, nowhere have I read either an account or even the bare mention of the author of the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār* save that I have found that there is in Tih-rān a MS. copy of the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār*, belonging to Āqā Hājī Ḥusayn Āqā, the son of the late Maliku't-Tujjār. But since I have not seen this other copy nor, for that matter, have even obtained a satisfactory account of it, having only heard from friends that a MS. copy of this kind is in the possession of Āqā Ḥusayn Āqā, it is not possible for me to say which of the two copies is the earlier, or fuller. We, therefore, proceed to our own MS.

The MS. of the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār*, belonging to Mr. H. Kevorkian, comprises nearly 260 folios (520 pages) of large quarto size and is written in a very fine Naskh script with certain archaisms. For example, no discrimination is made, with a few exceptions, between the Persian forms of the four letters چ ز گ and their Arabic forms

چ ز گ; secondly, the Persian dhāls are often dotted; thirdly, often written as گ; and so on. In the MS. the titles of the pieces are written in coloured ink, generally in red ink.

A noteworthy feature of the MS. is that it is the oldest MS. (having been written in 741 A.H.) to contain several quatrains of 'Umar Khayyām. There are altogether 13 of these quatrains which were transcribed by me for Dr. F. Rosen and published by him in Berlin in 1304 A.H. Subsequently, in 1927 A.D., these 13 quatrains, together with their English translation, were published by Sir E. Denison Ross in this *Bulletin*, vol. iv, pt. iii, pp. 433-9.

The *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār*, as will appear from its index of chapters given lower down, comprises thirty chapters relating to different kinds of Persian poetry—panegyrics, elegies, threnodies, and descriptive pieces, and so on—but unfortunately in the present MS. nearly seven chapters of the thirty are missing. Because the folios of the MS. are not always in their right place and as I have not had sufficient leisure to check the contents of the MS. with its table of contents, I am not able to say off-hand precisely which chapters are missing, but I know that the lacuna covers altogether seven chapters, whereof one, unfortunately, is the twentieth chapter of the MS., representing extracts from the *Shāhnāma*. For the time being, in order to give a general idea of the contents of the MS., I think it best to reproduce here the preface of the *Mu'nisu'l-Ahrār* with its accompanying list of the poets' names, found at the beginning of the MS. And this is as follows:—

THE PREFACE OF THE MU'NISU'L-AHRAR

بسم الله الرحمن الرحيم

سباس و ستایش بی نهایت باذشاهی را کی صفتی از صفت
 [sic صفات؟] کمالش جودست، و حمد و ثنای بی غایت
 پروردکاری را کی یک خلعت از خزانه کرمش وجود، مهر از
 حقّه فطرتش مهره، دریای جود از ابر امرش قطره، عقل در
 ازاء صفاتش حیرانی، جبرخ در ادراک قدرتش سرکردانی،
 قادری که کرد عجز کرد سراپردهش محیط نکردد، داننده که

رموز نقوش قطرات (sic) لوح ضمیر بندکان از علم او مخفی نماند،
جنانک در قران مجید می فرماید یعلم خائنة الاعین و ما تخفی
الصدور، بالا و نشیب کرده جباری اوست، روشن و تاریک
 نشان قهاری او آلآله الخلق و الأمر تبارک الله رب العالمین،
 امداد دروژ نامیات زاکیات بر ذات مطهر صدر اصفیا محمد
 مصطفی کی نوباوه باغ و شکوفه جمن ابلاغست صلی الله
علیه و علی آله و سلم تسلیما، بدانک لطیفترین و شریفترین
 بدایع سخن است کی باری عز اسمه آدمی را از دیگر مخلوقات
 بحلیت کرامت مزین گردانید کی ولقد کرّمنا بنی آدم و حملناهم
 فی البرّ و البحر، و از آسمان بزمین بجهت مناظم احوال عالم و
 عالمیان و قوام شرع ادیان بیرون از سخن جیزی نازل
 نکشت شعر

سخن از کنبد کبود آمد سخن از آسمان فروز آمد
 کر بدی جوهری ورای سخن آن فروز آمدی بجای سخن
 سخن غواصی است که در دل افروز حکمت از قعر ^{استی} بصحرا
 آرد، و مشاطه یست کی عرایس انفاس را بر تخت عیان در
 لباس شعر جلوه دهد، و علما و فضلا دهر هر سخن را کی جان

¹ This word seems superfluous.

جسم جهانست و در صدف نهان بر دو مرتبه نهاده اند و هریکی را لقبی مشهور گردانیده و آنرا کی بدست استصواب بر هم نهاده اند آنرا نظم نام کرده و دیگر کی در وثاق اوراق بریشان کرده اند نثر خوانده، نظم در مشام آرزو رائحهٔ کل طری دارد، و نثر در مذاق [جان؟] طعم حاوی عسکری شعر نظم طاووسیست در باغ بلاغت جلوه کر

کز کمال جلوهٔ او عقل کل بیذا شود
و شعر احسن الکلام است و طبع بسخن نظم مایل تر
باشد کی بنثر و مهتر عالم و سرور بنی آدم علیه السلام می فرماید
الشعراء امراء الکلام، و دیگر فرموده کی ان من البيان لسحرا،
هر آنکس کی در فنون علم او را کمالیت و بهرهٔ نباشد و بر دقائق
و حقائق اطلاعی ندارد در میدان فصاحت و بلاغت جولانی
تواند نمودن، پس این علم بعد از علوم شرعی شریفترین علوم
بود، و چون ملوک الشعراء ماضی نور الله ضریحهم باشعار
دلکشای و معانی جان فزای کی خاوی آن لطافت جان و روان
دارد و الفاظ آن سلاست آب روان سخن را از ثری بشریا
رسانیده و علم شعر بشعری برافراشته و بمجملات دواوین
معتبر کی بنام هریک مسطور است و مذکور آثار فضل و بلاغت

بر روی روزگار باقی و مخلد و مؤبد گذاشته این مختص اضغف
 عباد الله محمد بن بدر الجاجرمی الشاعر جون جمعی را از دوستان
 هنرمند و مشاهیر خردمند خاطر متعلق نظم و اشعار مصنوعات
 دلاویز استاذان دید بر موجب فرموده و اشارت رای منیر
 شان از دواوین ملول حکما و اشعار امرای شعرا کی مشهور بود
 انتخابی کرد و مجموعه ساخت جناب از تمامی مصنوعات و
 لطائف و بدایع کی شعرا [L. 2b] گفته (sic) نوشته شد و یقین خادم
 آنست کی امروز در علم شعر و شاعری مجموعه بدین جزالت
 موجود نیست و درستی این بمطالعہ معلوم گردد، و این مجموعه
 را مونس الاحرار فی دقایق الاشعار نام کرده شد و بررسی باب
 نهاده آمد، التماس از اهل فضل آنست کی بوقت مطالعہ هر جا
 سهوی باشد از روی کرم صحت واجب شناسند شعر
 وعین الرضا عن کل عیب کلیة
 و لکن عین السخط تبدی المساویا،

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Clement.

Thanks and praise infinite to the King, one quality of whose perfection is bounty, and gratitude and praise illimitable to the Creator, one robe from the treasury of whose liberality is existence. The sun is a shell from the casket of His nature ; the sea of beneficence is a drop from the cloud of His command. In the comprehension of His attributes Reason is bewildered ; in the perception of His

Providence the Heavens are confounded. So (Omni) potent that the dust of infirmity settles not on the curtain of His pavilion ; such a Knower that by the signals of His glances the particles of the tablet of the mind of mankind do not remain concealed from His knowledge, even as He himself says in the Holy *Qur'ān* :—

“ And He knows what is hidden from the eye and what is concealed in the breast.”

Exaltation and abasement is the work of His Omnipotence ; Bright and Dark is the symbol of His avenging Divinity. “ Nay, to him belongs the Creation, and the Affairs, blessed be God, the Lord of the two Worlds.”

And the benedictions of His holy creatures on the Sacred Person of the Chief of the Pure Ones, Muḥammad, the Chosen (of Mankind), who is the firstfruits of the garden, and the blossom of the mead of attainment (to Perfection), may the blessings of God be upon him and his household.

Know that the most elegant and the most noble of novelties is speech, whereby God, His name be glorified, with the ornament of His miracle, has adorned man above all His creatures :—“ We have shown favour to the sons of Adam and carried them on land and sea.” And for the orderly course of the affairs of the world and its inhabitants, and for the stability of religious laws there descended not from heaven on earth anything save speech.

Speech came from the blue dome ; speech came from Heaven ;

Were there any other jewel save speech, that jewel would have descended (on earth) instead of speech.

Speech is a diver which brings to the surface from the depths of eloquence the mind-illuminating pearl of wisdom ; and speech is a bride-dresser which, in the dress of poetry, displays the brides of words on the throne of ocular demonstration. And the men of learning and wisdom of every epoch have divided speech, which is the soul of the body of the world and the pearl of the shell of the unknown, into two kinds, and to each of these they have given a well-known title : that which they have collected together with the hand of approval they have named “ verse ”, and the other which they have scattered in the hovel of pages they have called “ prose ”. Verse brings the odour of the fresh rose to the nostril of desire ; and prose bears the taste of confectionery to the palate (of life).

Verse is a peacock displayed in the garden of eloquence ;
And by the perfection of its display the natural genius becomes evident.

Poetry is the most agreeable (form of) speech, and (human) nature inclines more to verse-forms than to prose ; and the Prince of the World, and the Lord of Mankind, may there be peace upon him, says : " Poets are the chiefs of speech," and says again, " Behold, oratory is witchcraft."

Whosoever has no perfection or acquaintance with the various branches of learning, and whosoever has no knowledge of subtleties and realities, cannot be fleet (venture forth) in the field of eloquence and oratory. Thereafter, after a knowledge of theological subjects (studies) a knowledge of poetry is the noblest. And since by their heart-expanding verses and soul-refreshing thoughts, whose significations have the elegance of life and soul, and whose words, the fluency of running water, the poet-laureates of the past, may the Light of God be on their tombs, have raised speech from the Earth to the Pleiades, and by their poems exalted the banner of poetry, and by the volumes of their poetical works, attributed by title to each one of them severally, have left behind, immortal and permanent on the face of the earth, the effects of learning and eloquence, therefore, this sincere and humble creature, Muḥammad ibn Badr Al-jājarmi, the poet, seeing that a number of his learned friends, and talented people of repute, were interested in the heart-ravishing verses and poetical artifices of old masters, has prepared at their brilliant suggestion and desire this anthology from the selections of the poetical works of the kings of sages, and the verses of the chiefs of poets, so that it comprehends all the rhetorical devices, artifices, and ornaments of speech utilized by poets. And this servant feels certain that to-day there exists not in the world a more vigorous anthology of Poets and Poetry than this, and the correctness of this statement will be borne out on perusal. This compilation has been given the title of the *Mu'nisu'l-Aḥrār fī Daqā'iqi'l-Ash'ār*, and has been divided into thirty chapters. It is requested from men of learning that wherever they detect an error in this anthology they should read with the necessary correction.

The eye of approval is tired concerning every fault
But the eye of disapproval shows up all defects.

INDEX OF THE CHAPTERS OF THE ANTHOLOGY

- I. On the Unity of God, High and Glorious.
- II. On the praise of Muḥammad, the Chosen (of Mankind), the peace of God be upon him.
- III. On wisdom and counsel.
- IV. On descriptions.
- V. On (rhetorical) artifices.
- VI. On divisions.
- VII. On Question and Answer.
- VIII. On Word-Plays and Repetitions.
- IX. On "Musammātāt".
- X. On "Malzūmāt".
- XI. On Acrostics and Elisions.
- XII. On square verses.
- XIII. On oaths in verse.
- XIV. On Similes.
- XV. On the "Muqaffā".
- XVI. On the "Muraddaf".
- XVII. On "Ash'ār-i-Tarjīfāt".
- XVIII. On threnodies.
- XIX. On histories.
- XX. On the selections from the *Shāhnāmā*.
- XXI. On the twitching of eyelids, etc.
- XXII. On Fragments.
- XXIII. On Ribald verses and Satires.
- XXIV. On Complaints.
- XXV. On Riddles and Enigmas.
- XXVI. On Pleasantries and Oaths.
- XXVII. On Lyrics.
- XXVIII. On Quatrains, and this Chapter is subdivided into 35 sections.
- XXIX. On pictorial poetry and lunar prognostications.
- XXX. On "Fragments".

LIST OF THE NAMES OF POETS AND DISTINGUISHED PEOPLE ABOUT WHOM NOTICES ARE GIVEN IN THIS ANTHOLOGY

Ustād Rūdakī	Zaynabī (Zinatī ?)
Daqīqī	Manṣhūrī
Bahrām	Manṭiqī
Unṣurī	Ghazāirī

- Bashshār Mar'azī or Marghazī
 10 Badīhī
 Bālayṣ-i-Gurgānī
 Nāṣir-i-Ja'fari
 'Abhari
 Burhānī
 Qādiri
 Mas'ūd-i-Sa'd
 Rāfi'
 Ja'fari
 Bundār-i-Rāzī
 20 Nāṣir-i-Khusrāw
 Sanā'i-i-Ghaznawī
 Amīr Mu'izzī
 Qiwwāmi-i-Ganja'i
 Khāqānī-i-Shirwānī
 Rashīd-i-Watwāt
 Ustād 'Asjadī
 Falakī-i-Shirwānī
 Mukhtārī-i-Ghaznawī
 Sūzani-i-Samarqandī
 30 Sirāj-i-Qumrī
 Lāmi'i-i-Jurjānī
 Ustād Minūchihri
 Ḥakīm Anwārī
 Nizāmī-i-Ganja'i
 'Abdu'l-Wāsi'
 Mujir-i-Baylqānī
 Aṣir-i-Akhsikati
 Adīb-i-Šābir
 Sayf-i-A'raj
 40 Ustād Qatrān
 Aṣir-i-Umānī
 Badī'i-i-Sayfi
 Sayyid Hasan-i-Ghaznawī
 Ustād Khāvari
 Nāṣir-i-Adīb
 Jamāl-i-Samarqandī
 Firdawsi-i-Tūsi
 Abu'l-Ma'ālī-i-Rāzī
 Jamāl-i-Ashhari
 50 'Am'aqu'l Bukhārī
 Ḥakīm-i-Walwalī (?)
 Shimālī-i-Dihistānī
 Ḥakīm Ṭartari
 'Amīd-i-Lūmakī (or Lūbakī)
 Adīb-i-Ṭabari
 'Azīz-i-Mushmalī (?)
 عرر (عزیز؟) مشعلی
 Shihābu'd-Dīn-i-Muhmara
 (sic)
 Hasan-i-Mutakallim
 Azraqī-i-Harawī
 60 Zahir-i-Fāryābī
 Kamālu'd-Dīn Ismā'il
 Najīb-i-Jurbādaqānī
 Rafī'-i-Lunbānī
 Shams-i-Ṭabasi
 Rukn-i-Da'wī-dār
 Farrukhī-i-Sajzī
 'Abdu'r-Razzāq
 Ustād 'Imādī
 Majdu'd-Dīn-i-Hamgar
 70 Imāmi-i-Harawī
 Faḍlu'llāh-i-Qazwīnī
 Badru'd-Dīn-i-Jājarmī
 Sa'di-i-Shirāzī
 Fakhrī-i-Isfahānī
 Attār-i-Nishapūri
 'Irāqī, the mercy of God (on him)
 Farīd-i-Aḥwal
 Šāin-i-Shirāzī
 Awḥad-i-Māmarghi
 (Marāghī ?)
 80 Jawhari-i-Zargar
 Sayyid Dhulfiqār
 Fakhru'd-Dīn Kaidānī ?
 Bint-i-Ka'b
 'Alī Fakhr-i-Shūshṭari

- Shamsu'd-Din Sharafshāh
Ibn-i-Bahā-i-Jāmī
Mawlānā Najmī
Najmu'd-Dīn Simnānī
Bahā'ud-Dīn Zanjānī
 90 Qāzī 'Uṣmān
Sharfu'd-Dīn-i-Tabrizī
Sa'id-i-Harawī
Bahā-i-Khujandī
Humām-i-Tabrizī
Nāṣir Bahā (Baja ?)
Pūr-i-Ḥasan
Shahīd-i-Balkhī
Ma'rūfi
Ustād Mun'imī
 100 Rāshidī
Hakīm Nāṣirī
Fakhr-i-Jurjānī
Ibn-i-Khaṭīb-i-Qūshak (sic !
 Fūshang ?)
Fazlu'llāh-i-Shafarwa (or
 Shaqarwa)
Jalāl-i-'Atīqī
Shamsu'd-Dīn-i-Kāshī
Khwāja Naṣīr-i-Tūsī
Khwāja Afzal
Qāzī Nizāmu'd-Dīn
 110 Shams-i-Ṣāḥib Dīwān
Shamsu'd-Dīn Kart
Sa'du'd-Dīn-i-Wazīr
Ghiyāsu'd-Dīn Amir
 Muḥammad
'Alāu'd-Dīn Hindū
Sayyid 'Azud-i-Yazdī
Ṣadru'd-Dīn-i-Abharī
'Izzu'd-Dīn-i-Qazwīnī
'Imād-i-Hurūfi
Mawlāna Khizr-i-Yazdī
 120 Sa'd-i-Bahā
Khurramshāh-i-Kermānī
Badī'i-i-Kermānī
Mahmūd-i-Munawwar
Ḥakīm Minbarī
Awhadī-i-Iṣfahānī
Nizārī-i-Quhistānī
Ibn-i-Ḥusām
Bahāu'd-Dīn Yazdī
Ibn-i-Nuṣratī
 130 Najmu'd-Dīn Rāzī
Sa'd-i-Khalifa
Shāh-i-Kabūd-Jāma
Najmu'd-Dīn-i-Zarkūb
Jamāl-i-Kāshī
Khwājū-i-Kermānī
Mawlānā-i-Rūm
Ibn-i-Zangī (or Rangī)
Ibn-i-Mu'in
Ḥakīm Maṭla'i
 140 Amīr Ḥasan-i-Turkīmīr (Turk-
 mīz elsewhere—Turkmin ?)
Sa'd-i-Nāṭanzī
Badru'd-Dīn-i-Dāmghānī
Kamāl-i-Zanjānī
Ḥasan-i-Nishāpūrī
Kamāl-i-Abarqūhī
Murshid-i-Qāzī
Yahyā-i-Firūzābādī
Nūr-i-Buṣṭāmī
Ḥadādī
 150 'Imād-i-Kermānī
Sulaymānshāh-i-Tīmūr
Jamāl-i-Bībaṣar
Shams-i-Samarqandī
Iftikhār-i-Dāmghānī
Shams-i-Awhadī
Surdūz (sic !)
Tāj-i-Zakī

- | | | |
|-----|--------------------------------|----------------------------------|
| | 'Umar-i-Khayyām | Majd-i-Kāshī |
| | Mahsatī-i-Dabīr | Ḥakīm Khāzin |
| 160 | Sharafu'd-Dīn Malikī | Muwaffaq-i-Qummī |
| | Ḥakīm Qamṣarī | Sayf-i-Harawī (repeated ? see |
| | Khalīl-i-Shīrāzī | No. 176) |
| | Ḥakīm Zayzī (?) | Sa'id-i-Nishāpūrī |
| | Ibn-i-'Attār | Khusraw Shāh-i-Kermānī |
| | Ḥakīm Karjī (?) | Tāj-i-Kermānī |
| | Aḥmad-i-Bukhārī | 190 Ṣadr-i-Nizāmī |
| | 'Āyisha-i-Muqriya | 'Ibād-i-Dāmghānī (<i>sic</i> !) |
| | Rukn-i-Abharī | Fath-i-Balkhī |
| | Yahyā-i-Dīdhān (<i>sic</i> !) | صبح بلخی (فتح بلخی ?) |
| 170 | 'Imād-i-Yūsuf-i-Lur | Jalāl Iskandar |
| | 'Uḡmān-i-Mākī | Nāṣir 'Aynu'l-Mulk |
| | Majdu'd-Dīn-i-Tirmidhī | 'Umda-i-Tabrizī ('Idda else- |
| | Ṣābirī | where) |
| | Ruknī | Ḥamid-i-Kāzarūnī |
| | Zahīr-i-Nishāpūrī | 'Umar-i-Fazlū'ī |
| | Sayf-i-Harawī | Jalālu'd-Dīn Shāh |
| | Badī'i-i-Ṭūsī | Nūru'd-Dīn 'Abdu'r-Raḥ- |
| | Kamāl-i-Harawī | mān |
| | Ḥasan-i-Kāshī | 200 The writer Ibn-i-Badr |
| 180 | Kamāl-i-Ziyād | Jājarmī |
| | Jalāl-i-Ja'farī | |
| | Kamāl-i-Zanjānī | |

TRANSLATIONS OF TUAREG POEMS

By PETER RENNELL RODD

OF the five Temazheg poems which follow I have only attempted the translation of four. The fifth, though the vocabulary is comparatively simple, is so elliptical in construction that a translation is impossible. The same applies in a lesser degree to the others, the translation of which is therefore somewhat free.

Tuareg poets, besides being fond of topical references which are incomprehensible to strangers, are inclined rather to flatter the intelligence of their hearers than to err by being too explicit. Grammar and syntax are freely sacrificed to metre and effect.

The poems are chanted and are sometimes accompanied by a single stringed violin made of a pumpkin and played with a bow.

1. WRITTEN BY BADA CHIEF OF THE KEL TADELE

as toda tufuq naghra^s aghlal
wa egan muzhafar meder 'zhofal
netattal tess' anegh semotghal
as igl' ehad ad ikkenen addar
s koritan enkar bobar
ghattinen de midden de 'gugar
iemos ingelis wur nezozar
wan tagut 'tuettez se kashwar
iemos enfadeghanen adrar
iemosen tajikket de ezzar

2. WRITTEN BY AMETELWEI OF THE KEL FERWAN

wa egharsaren tadennit eg isawaden karad
ma igrau enkan ierra eg ikharrag en karad
kelad neha tadennit min de ierqa dienad
iedanad taqqal ser i enkan temisaret dienad
deg^h igelan Kel Geres ilanet elan karad

3. WRITTEN BY BUBA OF THE KEL GERES

kiya imazheghan tawiawe
as d eghrasan ghur Teghezeren
wiad tolemen ed teghaten
wiad egishan ed tebughwen
wiad aghatasen tedighsen

itaggen eshughl wan tekubre
 wiad egen . . .
 ad igelan d esuf ed teheren
 serensasen fel tiriken
 wiad agaiaken n tegefeyen
 isudar n esen enkan iegen
 wiad kel ijk ed tughonan
 ed amedran desuf et towughsen
 nigla mazela wur tu nessen
 ar wa n kitelen n esen umuglen
 nesenerqubten ed emkuteyen
 migh taralamt tetagge teteksen
 tin tamellalt tega tin kawalnin
 imi wa meggen wan tishenen
 igezzar n esen wur degh ilkem
 arau ila awala ul ere de khidnen

4. WRITTEN BY ABENNAR OF THE KEL TADELE

as nishu Ighazzar nizherag Arli
 nishua Tigelale niga 'nki
 ezzaren Khaiar fel atri
 Battal anuar nobbez ishku
 ishkun Qad-Ghela wan Desori
 Inuguren as ille ieha shi
 nedeud d Ingelis wan amenghi
 nelkad Esherif fel Meli.

5. WRITTEN BY BADA CHIEF OF THE KEL TADELE

end azhel s tizzar neqalad du 'n Gezzham
 ihe abattul n adghagh wa 'teggez 'kezman
 tille awetai emdan
 tidawasa es d iklan
 emehale tin ezhwal wur nessahan tonan
 soded ingissera clan wa ezzegen allagh
 ezelega tin dedwan
 wur nega issoknin kumbar ezhel d osan
 aqinfedan fodan
 igmatten abashan
 d itaggen esserkan
 ezhelwa emelghan

elan tirik ezran
 nekken eha s eghas
 eqerqanin solan
 taghaqan egeta sowa d ejjikian
 nelwei d esan imnas oierqanen insan
 fel atessantag migh eqategher igerfan
 toghsed Tesigalet sekkeret etterman
 tarit n Ereitaller teksad de Tanghiman
 kelad tille iberko esigzemen tekkan
 teha akal iksan
 wur temmeghed s aman

1

When the sun rose we crossed the valley
 in the shadow of trees and of fear.
 we girded up our robes
 when night comes men will be laid low
 amid the arrows a *melée*
 the piercing of men's breasts
 there is gun powder, we do not flinch
 like rain it beats on the rocks.
 There is a quagmire of bowels
 and locks and tufts of hair.

3

Behold a community of Tuareg
 camped at Terezeren.
 Some have camels and goats,
 some have horses and cattle,
 some cut down trees,
 they work at the carpenter's craft
 some drill,
 some patrol the country and are anxious,
 they tighten their saddle girths
 some dig the ground
 to give them corn in plenty,
 Some work at the chase and trapping,
 they ride on the watch for game.
 There are some who know no work
 They sit and tidy their veils

they pull out the ends and tighten them
 the camel herd is a like a varied pattern
 of white camels and black
 a pretty face with a smile showing the teeth
 finds no enemies,
 a slave prepares a funeral and the wood for the bier.

4

When we had watered at Ighazzar we passed on to Arli
 we drank at Tigelale. So we marched
 Khaiar guided by the stars.
 At Battal well we took with us a boy,
 a boy the slave of the Kel Ghela those under Desori
 but when we came to Inuguren we left him there,
 we were of the company of the brave Englishman
 our guide was Esherif mounted on a bull camel.

5

Yesterday evening at sunset we came back from In Gezzam
 There is a gorge in the rock that runs back into a cave
 There all the year round are a camp and slaves of the camp
 He spurs on his riding camel, she does not shy, she is trained
 He presses his shield, he has a fine spear
 His sword is girded on his right.
 The blade is not for show but for when the day shall come,
 The burthen camels shall be hobbled in the rear,
 They shall be sought in vain,
 The men will run to the fight.
 That day he who is afraid
 Will cower in the saddle
 I myself drew aside
 Retiring slowly,
 Thrusting and parrying, a shambles,
 We led away their camels. I left them, they are sleeping
 For the sake of . . . Tesigalet . . .
 The maid of Ereitaller. She tarries not in Tanghiman
 Once there was a calf but he was sacrificed. She stayed,
 She is in a fair country
 With much water.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Linguistica, by R. L. Turner

ETYMOLOGISCHES WÖRTERBUCH DER EUROPÄISCHEN (GERMANISCHEN, ROMANISCHEN UND SLAVISCHEN) WÖRTER ORIENTALISCHEN URSPRUNGS. By KARL LOKOTSCH. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, I, ii, 3.) pp. xvii + 242, 6½ × 9½. Heidelberg: Winter, 1927. M. 13.

The study of loanwords and the paths which they have followed can never fail to be interesting; for they reflect more clearly than any other linguistic phenomena the everchanging relations which have existed between the nations. Moreover, from the purely linguistic point of view, their study deserves more attention; for loanwords play an immense part in the formation of the vocabulary of all languages. We therefore greet with pleasure the publication of this etymological dictionary of loanwords by Dr. Lokotsch.

The classic 'Hobson-Jobson' for the history of words of Anglo-Indian and other Eastern origin is a model for works of this kind; and there are other similar books for other languages. But this is the first, and much needed, attempt to collect all the material into one volume.

There are two open roads by which oriental words have poured into Europe—one in the west through Spain, the other in the east through Turkey and the Balkans. For each Arabic has been the main source, backed in the latter case especially by that other great language of Islamic culture, Persian. The languages of Islam have occupied a strategic position in this respect, and their vocabularies have invaded not only Europe, but also India and the Middle East. Anyone familiar with the Arabic and Persian loanwords in the Indo-Aryan languages will find from a study of this dictionary great numbers of the same words borrowed by Rumanian and the Slav languages of Eastern Europe. The study of these might lead to interesting conclusions as to why certain words or types of words are more prone to borrowing than others.

A few such words, of wide extent on both sides, may be quoted:—from Arabic: *dukkān*, *fā'ida*, *fulān*, *furṣa*, *ḥaḳḳ*, *ḥarām*, *marḡ*, *na'l*, *naḳd*, *riṣwa*, *sā'is*, *ṣandūḳ*, *tannūr*; from Persian: *dušman*, *farmān*, *jigar*, *xān*, *zarbuz*, *hazār*, *xūb*, *yād*, *laś*, *nišān*, *pahlawān*, *panḡa*, *tarāzū*, *zōr*.

This tendency manifested by speakers of different languages to borrow the same words from another language with which they come into contact was well illustrated during the War in the Near East, where not seldom I have heard, for example, Gurkhas, in trying to communicate with British Territorials, use Arabic loanwords such as *igri*, *imshi*, *mafsh*, etc., as being common to both their vocabularies.

But for borrowing of Oriental words by European languages there have been other channels also. Those borrowed early enough to enter Latin have, of course, the widest extension. But many others, too, are fairly widely distributed. In making too free use, however, of Hobson-Jobson for English, Dr. L. has included a number of words which might well have been omitted. For words like *benamee*, *abkary*, *ag-boat*, *garry*, *hulwa*, and many others can scarcely be called English: even those useful words *cutch* and *pucka* the Anglo-Indian too often to his dismay finds unintelligible to the inhabitants of England.

Dr. L. appears to be on his surest ground with words of Semitic origin. With Indian words he makes many mistakes, both large and small. It is a pity that he did not call in the aid of a specialist in this field. A few may be corrected here.

gāri in *āg-gāri* and *palkeegarry* not from Eng. *car*, but Hindi *gāri*. *burr-tree* 'banian' not from Hi. *ber*, but Hi. *bar*. For *jute* there is no Skt. *jat*, nor Hi. *jhuta*; but there is Oriya *jhuta*, as correctly given in Hobson-Jobson. *kōlikōdu* is not Hi., but Tamil. Skt. for 100,000 is not *lākṣā* but *lakṣa*. Marathi *modachi* should be *modaṣi*. Hi. *pahāriyā* 'hill-man' has nothing to do with Tam. *parai*, but is derived from *pahār* 'mountain'. *pargana* 'district' is not from Skt. *pragaṇayati* 'counts', but from Pers. What is Skt. *sanipriya*, or Indian *saravara* which is derived from Zend *çraona*!

Mistakes of detail in Sanskrit words are frequent. Although words are here usually quoted in stem-form, Dr. L. gives the nominative in *kāśmīras*, *nīlas*, *açvas*. The latter shows his confusion between the symbols *ç* and *ś*; while in *ṣṛṅavēra* he writes *ṣ* for *ś*, and in *sankha* *s* for *ś*. *mahārājā* and *yogīn* are given wrong terminations. In *jaṅgala* (for *jaṅgala*) *j* is used for *ḡ*, and not as elsewhere for *y*: the same confusion in 956, 963. In Hi. *nach* (for *nāc*) *ch* is used for *ś*.

Perhaps for these reasons the Indian languages, including Sanskrit, were not included in the index, a serious omission.

Some derivations are doubtful. Any connexion between *khoprā* 'dried coco-nut' and *khapnā* 'to be destroyed' is extremely unlikely.

The derivation of Skt. *nīlas* < **nīhras* = Lat. *niger* < **nīhrus* is astonishing in every aspect. Rumanian *nene* 'word of address to an elder brother' is as likely a word of independent nursery origin as a loan through Turkish of Pers. *nēnē* 'mother'.

It is to be hoped that in a second edition all this material will be worked over again, and the book made more worthy of the accurate scholarship expected from this series and of the undoubted diligence and wide reading of its author.

R. L. T.

DIE OSSETISCHEN LEHNWÖRTER IM UNGARISCHEN. By HANNES SKÖLD. (Lunds Universitets Årsskrift I, xx, 4.) pp. 114, 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ × 10. Lund, Gleerup, and Leipzig, Harrassowitz, 1925. 3 kr. 50 öre.

No book could better than this illustrate what was said above of the wide interests—linguistic, philological, cultural and historical—attaching to the study of loanwords. And no study of such words has been carried out better than this of Dr. Sköld's. It was already known that Hungarian contained Iranian, and in particular Ossetic, loanwords. The suggestion was apparently made first by the great Danish linguist, Vilhelm Thomsen, to whose memory Dr. S. does homage. Much material had been collected by Munkácsi. But the material thus assembled required detailed and scientific study. This it has received from Dr. S., who has already written on loanwords.

The words are considered in every aspect: their phonetic form, the categories to which they belong, the particular Ossetic dialect from which they were taken, the region in which, and the date at which, the Hungarians and the speakers of this dialect were in contact. The results are admirably summed up in the last chapter:—

(1) Dialectal differences within Ossetic were already well-marked at the time of contact between the two nations.

(2) Ossetic loanwords in Hungarian are taken from the Tagaurian (or eastern) dialect.

(3) The phonetic position of Hungarian when in contact with the Ossetes was much the same as when in contact with the Čuvases (Volga-Bulgars); but the contact with the former was probably a little earlier, about the period A.D. 725–775.

(4) The geographical position of contact was the region between the Volga, the Don, and the Caucasus.

(5) Ossetic loanwords in other Finno-Ugrian languages passed through Hungarian.

(6) At the time of these borrowings there were no longer close relations between Volga-Finnish and Baltic-Finnish.

(7) The Čuvases and Ossetes were not neighbours, and the Hungarians did not occupy a position between them, but were brought by a new migration from the neighbourhood of the former to that of the latter.

(8) Certain sound-changes hitherto considered as 'gemein-ossetisch' occurred in Ossetic after the contact with the Hungarians, and must therefore be ascribed to parallel development of the two dialects.

This last conclusion is of importance in general linguistics, for we probably often ascribe to the period of community sound-changes actually due, like this, to subsequent parallel development.

Another point of importance for linguists, which is continually emerging, is the regularity of the phonetic form in which the words are borrowed. This regularity is much more likely to be pronounced when the two peoples concerned are illiterate and have been in contact for only a short while. As Dr. T. G. Bailey's lists recently published in this *Bulletin* prove, loanwords from English in Indian languages are far less likely to exhibit this regularity: for here the channels by which they have entered the native languages are very diverse, on both sides, the borrowers being of every sort from illiterate peasants to men who read and speak English as well as their own language, and the English from which they borrow that of the cultured official as well as the various dialects of the British Army. Probably then here also all seeming irregularities have their special explanation.

To students of Iranian, of 'Scythian' culture, of Hungarian and Finno-Ugrian in general, Dr. L.'s work is of capital value; and to linguists in general it should serve as a model for studies of loanwords.

R. L. T.

INDO-URALISCH. By HANNES SKÖLD. pp. 16. 1926.

In this most interesting paper Dr. Sköld carries us back to a far greater antiquity than in the previous book. For he is persuaded of the truth of Wiklund's conclusion: "Es scheint mir aber schon jetzt ganz unzweifelhaft, dass die antwort auf unsere frage nur in einer richtung gehen kann: die indogermanischen und die finnisch-ugrischen sprachen sind unverwandt"—with this addition, that for

'finnisch-ugrisch' he would say 'uralisch'. For in his comparison he includes Samoyede. Such a community, if it existed, must be put back far beyond even the Boghazköi period (1500-1300 B.C.). At that time the language may have developed few of the traits that characterize the Indo-European or the Finno-Ugrian we know by comparison of their descendants. Moreover, the number of words of the original vocabulary to be recognized in both families must necessarily be small. Indeed, Dr. S. deals with sixteen only. But these he treats in a scientific fashion, in strong contrast to the thoroughly unscientific methods which have properly brought many such speculations into disrepute. For, as Meillet teaches, the criterion of proof must remain the same: all that will have happened, if the proof succeeds, will be that a new comparative grammar is superimposed upon the comparative grammar of Indo-European, as that in its turn is superimposed on the comparative grammar of Romance, or of Indo-Aryan or of any of its other branches.

Thus Dr. S. is right first in attempting to establish equations of sound between the two families and secondly in rejecting as suspect any comparisons which do not agree with these equations. Because I.E. *dh* appears as Ur. *t* in **wedh-* **nedh-* co Finnish *vetä-nito-*, he rejects the comparison I.E. *medh-* co *mesi* (gen. *meden*) which he looks upon as an early loanword, either one from the other or both from a third source. But to show that both families possess a certain number of words in common (even when these include such words as the I.E. pronouns **k'em*, **so*, **to*, **yo*) is not sufficient. They may be loans (in which however we might still expect to find regular sound-equations, as noted above). These must be supported by comparison of grammatical particularities: it is the comparison of these which proves conclusively the common origin of the I.E. languages, including Pseudo-hittite. But here the Indo-uralian comparativist is in difficulty: for many, if not most, of the grammatical particularities of I.E. must have been evolved after the period of the supposed Indo-uralian community. Nevertheless Dr. S. stresses the possibility that in the -*n* genitive of Uralian we have a connexion with the typically I.E. heteroclitic declension of *r*-stems, which so strikingly emerged in Pseudo-hittite (of the type nom. acc. *vādar* 'water', gen. *vedenas*, dat. loc. *vedeni*, etc.).

The author does not claim that the case is proved; but he does claim, and rightly, that it is a case for further investigation.

R. L. T.

INDOGERMANISCHE GRAMMATIK. Teil I: Einleitung. 1. Etymologie, 2. Konsonantismus. II: Der idg. Vokalismus. III: Das Nomen. By H. HIRT. (Indogermanische Bibliothek, I, i, 13.) pp. xxxii, 350; xi, 256; xi, 360; $5\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{4}$. Heidelberg: Winter, 1921-7.

No work by Professor Hirt can fail to stimulate thought. The *Indogermanische Grammatik* is no exception. Even if some of his theories are based on insufficient evidence, their enunciation is sure to lead scholars into new and profitable paths. But that very personal quality, which beyond all else makes Hirt's books so refreshing to read, is not so well fitted for a manual. And to this defect must be added the carelessness which often mars the book. Printer's errors appear on almost every page, and in a work like this which will be read by many not well acquainted with many of the languages quoted the results of such mistakes may be far-reaching. Thus on one page (III, 46) 'mēddhām . . . mēd-has' for 'mēdh-ām . . . mēdh-as'; (III, 89) 'dṛṣī-k-am . . . tṛṇ-am' for 'dṛṣī-k-am . . . tṛṇ-am'; (III, 58) 'bhumā . . . cārmāni' for 'bhūmā . . . cārmāni'. Sometimes the mistakes can hardly be those of the printer: *śakthi* (for *sakthi*) repeated by *śakthan* (for *sakthan*). In Sanskrit, where accuracy might especially be expected, strange forms appear like *rājas* for *rājā*; in the Skt. version of the Lord's Prayer (I, 73) we have *tavā* for *tava*, *vayaśca* for *vaya ca*, *kṣamasja* for *kṣamasva*, and *durātmatā* for *durātmatāyā* (?). There are many inconsistencies, e.g. in the marking of long vowels in Latin, or the accent in Vedic words. In a work so full of new theories, one might reasonably expect greater care in exhausting possibilities before a choice is made. Thus in trying to establish the disappearance of I.E. *s* before certain consonants H. quotes Skt. *uṣdm* beside *uṣḍam*; but the former, which is an isolated form, may well be a new analogical creation after the type *panthāḥ panthām*.

But these are drawbacks which we must accept as philosophically as possible; and which we must not let obscure the genius of Hirt's work: for genius, indeed, it contains. But let those who are not 'Hirts' take warning. For such inaccuracies in a work of less genius might well be damning.

It is impossible to follow here all Hirt's expositions and theories: for few writers could put so much into less than a thousand octavo pages. One point may, however, be mentioned in connexion with

questions already raised in this series of reviews, the ultimate community of origin of I.E. with other language-families. It is not with I.E. as we know it by immediate comparison of the separate I.E. languages with which Semitic or Finno-Ugrian or Sumerian must be compared, but with Pre-indo-european, out of which Indo-European subsequently developed. And in many ways this work is a grammar of Pre-I.E. For Hirt, more than any other, has dived into the pre-history of I.E., in his attempts to elucidate the origin of I.E. sounds (especially of the vowels, on which he has shed so much light) and of I.E. forms. His vision opens a vista of possibilities for the future.

R. L. T.

INDO-IRĀNIAN STUDIES. By European, American, and Indian Scholars. pp. viii + 293, 6½ × 9½. London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trübner & Co., 1925.

The regard in which Shams-ul-ullema Dastur Darab Peshotan Sanjana is held by students of Iranian philology and of Zoroastrianism is proved by the contributions to this volume, published in his honour. Scholars from India, from Europe, from America have united to pay tribute to the son who in the monumental edition of the Dinkard has so worthily maintained and increased the fame of his father. There are collected here some twenty-nine articles, which deal with various aspects—religious, cultural, philological, and linguistic—of Zoroastrianism and the language of its scriptures. They are of varying worth; but some are notable. Two are translations from the German, one of which—*Zarathuštra: his life and doctrine*, by C. Bartholomae—has appeared before in *Akademische Rede*; in the other K. Geldner shows conclusively that *zaotar-* in Yasna ii, 1 means 'he who sacrifices or who ought to sacrifice', correlating it thus with Skt. *hóṭr-*.

It might perhaps have been made a little clearer that the form of the latter if connected with *hváyati* 'calls' (and not, as it actually is, with *juhāti*) would have been **hávīr-* (cf. *hávīman-* 'invocation').

It is impossible to notice here all the articles. But among the many interesting, two have especial interest for linguists. A. V. Williams-Jackson gives the meaning 'snarling' to the hitherto enigmatic epithet of the camel (Yt. 14, 11) *urvatō*, which he derives from **ruvatō* as gen. sg. of a pres. part. (cf. Skt. *ruvánt-*). The epithet indeed seems apt to one who has tried to lead a convoy of many

hundreds of these animals by night across the Sinai desert. The same scholar relinquishes his translation of Old Persian *ušabārim* (Bh. 1, 86-7) as 'borne on buffaloes' on the ground that at the time of Darius' crossing of the Tigris the water-buffalo had not been introduced, and agrees instead to the restoration *uš(tr)a-bārim* 'camel-borne'.

In the other H. Reichelt shows that the endings *-iś* *-uś* of certain *n* and *u* stems are ghost-terminations due to wrong reading of the original Aramaic text: thus, e.g., *n'meys* (*nāmuviś* for *nāmaviś*) was read as *nāmēnīś* (*v* having been taken as *n*, as in *hunaiti* for *huvaiti* = Skt. *svātī*).

R. G. Kent draws attention to the dat. sg. of the 1st pers. pron. in the Gāthās—*maibya*. But his discussion does not add much to our knowledge of the history of the forms of this pronoun. His suggestion that the unaspirated form of I.E. **eghom* in Gk. *ἐγώ*, etc., is due to contamination with **ge* in Gk. *ἐκέγε*, etc., is worth considering. But if *-gho-* is a deictic particle, why not also *-go-*, which of course may exist in Slav. *-go*? The two forms may have therefore existed side by side from the beginning. But that only removes the problem one stage: what is the relationship of **gho-* : **go* and **ge* (Gk. *γε*) : **ghe* (Skt. *ha*)? In other words he neglects the fact that they are many instances of alternation between aspirate and unaspirated in I.E. His explanation of **eghom* as a neuter noun meaning 'this-here-ness' is quite at variance with Meillet's doctrine of gender in I.E.

R. L. T.

INDOIRANICA. By J. WACKERNAGEL. (Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, Bd. 55, pp. 104-10.) Goettingen: Vandenhoeck und Rupprecht.

Two of those studies from the pen of the master which make all his disciples long for the completion of his Grammar of Sanskrit. May that day be near.

There is no convincing evidence for the existence of a nom. *pānthā* beside *pānthāḥ*, which is attested also in AV. Acc. *pānthānam* (like Av. *pantānam*) replaced *pānthām* through influence of *ādhvān-* which is almost synonym of *pānthā-*. So, too, *mahdnt-* is due to contamination of *mahd-* and *bṛhānt-*. It may be of interest to note that in its further history *pānthāḥ* has preserved its gender at the expense of its form:

Panj. *pandh*, Si. *pandhu* m. (< **pantho*). In another area the form **panthā* has perhaps influenced the word which has replaced it: *vārtma* n., which appears in Guj. *vāt*, Hi. *bāt*, etc., as a fem., whereas neuters in -an- usually appear as neut. in Guj., and masc. in Hi. (e.g. Skt. *kārma nāma* > Guj. *kām nām* n., Hi. *kām nāū* m., Skt. *cārma* > Guj. *cām* n.). Only in Kumaoni and Nepali, which have certain relations with the N.W. group where *pānthāh* preserves its gender, do we find *bāto* as a masc. (But Nep. also keeps the gender of certain masc. stems in -i, as *āgo* 'fire' opp. to Hi., etc., *āg* f.)

The second study shows that **ekatya-* (whence Pali *ekacca-*) is a parallel form of *ekatiya-*. Suffix -*tīya-* (as also in *mukhatīya-*) is characteristic of ordinals, *dvitīya-*, *trītiya-*. But these also have forms with -*tya-*.

R. L. T.

AN ETYMOLOGICAL VOCABULARY OF PASHTO. By G. MORGENSTIERNE.
(Skripter utgitt av Det Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo.)
pp. 120, 7 × 10 $\frac{1}{2}$. Oslo: Dybwad, 1927.

A year ago the hope was expressed in these pages that we should soon see more results in detail of Dr. Morgenstierne's mission in Afghanistan, the firstfruits of which appeared in his 'Report'. That expectation has been fully justified.

This etymological vocabulary is dedicated to Professor Geiger, who more than thirty years ago laid the firm foundations of the study of Pashto etymology and phonetics. But in thirty years much new knowledge of Iranian has come to light. In the domain of Pashto itself M.'s study of dialects is probably the greatest contribution. It was thus time for revising and supplementing Geiger's work. The importance of etymology in linguistic science is capital. Without sure etymologies we cannot establish the formulas of sound-change; without establishing the formulas of sound-change there can be no science of comparative or historical grammar. Hence especial attention may be drawn to the strictness of M.'s method. The development of sounds is open to comparatively strict control; to the development of meanings there seems to be almost no limitation. The uninitiated are sometimes sceptical; the expert is sometimes carried too far by his own enthusiasm. M.'s semantic comparisons from other languages will therefore be welcomed. It is perhaps possible to add

a few. The suggestion that *γapai* 'calf of leg' may be the same as *γapai* 'coarse bread' receives confirmation from the development in I.A. of Skt. *piṇḍa-* 'round lump, ball of rice' in Rom. *pinro* 'foot', Tirahi 'pōnde', Nep. *pirulo* 'calf of leg'. For *ōla* 'flock of lambs' < Av. *hāta-* ∞ Skt. *sātá-* 'won, wealth', cf. Skt. *dhāna-* 'prize, booty, wealth' > Si. *dhaṇu* 'herd'.

The difficulties of the Pashto etymologist are great. Phonetic development has taken place to a degree at which many words, from the phonetic (as well as the semasiological) standpoint, are susceptible of more than one derivation. M. quotes the example of *walai*, in which *w-* can represent earlier *w-*, *b-*, *haw-*, or *hab-*; *-l-* can represent *-d-*, *-t-*, or *-θw-* and the vowel *a*, *au*, or *ai*. The phonetic possibilities are thus almost unlimited.

To the Iranianist this book needs no recommendation: it is indispensable to him. To the Indianist three considerations make it of vital interest. The first—the original connexion of Indian with Iranian—needs no elaboration. The second is the mutual influences of Iranian and Indian after their differentiation. This has probably been profound. Tedesco has shown how certain isoglosses (chiefly semasiological) run through both N.W. Indo-Aryan and adjacent Iranian. This book furnishes further examples: *wana* 'tree' (∞ Skt. *vāna-*) has the same meaning in Si. *waṇu*, but becomes 'forest' further to the East (e.g. Hi. *ban*).

Although the predominant outside influence on Pashto has been exercised by Persian, its position and its relations, at times intimate, with India have led to much borrowing from I.A. in early as well as modern times. The early borrowings are of considerable phonetic interest to the Indianist: e.g. *lašta* (as in Hi. *lāthī*, etc.) in which we have possibly contamination of Skt. *yaṣṭi-* and *lakuṣa-*. It may be possible to add a few more.

kat 'heap', cf. Panj. *khāttā* 'pit', Nep. *khāt* 'heap' < Skt. *khātra-*.

larama 'nettlerash', cf. Shina *jāzi*, Panj. *dadd*, Nep. *dād* 'ring-worm', etc., < Skt. *dadrū-* *dardrū-*.

hwar 'high', cf. Ku. *udharṇo* 'to untwist'; Pa. *uddhata-* 'pulled out' < Skt. *uddhṛta-* 'removed, raised'.

lawar 'stick', beside Syr. Rom. *lauri*, cf. Nep. *lauro* < Skt. *lakuṣa-*.

čūt 'flat, pressed', cf. Panj. *citt*, Guj. Mar. *cūt*, Ass. Bg. Or. Hi. Nep. *cūt* 'lying flat on the back' < **citta-* < **cipta-* ? cf. widely spread **cip-* **cipp-* 'press'.

bram 'power', cf. Skt. *brāhman-* ?

lār 'spittle', cf. Nep. *lār*, *rāl*, Hi. Ku. *rāl*, < Skt. *lālā*- (< **lādā*-?).
rōy 'in good health', cf. Skt. *aroga*-; *arogī* < *ārogyam* is very common in the Khar. Doc. from Niya.

palaltai 'sitting cross-legged': also Lah. *palatthī*.

pōh 'aware', cf. Skt. *prabudh*- 'watchful' (*prābudhyate* in Sgh. *pubudinū* 'to wake up').

wīr 'expanded', lw. from **vi-ṛta*-, cf. Skt. *vi-ṣṛta*-?

viōšta 'unit of square measure': or lw. from Skt. *vitasti*- in Si. *vithī*, Sgh. *viyat*?

wūt 'open, ajar': lw. from Skt. *vikta*- 'separated'?

zambol 'to blink': there is a large family of words in I.A. expressing 'rapid motion' from **jhamma*-, as in Nep. *jhamma* 'altogether', *jhamjham* 'in torrents', *jhamjhamāunu* 'to tingle', *jhamkanu* 'to shine', *jhamṭanu* 'to spring', as well as from **jhampa*-, **jhappa*-.

ār 'hindrance': Indian has both **aḍa*- (Si. *aṣaṇu* 'to stick'), **āḍa*- (Ass. *āriba* 'to suspend', Hi. *ārṇā*), and **aḍḍa*- (< **aḍya*-? — Kash. *aḍun*, Si. *aḍaṇu*, Nep. *aṣinu*).

drabol 'to press down': direct borrowing from Indian (cf. Si. *daḥaṇu*, Hi. *dabnā*, etc.) is doubtful, because Si. *daḥaṇu*, Lah. *dabbaṇ*, Kash. *dabun*, Rom. *dab* point to **dabb*-, not **darb*- or **drabb*- (as suggested by M.).

The following further suggestions are offered with diffidence by one who is no expert in Iranian phonology.

ūḍ 'long': < Indo-Ir. **br̥dha*-, rather than Av. *boraz*-. Cf. Pa. *buddha*- 'old' < Skt. **bṛdha*- (with *ḍḍh* for *ḍh* by analogy), beside Skt. *bṛhāt*-.

aγēr 'indigestion': < **agṛta*-, rather than **āgṛta*-. Cf. Skt. *ajīrna*- 'indigestion'.

taṣtan < *caṣtan*: cf. corresponding assimilation in Skt. *tiṣṭhati* > Pkt. *ciṭṭhā* (attested in Kalasha *ciṣtim*, Sgh. *hiṭinu* (is Pashai *tōstik* a further dissimilation?).

ōāra 'knife' < **kartyā*: cf. Shina *kācī* 'scissors' < **kartyā*?

γarma 'sun': as in Rom. *kham*, Nep. *ghām*, etc. < Skt. *gharmā*-.

γara 'proud': cf. Skt. *garva*-?

lwarēdāl 'to be cleft' < **nī-bard*-. the modern languages show the Skt. form to be *vardh*-, not *bardh*-.

maryalara 'pearl': cf. also Skt. *marakata*-.

naštējōl 'to squeeze, wring': can this be connected with Skt. *nīscotayati* 'causes to drip', which survives in Si. *nicoiṇu*, Guj.

nicorvū 'to squeeze out', and with extension *-da-* in Hi. *nicornā* (cf. *nicurnā* 'to ooze out'), Nep. *nicornu*, etc.

nūm 'navel': Shirani *numī* '90': cf. similar nasalization of *-v-* (> *-v̄-* > *-m-*) in several I.A. dialects: Garvi *num*, Kash. *nam*, Sgh. *nama* '9'; Kash. *namat* '90'.

niyūz 'flood': prob. with M. < **ni-yauza-*; but in view of Geiger's phonetically difficult **ni-wāza-* (cf. Skt. *ni-vah-*), cf. Skt. *ny-ūh-* (i.e. *niy-ūh-*)?

prānatol 'to loosen': may there not be similar confusion of two roots **nedh-* and **negh-* in Skt. *naddhā-* and *nāhyati* (for *-h-* < *-dh-* in this word would be irregular)?

puštāi 'rib': unnecessary for Geiger to reject Darmstetter's derivation < Av. *paršti-* 'back' in favour of Skt. *prṣṭi-* 'rib'. Are not these two words the same, both (as well as Skt. *prṣṭhā-* and Av. *paršta-*) being extensions of **perk-* in Skt. *pārsu-*, Av. *porasu-*? Apart from the extraordinary fluidity in the nomenclature of body-parts, this development of meaning appears natural; cf. also Skt. *prṣṭi-vāh-* (prob. 'carrying on the back').

puštēdal 'to ask': or denominative from past part. **prṣṭa-*?

(*pušta-*)*warga* 'kidney' < **warkā-* < *wṛtha-*. M. points out that assimilation of *tk* > *kk* must be older than *rt* > *r*. In this particular word assimilation of *tk* took place also in I.A. inexplicably early: Skt. *vṛkkāu*. Phonetic irregularity, or deformation, in the name of a body-part?

war 'scab': can this be < **wṛ-ta-*? Cf. Skt. *vṛanā-* (*vr-ana-*?), Lat. *volnus*, according to Walde (s.v.) from **wel-* 'tear'. This also in Skt. *vṛścāti* (< **wṛ-sqe-*? —or < **wṛ-k-sqe-*, enlargement with *-ek-* as in *vṛk-nā-*?).

Lastly it is noteworthy that the same class of words seem to present phonetic irregularities or difficulties in more than one language: e.g. *layar* 'naked', if < **nagna-* (Av. *mayna-* with *m-*!). So beside Skt. *nagnā-*, Hi. *nāgā*, etc., Kash. has *non* with unexpected *-n-* < *-gn-*. The phonetic difficulties and confusions of the Ir. word for 'throat, neck' are paralleled in I.A., where we find Skt. *kanthā-* (etym. ? —cf. Syr. Rom. *kand*, Mar. *kāthē*, etc.), Skt. *ghanṭikā* (etym. ? —cf. Guj. *ghāṭi*, etc.); Skt. *ghāṭā* (etym. ? —cf. Hi. *ghār*, etc.); Skt. *skandhā-* 'shoulder' (cf. Si. *kandhu* 'neck'); Skt. *gātra-* 'body' (cf. Si. *gātru* 'neck'; **gāṭta-* in Panj. *gāṭṭā*, Si. *gāṭo* 'nape'); and finally Sh. *soṭū*, Kash. *hoṭ* 'throat' (< **srāṭta-*?).

R. L. T.

NOTES ON SHUGHNI. By G. MORGENSTIERNE. (Norsk Tidsskrift for Sprogvidenskap, vol. i, pp. 32-84.) 1928.

Attention has already been called to the urgent need for recording more fully some of the Dardic dialects of Indo-Aryan before they die out. The need is scarcely less urgent of doing the same for certain of the Iranian dialects in or near the borders of India. Shughni, one of the Ghalcah group, north of the Hindu Kush, is rapidly being overrun by Persian. In a letter quoted by the author of these notes, J. Barthoux, head of the French Scientific Mission in Afghanistan, who visited Badakhshan in 1926, wrote: "Les interpénétrations qui s'accroissent chaque année, de plus en plus, vont susciter des contaminations et submerger les langues autochtones." It is good, therefore, that Dr. Morgenstierne during his own linguistic mission in Afghanistan should have been able to collect some Shughni material. With this he has included what has been collected by others. W. Geiger, in *Gr. ir. Ph.* i, 2, has treated of the phonology. But M. adds a number of details. The existence of *š*, of various origin, but 'prob. pronounced with the tongue retroverted', is of interest when compared with the development of Indo-Ir. *ś* to *ṣ* in Sanskrit, through contact with which arose the cerebral plosives properly belonging to Sanskrit.

The phonological notes are followed by a vocabulary of about 900 words, with important etymological indications. About half these words are shown to be loans from Persian. Two short texts form a useful appendix.

A few notes: If 'an early insertion of *n* has saved the *d*' in *mēnd* 'waist-band', why not also in *mīd* < Av. *maidya-*? It would be interesting to know whether the other dialects generally have both forms. The special liability of certain words to be borrowed requires further investigation: thus here *mut* 'fist' is noted as a loan, just as *muṣṭak* must be in Shina.

The change of *θr* > *c* (i.e. *ts*: e.g. *puc* 'son') is parallel with that of Shina *tr* > *c*; while *nūst* 'sat down' < **ni-hasta-* beside Sarikoli *nālūst* < phonetically regular **ni-šasta-* is paralleled in Dardic by Kalasha *nisim* 'I sit' < **nisidāmi*, not *nīs-*. *pešc-* 'to ask' points to Ir. **prś-ēa-*, which M. says he cannot explain. Is it possible that this represents I.E. **prk-sqe-*, while Av. *porasa-* < **prk-ske-*? If so, it forms an important parallel with the forms of Balt.-Slav. which, according to Brugmann (*Grundriss*, II, iii, p. 351), have *-sqa-*: Lith. *jėškau*, O.Sl. *iskę* 'I seek' < **is-sq-/s-*, beside Av. *isaiti* < **is-šk-/s-*.

R. L. T.

A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF MALAYALAM PHONETICS. By L. VISWANATHA RAMASWAMI AIYAR. (Calcutta University Phonetic Studies, No. 1.) pp. 31, $6\frac{1}{2} \times 9\frac{3}{4}$. Calcutta University Press, 1925.

A very interesting study on scientific lines, and the forerunner of others, it may be hoped, to appear in the same series. We hope, too, that the author himself will write more fully on Malayalam phonetics than the limits of this little brochure permitted. For there are several points which more information might illuminate. Thus, though no word ends in a plosive, words do end with the voiced continuants [n], [ɳ], [j], [r], [ɻ], [l], [ʎ], [ɹ], [m]; or the same words may be pronounced with a following (ə). But under what conditions?

The student of Indo-Aryan is struck by the great difference between the phonetic system of Malayalam and of I.A. in general: there are no voiced or unvoiced aspirates; there are no unexploded stops (the reproduction of unexploded final -t in Skt. loanwords as -l is interesting); there are three series of *t*-sounds, retroverted [ɖ], alveolar [t̪], and dental [t̪ʰ]. Neither [ɖ] nor [t̪] appear initially, although in later I.A. initial cerebrals become common.

A few points need correction. Sanskrit *a* was not [a], but at an early date had become [A] or at least was differentiated from [a:] in the direction of [A]. The word-stress in English is not necessarily on the initial (e.g. for'bid, al'low, etc., etc.), although this is a mistake frequently made by Indian speakers of English; nor is it in German.

R. L. T.

UN ANCIEN PEUPLE DU PENJAB. By J. PRZYLUŚKI. (Extract from *Journal Asiatique*, Jan.-Mar., 1926.) pp. 59. Paris: Imprimerie Nationale, 1926.

In this brilliant study Przyluski continues his research into the pre-Aryan population of India, and the reactions of their language on Indo-Aryan. Discoveries at Harappa and Mohen-jo-Daro disclose the existence of considerable civilizations in the Indus Valley. To help bridge the interval between these and that of which we have cognizance in the Vedic hymns, P. has studied certain facts about the ancient peoples of the Panjab, and in particular the Udumbaras, whose prosperity is attested by many finds of coins dating before the Christian era.

Madra (with its variants Malla, Māla, Mālava, Madda, and Maddava) is another form of Bhadra. They are names of the same

or adjacent peoples. But P. gives no full explanation of or parallel for the interchange of *bh/m*. Is the original **mhalla-* > *bhalla-*; cf. Skt. *mahiṣṭ* > **mhaiṣī* > Hi. *bhaiṣ*, etc.? Madra and Bhadra are learned Sanskritizations of Malla and Bhalla: cf. the existence of pairs like *bhalla-alla-* in the popular language (< **bhadla-*, **ārdla-*) beside *bhadrá-* and *ārdrá-* in the learned. *Bhalla* > **bahla-* (by a change analogous with that which produced W.Pah. *gòhro* < *ghotaka-*; but it must be remembered that we have no evidence of the antiquity of this latter): *bāhlika-* may then be derived from *bhalla-*; and *Bhallika-* was the name of a celebrated caravan leader. The Bahlikas were probably an Iranian or iranized tribe.

These identifications, though tempting, are not too strong on the phonetic side. With the Udumbaras P. seems on surer ground. The textile stuffs known in Pali as *koṭumbara-* or *kodumbara-*, in Skt. as *koṭambaka-*, came probably from a country in the Sub-himalayan zone. Disappearance of initial *k-* (> *kh* > *h*) is characteristic of certain Austro-asiatic languages. *kodumbara-* and *od*^o may thus form a pair (Skt. **kudumbara-*: *udumbara-* and *ulumbara-*). *ku-* or *ka-* is a widespread Austro-as. prefix. The root is **tumba* 'gourd or cucumber', borrowed in various dialectical forms in Indo-Aryan (type Skt. *tumba-*, *lābu-*, which correspond with Batak *tabu*, Malay *labu*). The name for 'gourd' was transferred to the *Ficus glomerata* owing to likeness in shape and in multiplicity of seeds. In the South Seas the names of peoples are frequently taken from those of vegetables, and several Austro-as. peoples trace their origin to a gourd or melon. In India Sumati, wife of Sagara, gave birth to a gourd whence came 60,000 sons. If then *udumbara-* is of Austro-as. origin, it may well be the name both of the *Ficus glomerata* and of a people. These are situated both in the Sub-himalayan zone and in Kacch (Pliny's *Odonbeores*). The Dravidians, found in Baluchistan (Brahui) and south of the Vindhya, originally may have extended over the Panjab, whence they were driven by the Austro-asiatic speaking peoples. Later the Aryan invasion divided the latter into two. Evidence of their cultural importance is seen in loanwords in the West. The hesitation between *b* and *p* in Lat. *carbasus* and Gk. *κάρπασος* is not explained by Skt. *karpāsa-*, but may be explained by common borrowing (directly or through intermediaries) from Austro-as. in which the word for cotton contained a half-voiced labial.

Indo-Aryan is unique among I.E. languages in maintaining the voiced aspirates. This would be explained by an Austro-as. sub-

stratum: for the aspirates of Austro-as. are remarkable for their force and duration, and include voiced aspirates.

These conclusions reached by the author's keen insight, are supported by a wealth of evidence, of which some may not be convincing in itself, but of which the cumulative effect is strong. Whatever may have to be altered or added to in the future, P. has written the beginnings of a most fascinating chapter in Indian history.

P. has offered an explanation of the name of the widespread caste of Doms (Skt. *ḍomba-*) in the gourd from which various musical instruments are made. The examination of other modern caste or tribal names would be fruitful. I have elsewhere (*Nature*, May, 1928) suggested the study of Skt. *oḍra-*, which appears in all I.A. and some Dravidian languages either as the name of a tribe (the aboriginal inhabitants of Orissa) or of a caste of mud-workers. The archaic form in Sindhi *oḍru* suggests early contact between Aryans and Oḍras. Were they, too, an Austro-as. people in the Panjab?

R. L. T.

NOMS DE VILLES INDIENNES DANS LA GÉOGRAPHIE. By J. PRZYLUŚKI. (Bull. Soc. de Ling. No. 83, pp. 218-29.) Paris, 1927.

The author establishes and comments on the geographical equation *Dantapura* = *Dantakūra* or *Dandagoura* (Ptolemy) = *Paloura*. The purely Aryan name is translated by the mixed *Danta-kura* or the purely un-Aryan *Paloura*. *pal-* 'ivory' (= *danta-*) may be either Dravidian (= ivory) or Austro-asiatic (= tooth). *kūra-*, *gūra-*, *ūr-* has connexions in Austro-as. (Munda **katũ*, Indonesian *kuta*), eventually connected with a root meaning 'enclose'. This has a parallel in Sumerian *gar g'ar* 'enclose, assemble', *kar* 'wall'. The initial equation is probable; the later comparisons are possible, but as yet they lack the exact equivalence of phonetic particularities without which no etymology can be held proved.

R. L. T.

PRAKRITIC AND NON-ARYAN STRATA IN THE VOCABULARY OF SANSKRIT. By A. C. WOOLNER. (Extract from Sir Ashutosh Mukherji Memorial Volume.) pp. 7, 6½ × 9¾. Patna, 1926.

Principal Woolner has written a suggestive article on the non-Indo-European vocabulary of Sanskrit and its descendants. He has contented himself with making some interesting lists of Sanskrit words, which are without known or sure etymologies, but which seem

to have at least some connexion among themselves, betraying perhaps a common source of borrowing. Sometimes perhaps the author unnecessarily throws away an Indo-European etymology. He rejects the I.E. origin of *āṇḍā-*, which I upheld in *JRAS.* 1924, p. 565, namely its connexion with the family of words represented by O.Sl. *jedro* 'testicle'. To the argument there adduced I would now add firstly the fact that without doubt there was an I.A. dialect in which *-ndr-* > *ṇḍ*. To the probable comparison Skt. *daṇḍā-* co Gk. *δέσπορ*, we can add the certain derivation of Skt. *caṇḍa-* < *candrá-*, since Sindhi has *caṇdro* 'passionate', just as it has *caṇḍru* 'moon' < *candrá-*. That *āṇḍā-* represents **āndra-* appears to be proved beyond doubt by the Kalasha *ondrak* 'egg'. How then are we to account for the fact that in all other dialects which normally preserve *ndr*, or change it to *ṇḍr* (as Sindhi) or *ṇḍ* (as, e.g., the Central and Western groups) only the form *āṇḍā-* appears (> Pkt. *aṇḍa-* > Class. Skt. *aṇḍa-*)? In India, at least, the word for 'egg', perhaps from its association with 'testicle', appears liable to replacement either by borrowing from another dialect, or by a completely new word; while the phonetically correct descendant of *āṇḍā-* is retained either in a specialized sense or as meaning 'testicle'. In the second category we have Kash. *thūl* ('the big' < *sthūlá-*); Nep. *phul* ('the swollen' < *phullá-*), but *ḍr* 'testicle'; W.Pah. *kōci pinni*, *rāmpur pinni* ('the little lump' < *piṇḍikā*); E.Suketi *bāṭṭi*, Bilaspuri and Mandeali *battī* ('the round' < *varta-*). To the first category belong Class. Skt. *aṇḍa-* (not *āṇḍa-*) from Pkt.; Hi. *aṇḍā* 'egg', *ḍr* 'testicle'; Bg. *aṇḍa* 'egg', *ḍriyā* 'male'; Guj. *aṇḍ* 'egg', *ḍḍ* 'testicle'. Shina gil. *haṇē*, koh. *haṇḍ*, gur. *haṇó* all have an irregular *h-*.

Since, then, for whatever reason, many of the Mod. I.A. languages show this avoidance of the phonetically correct form, we may perhaps assume with some degree of probability that the Rigvedic dialect, which normally retained *ndr* (e.g. *candrá-*) replaced **āndrá-* by the form *āṇḍā-* from a dialect in which *ndr* > *ṇḍ* (from which also come *caṇḍa-* and *daṇḍā-*).

But *āṇḍā-* is only one of many words of unknown or uncertain etymology. Przyluski in an article already referred to has shown that Austro-asiatic tribes maintained themselves in all probability till a late period in the Panjab. Himself situated in the Panjab, it is to be hoped that Principal Woolner will continue his study of the non-Indo-European elements in Indo-Aryan.

R. L. T.

THE SO-CALLED TAKHT-I-BAHI INSCRIPTION OF THE YEAR 103. By STEN KONOW. (Epigraphia Indica, vol. xviii, pp. 261-82.)

The inscription is read by Professor Konow from a new estampage, and is most illuminatingly discussed from the historical as well as the more strictly epigraphical and linguistic standpoint. Several points of considerable linguistic interest emerge. In these problems the modern languages can often bring help or confirmation and should never be neglected. K. is undoubtedly right in his interpretation of *pache* as *pākṣe*, since the *ch* is written with the form corresponding to Skt. *kṣ*, not *cch*. And it is precisely in the N.W., in the so-called Dardic dialects, that the regular development of *kṣ* is *cch*, not *kkh*, as I shall show below in another review. Whether the form without the bar (< Skt. *kṣ*) should be transliterated *kṣ* is doubtful. I prefer the form used by Rapson, namely *ḥh*. Shina distinguished this sound to-day as a cerebral (retroverted) *ch*, as opposed to palatal *ch* (< Skt. *cch*, *thy*).

The identification of *boy-* in *boyāṇa* with Ir. **baug-* 'to save' does not seem to me certain. Would *-g-* or *-j-* in an Ir. loanword have become *-y-*? In other words, was it borrowed early enough?

K. notes the tendency of Kharoṣṭhī Inserr. to replace Skt. *śr* by *ṣ*. The reality of this is completely confirmed by Dardic and by Syrian Romani: Skt. *śr* > Shina *ṣ*; and in Syr. Rom., in which Skt. *ś* > *s*, *śr* (like orig. *ṣ*) > *ṣ*.

K. ascribes the value *z* to *jh* in words like *dajha* < Skt. *dāsa-*. I have suggested the same value for the symbol transliterated by Rapson as *ṣ* in the Niya documents. Again, in certain of the N.W. dialects intervocalic *-s-* has regularly become *z*, e.g. in Kohistani Shina (*bazōdu* < *vasantā-*). It is, however, noteworthy that those languages which, preserving intervocalic *-s-* or changing it to *-h-*, have voiced breathed consonants following a nasal, have changed *ś* or *s* after a nasal to *j* or *jh*: e.g. Sindhi *wañjhu* < Skt. *vaṃśá-*, *hañju* < Skt. *haṃśá-* (beside Shina *anzu*).

I cannot agree that *ayasa* represents *ādyasya*. Pkt. has no form *ajja-* < *ādya-*, because the expected phonetic form of the latter would be **ādiya-*, which survives in Pali *ādiya-* beside more common *ādika-*: Pkt. has other derivatives, *ādima-* and *ādilla-*. *ādya-* cannot become *aya-* (i.e. *ayya-*); the comparison with *uyyāna-* < *udyāna-* is beside the point. For in this case we are dealing with the final unexploded consonant of a word *ud*. These final unexploded stops are assimilated to a following continuant, and so have a different development from

the same stops in the middle of a word, where the explosion was heard through the following continuant. The same holds good of final (unexploded) *-s* before an initial stop, and *s* + stop in the middle of a word. Thus in the middle of a word *-ts-*, *-dy-* > *ech*, *ech*, *jj*; *-sk-* *-sk-* > *kkh*; *st* > *tth*; *st* > *tth*; *sp* > *pph*. But *niś c-* > *nice-*, *niś k-* > *nikk-*, *niś t-* > *nitt-*, *ut ś-* > *uśś-*, *ut s-* > *uss-*, *ud y-* > *uyy-*. This principle is confirmed by the fate of *ut sthā-* (Girnar *ustānām*) which in N.W. dialects appears as *uśt-* (and in Romani *uśtilo* 'stood') and so regularly in Hindi, etc., as *uth-*. I hope shortly to write more fully on this problem of *sandhi* and its apparent exceptions.

R. L. T.

'GEBEN' UND 'NEHMEN' IM INDISCHEN. By P. TEDESCO. (Journal of the American Oriental Society, vol. xliii, pp. 358-90.)

An important study of Indo-Aryan isoglosses of form and meaning. The past tense of 'give' in Mod. I.A. represents three earlier forms **dita-*, **ditta-*, *dinna-*. The first, though not found in Skt., is I.E. **dato-* (= Lat. *datus*); the second is Skt. *dattá-* influenced by **dita-*, and the third has the frequent *-na-* suffix of roots ending in a dental. There are other forms **diddha-*, **dihia-* (crossed with *laddha-*, *lahia-*). The author carefully defines (with the help of L.S.I.) the area of each form; and draws therefrom important conclusions as to the dialectical position of Skt. and Pali: the former (with *dattá-*) belongs to N.W. group, which now has **ditta-*, the latter to the S.W.-Central which has *dinna-*. These isoglosses are crossed by others concerning the word 'take'. The distinction of *labh-* as 'acquire' in N.W.-W.-S. (and Skt.) and as 'take' in Central and E. is perhaps of I.E. date (Gk. *λαμβάνω* has both). Where *labh-* means 'acquire', *grabh-* means 'take' (as in Skt.). They cross with *dā-*, *nī-*, *ānī-*. This brilliant essay shows what information with regard to dialect division (one of the crying needs of Indo-Aryan comparative grammar) can be gained from an intensive study of vocabulary.

From the study of these forms T. reaches the same conclusion with regard to the so-called 'Outer Circle' as the writer from a study of sounds: namely, that the resemblances of the Outer Circle are due to conservation, and therefore indicate no peculiar connexion between them. The innovations of the centre spread outwards and so formed an inner group with innovations in common. Thus I have pointed out elsewhere that the conservation of *-m-* in, say, Shina and Singhalese argues no especially close connexion, but only a common origin.

It appears to me doubtful whether *dinh-* (p. 361) in Mar. *dinhālā*, etc., rests upon *dinna-* + **diha-*. The exact history of M.I. *-nn-* is yet to be written : but there is no doubt that Pkt. *-nn-* often appears in Mod. I.A. as *-nh-*.

Sindhi *pāto* is not for **pato* influenced by pres. stem *pā-* (p. 387), but is the phonetically regular descendant of Skt. *prāpta-*. Panj. Lah. and Si. all preserve a Skt. long vowel as long even before original consonant group (see Turner, *Transactions of 2nd Oriental Congress, Calcutta*, p. 493). In Sindhi the consonant group is in both cases simplified, in Lah. only if an original long preceded it : thus *vēkh-ākḥ-*, etc. (p. 384), require no special explanation. This consideration supports T.'s important contention that **ditta-* is old (being formed on Skt. *dattā-*), and not simply a modern form after other past partt. in M.I. *-tt-* (< Skt. *-kt-*, *-tt-*, *-pt-*) : for the vowel of *kītā* (beside *dittā*) can only be explained from *kia-* > *kī-*, which makes *kītā* a modern form compared with *dittā*.

gidho (p. 379) is analogical, rather than < **gybdha-*.

Sindhi *kayo* (p. 385) is scarcely a N.W. form *kata-* < *kṛtā-* ; for N.W. development of *ṛt* appears to be *aṭ*. Rather *kiyo* influenced by pres. stem *kar-*.

Bhadrawahi *ṭhlā-* (of which T. questions the origin) is probably Skt. *prāp-*. In Bhad. *bhr* > *ḍhl*. It is characteristic of several Dardic and neighbouring dialects that *tr* and *pr*, *dr* and *br*, *dhr* and *bhr* develop in the same way. Gaw. has *ṭl* for *tr* and *pr*.

p. 360, para. 5, for 'Part. Pass.' read 'Part. Präs.'

R. L. T.

ÜBER EINE UNGEWÖHNLICHE VERTRETUNG VON *ṣṇ* IM MITTEL-INDISCHEN. By H. JACOBI. (*Indogermanische Forschungen* xlv, pp. 168-72.)

With Mar. *viṭhu*, etc., as a name of Viṣṇu, Professor Jacobi compares *viṭṭhu-* in Ap. and in the Mahāpurāṇa of the Digambara Puṣpadanta. So, too, Digambara has *Naravaṭ-viṭṭhi-* for *Bhoja-vṛṣṇi-*. Similarly in Mahāpurāṇa *tiṭṭha* = *trṣṇā*. J. compares pronunciation of *ṣṇ* as *ṭ* in Skt. loanwords in Mod. I.A. and considers that these forms with *ṭh* are descendants of popular pronunciation of loanwords with *ṣṇ*. In this connexion it should be recalled that the Śikṣās mention a pronunciation of *ṣṇ* as *ṣṭn*. If J. is right in ascribing this pronunciation to loanwords only, they must be older than the change *ṣṭ* > *ṭṭh*, which is carried through in Pali, and in the more E. inscriptions of Aśoka.

But is it necessarily a development in loanwords only ? The group *sn*, like any other group in which one consonant is not definitely unexploded and the other exploded, is peculiarly liable to divergent development, and beside *nh* (and perhaps *-sⁿn-*) there may well have been a development *-stn- > st > tth*. The Śikṣā reference has been given. But much more important is the parallel, which J. has missed in the development of *śm, sm, sm*. These, too, become either *śś, ss* or *mh* (and *mbh*, perhaps *mph*) or *śp, sp, sp > pph*. And the Śikṣās similarly mention the pronunciation *śpm, spm, spm*. In Aśokan *sm > sp, pph* at Shahbazgarhi (*-aspi < -asmin*), Kalsi (*[ta]phā < tasmāt*), Dhauli and Jaugada (*tuphe < *tuśme, aphe < asme*), Pillar Edicts (*tuphe*), Rupnath (*tupaka*). In addition to the dialectical variation there is positional variation (e.g. *-sm-* in termination in most cases *> -ss-*). Similar development in Pkt. (Pischel, p. 216). The number of words containing these groups and surviving in Mod. I.A. is small : it is therefore impossible to trace the dialectical boundaries. But cf. Khovar *ispa < asma-, grīsp < grīśmā-* ; possibly also Sgh. *api* 'we', *topi* 'you' (otherwise Geiger). There seems no need to assume the intermediate stage *-st-* with Pischel for Pkt. (loc. cit.) and Morgenstierne for Khovar (Report on a Linguistic Mission to Afghanistan, p. 70) ; *sm* may pass to *spm* through failure to co-ordinate closure of lips and of nasal passage ; so, too, *śn > stn*. One of my children for a short while reproduced the English group *sn-* as *t-*, before changing it, a little later, to voiceless *n*.

R. L. T.

- I. QUELQUES DÉSIGNENCES D'OPTATIF EN MOYEN-INDIEN ÉPIGRAPHIQUE ET LITTÉRAIRE. II. LE PRÉCATIF SANSKRIT. By J. BLOCH. (Mémoires de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, xxiii 2, pp. 107-22.) Paris : Champion, 1927.

Jules Bloch is the acknowledged master of the Comparative Grammar of Indo-Aryan ; and all that he writes is illuminating. In the first article here he discusses the forms exhibited by the optative in Middle Indian before its final disappearance from Indo-Aryan conjugation. Especially interesting from the point of view of the modern languages, in which some verbal terminations are almost certainly derived from personal pronouns, is the explanation of the ending of the 1st sing. act. *-chaṁ* (for Skt. *-eyam*) as containing the pronoun *aham*. In the second article a satisfactory starting-point for the analogical formation of the precative is provided.

R. L. T.

LA PREMIÈRE PERSONNE DU PRÉSENT KASHMIRI. By J. BLOCH.
(Bulletin de la Société de Linguistique de Paris, xxviii 2, pp. 1-6.)
Paris: Champion, 1928.

Kashmiri has two forms of the 1st sing. of the Old Present, *-a* for roots ending in a consonant (e.g. *cal-a*), *-ma* for roots ending in a vowel (e.g. *di-ma*). The author suggests this is due to varying treatment of *-m-* according as it follows a palatal or a guttural vowel: *demi* > **dem* + *-aū* or *-a* subsequently added; *callāmi* > **calaū* > *cala*. It is perhaps true, as B. points out with other examples, that *ā* tends to absorb a neighbouring nasal earlier than a palatal, although a high vowel may lose its nasalization earlier than a low vowel (e.g. Guj. *-e* < *-ena*, beside *-ū* < *-akam*). But in this case such an explanation is not, I think, necessary. Normally *-m-* is preserved in Kash., but as part of a termination (*JRAS.* 1927, p. 227 *et seqq.*) it may lose its occlusion. But elements which have a special development in a termination may nevertheless have the normal development, when the whole word consists of only two syllables, that is to say when the element in question shares the prominence of the root syllable: thus *-n-* which becomes *-ṇ-* in Guj. in the body of the word, but loses its occlusion in terminations, is preserved in dissyllabic *tēna* > *ten(e)*; or the termination *-assa-*, which becomes *-aha* > *-ā* in Nep., etc., is preserved as *-as* in *tāsya* > *tas* (op. cit. p. 233). Thus it is probable that verbs of the type Pkt. *demi* (after which **paāmi*, *khāāmi*, *piāmi*, etc., were changed to **pemi*, **khemi*, **pemi*) would in Kash. preserve *-m-*, while those of the type *callāmi* would lose it.

B.'s explanation of the 1st plur. of the type Hi. *-ē* (in opposition to sg. *-ū*) as being *-āmaḥ* influenced by the pronoun *amhe* is possible, especially in view of what was said above of the suffixation of personal pronouns. But another possibility cannot be neglected, namely that it represents the Skt. type *-āmasi* (op. cit. p. 236).

On p. 5 B. appears to suggest that in Poguli *-th* of 2nd plur. represents Skt. *-tha-* or *-ta*. This cannot be; and I have suggested another explanation (op. cit. p. 237).

Lastly he tentatively suggests that the *-kh* of 2nd sg. in Kash. (with which he compares Syr. Rom. *-ek*) may represent a treatment of *-s* < *-si*. This seems on the face of it unlikely, as there does not appear to be any similar development in I.A., and in other cases such a final *-s* remains *-s* in Kash. and Syr. Rom. (e.g. Kash. *kapas* < *karpāsah*, *mās* < *māsah*, *wās* < *vāsah*, *hās* < *hāsah*, etc., and in a termination gen. sing. *-as* < *-asa* < *-asya*; Syr. Rom. *gas* < *ghāsah*,

dis < *divasah*, *bis* < *busam*, *mas* < *māsah*, *-ās* < **-asa* < *-asyā*). I can, however, offer no other explanation, except that it may be a suffixed particle (cf. Pkt. *kkhu*, and the *-k* of 3rd sg. imperat. in Beng.).

R. L. T.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE. Section G.—Archæology, Ethnology, etc. Vol. i, pt. iv. Colombo, 1928. Rs. 3-50.

As before, all the articles, with the exception of a short epigraphical summary by Mr. S. Paranavitane, are from the pen of Mr. A. M. Hocart. There is one article of interest to linguists, a survey of the Indo-European kinship system. H. gives a very lucid summary of the three chief systems of kinship: (1) the Descriptive or Individual, as generally conceived of in W. Europe; (2) the Simple Classificatory or Collective in which 'no relationship is peculiar to one man, but every one of his kinsmen is related in exactly the same way to a whole set of people as to himself'; and (3) the Cross Cousin system (a variety of (2)) in which there are two groups—(a) those related through people of the same sex (in which the terms are applied as in the Simple Classificatory system) and (b) those related through people of opposite sex. In (3) therefore, while the same term is used for Ego's son as for brother's son, a different term is used for sister's son. H. suggests that the I.E. system was in the main the Individual, although there are perhaps traces of the Cross Cousin system as in Latin *nepos* 'grandson, nephew'. Within the I.A. branch of I.E. Singhalese (the only mod. I.A. language dealt with) shows the Cross Cousin system; but Skt. and for the most part Pa. are true to the I.E. type. The almost complete neglect of Keltic and, above all, Slavonic and Baltic (not to mention Armenian and Albanian) and the failure to compare Iranian with Skt. make the conclusions less reliable. A few smaller points. It is not quite correct to say that Sgh. *nāddāyā* is from Skt. *jñāti-*, *nā* alone represents *jñāti-*, *-dāyā* is prob. der. *dā* < *jāti-*. What exactly is the (presumably I.E.) 'root *nepotiya*'? The vowel quantities are marked inconsistently in Latin: e.g. *mātēr* (a slip for *māter*), but *matertera*.

R. L. T.

THE NAMES OF RELATIVES IN MODERN INDO-ARYAN LANGUAGES.
By BABURAM SAKSENA. (Fourth Oriental Congress in India,
pp. 475-514.) 1928.

This should be a fruitful field for research. As A. M. Hocart has shown, in the above-noticed article, at least one I.A. language, Singhalese, discloses a system of kinship-designation quite different from that of its parent Sanskrit; and the new system agrees generally with the Dravidian. And in this more detailed study of I.A. Mr. Baburam Saksena has collected a considerable amount of valuable material, which would not otherwise be readily available for the student. But by confining his attention too closely to the form of the words and their phonological connexion with Sanskrit, the author has missed some data and conclusions of a wider social interest. Nevertheless there are a number of acute and interesting observations. There is a tendency to call relatives by names properly used by others in a different degree of kinship. Thus B. S. notes that, e.g., Hindi-speaking children sometimes call their mother *bhaujī* or *bhābhī* or *cācī*. Evidence for the influence of the Dravidian system of cross-cousin marriage is seen in Pkt. *attā* 'mother-in-law'. This is probably Dravidian: Tamil *attai* 'father's sister', as also in Mar. *āt*, *ātyā*. The girl being married to her father's sister's son, her husband's mother is also her paternal aunt. Further evidence for the influence of the Classificatory or Collective system is seen in the fact that the nephew's wife and the niece's husband are treated like the son's wife and the daughter's husband.

The author is weak in his knowledge of the relation of Sanskrit with I.E.¹: *pūṛvya-* (although not recorded in Vedic) is almost certainly original and not a formation after *bhrātrvya-* (cf. Av. *tūrya-*, Gk. *πάρως*, etc.). *yāt-* has nothing to do with *yā-* 'go', but < **y^onater-*, of which other ablaut-forms appear in Lat. *ianitricēs*, Gk. *εὐάρετες*. Awadhi *baccā* is not < *vatsaka-* (although in suggesting this the author rightly notes the irregular loss of aspiration) but is either lw. from Pers. *bačča*, or is < Skt. *āpatya-*. The Panj. *vacc* supports the latter derivation. Oriya *bhāi-bo* is not < Skt. *bhrātrvadhū-*, but is a new Or. compound of *bhāi* and *bo*. *bhatijā* not < *bhrātrjaka-*, but *bhrātrīya-*. *devara-* is post-Vedic and replaced *devī-*. The reason that *māmā*,

¹ The difficulties which face the student in India in this respect are at the present almost insuperable. The lack both of books and teachers argues the pressing need for Provincial Governments to send more students to Europe to study Linguistic Science.

sālā, *sasur* can be used as terms of abuse in Hindi is surely not only because a certain disrespect attaches to the bride's people, but also because these terms imply a certain extra-conjugal intimacy between the speaker and the daughter or sister of the person abused.

The article concludes with a detailed list of the names for sixty-five different relationships in Skt., Pkt., fourteen of the chief modern I.A. languages, and (very usefully) Tamil and Santali. It is a pity that Kashmiri was not included. Certainly a very useful collection. It is to be hoped that the author will continue his research in this direction.

R. L. T.

THE $\sqrt{acch-}$ IN MODERN INDIA. By G. A. GRIERSON. (Garbe-Festgabe, pp. 24-32.) 1927.

In this very interesting essay Sir George Grierson has raised some controversial points. For the origin of Pali *acchati* (Bg. *āchā*, etc.) he has returned to Pischel's derivation from Skt. *ṛcchāti*, rejecting Lévi and Meillet's proposal of **es-ske-*. An etymology however must be considered from two main view-points, meaning and phonology.

G. supports his derivation of *acch-* 'be' from *ṛcchāti* 'goes' by quoting Eng. *go* = *become*, Pers. *šudan* 'go, become', Hi. *jānā* 'go, become' (esp. in the passive construction). The semasiological development should then be: *go* > *become* > *be*. If then *acchati* is derived from *ṛcchāti* we may expect its earlier meaning to be 'becomes' rather than 'exists, is'. On the contrary, its meanings (Rhys Davids and Stede: *Pali Dictionary*, p. 8) are 'sits, sits still, stays, remains, leaves alone, is, behaves, lives'. With a pres. part. it forms a continuative present (e.g. *aggim paricaranto acchati*, D.A. i, 270). There is no instance quoted with the meaning 'becomes'. This meaning of 'remains, exists' as opposed to 'becomes' persists into the modern languages: Rom. *acel* 'stays, waits, stops, sits, stands'; Hi. *āchnā* 'to remain, stay, exist, be'; Nep. *cha* 'is, exists' opposed to the copulative *ho* < *bhāvati* (e.g. *pāni cha* 'is there any water?': *pāni ho* 'is it water?'). Guj. uses $\sqrt{acch-}$ for the present (properly a tense of continuative action), and $\sqrt{bhū-}$ 'become' for the future (which may be a tense of momentary action). There appears to be no modern language in which $\sqrt{acch-}$ has the meaning 'become'. G. has attempted to overcome this semasiological difficulty by suggesting that in several cases what we call a present is in reality a past tense < **acchita-* 'has become' > 'is'. Phonetically this appears possible in the case

of Kash. *chuh*, but not in any other language. Nevertheless G. argues that the presence of fem. forms differentiated from masc. forms argues derivation from the past part. Nep. is a typical case.

m.	f.	m.	f.
<i>chū</i>		<i>chāū</i>	
<i>chas</i>	<i>ches</i>	<i>chau</i>	<i>cheu</i>
<i>cha</i>	<i>che</i>	<i>chan</i>	<i>chin</i>

This is obviously derived from the present.

<i>acchāmi</i>	<i>acchāma</i>
<i>acchasi</i>	<i>acchatha (-o)</i>
<i>acchati</i>	<i>acchanti</i>

Yet on the strength of the fem. forms G. maintains this is derived from the participle **acchita-*: on the contrary, the fem. forms are due to the influence of the real participial tenses on the old present. The difference is plainly observable in the conjugation of the past tense proper (based on the Skt. past part.).

m.	f.	m.	f.
<i>garyā</i>		<i>garyā</i>	
<i>garis</i>		<i>garyau</i>	
<i>garyo</i>	<i>gari</i>	<i>garyā</i>	<i>garin</i>

Similarly the 'immutable' *cha* of Banjari and Gujarati beside the regularly conjugated present is not a participial form, but the unstressed form of the present, like Nep. 3rd sg. *cha* < **chai* (seen in the negative *chai-na*).

√*acch-* thus is seen to mean 'remain, exist, be', not 'become'. Meaning therefore does not support derivation from *rechāti* 'goes'.

What of sounds? Pa. *-cch-*, and the *ch* of most of the modern languages (*s* of Mar. and As.) can represent Skt. *cch*. But there are two important exceptions. The first has been overlooked. The Kharoṣṭhī Documents of Niya have *hāchati* 'is'. Whatever the explanation of *h-* (contamination with **hū-* < *bhū-*?) this can scarcely be separated from our word. *ch* represents Skt. *kṣ*, never *cch* (see above, p. 130). Similarly in Kash. while *cch* appears to become *sh*, *kṣ* becomes *ch*.

giṣhun (*icchāti*), *ishyot*^a (*ūcchiṣṭa-*), *krotsh*^a (Deś. *kaduccha-*), *gaṣhun* (*gācchati*), *prishun* (*pricchāti*), *mīsh* (*mlecchā-*), *ośh*^a (*accha-*), *achur* (*akṣara-*), *āch*ⁱ (*ākṣi-*), *icch* (*īkṣa-*), *kach* (*kakṣā-*), *kōch* (*kukṣi-*), *chapun* (*kṣapyate*), *char* (*kṣara-*), *chāueun* (*kṣāpayati*), *chōr*^a (*kṣāra-*), *chir* (*kṣīrā-*), *chōmbun* (*kṣumbhati*), *dach* (*drākṣā-*), *pach*

(*pakṣá-*), *bochun* (*búbhukṣati*), *bēchun* (*bhikṣate*), *māch'* (*mākṣā*), *rachun* (*rākṣati*), *l'ch'* (*rūkṣá-*), *lach* (*lakṣá-*), *lāch* (*lākṣā*), *lich* (*likṣā*), *wuchun* (*vlkṣate*), *hēchun* (*śikṣati*), *chiwun* (*kṣība-*).

The Kash. *chuh* therefore also implies an earlier form with *kṣ*. But the change of *kṣ* to some sort of *cch*-sound (cerebral *ch* in Shina) is not confined to the North-west: it is regular in Mar. with further development in common with original *cch* to *s*, *ś*. Thus Mar. *ās-* may have had original *kṣ*. Moreover since the change of *kṣ* to *cch* (*cch*) or *kkh* was early, loanwords in one or other form are frequent and widespread: thus *kṣura-* is almost everywhere *chur-*, **kṣvaṭ* '6' (cf. Av. *xšvazš*) is everywhere *cha* (Mar. *sahā*, Sgh. *haya*) except in part of the North-west group which retains Skt. *ṣāt*. Thus the *āch-* of Hi. and Bg. (both *kkh*-languages) may be a similar early loan from *cch* languages.

Since the root meaning seems to be not 'become' but 'remain, exist', I have elsewhere suggested as the origin of the word Skt. *ḍkṣeti* 'abides, dwells'. One difficulty remains. Pa. has not **accheti*, but *acchati*. But the majority of verbs in *-eti* are from Skt. causatives in *-ayati*, and are thus transitives: there was therefore every chance for an intransitive like **accheti* to be changed to *acchati*. To this there appears perhaps a parallel in Maharāṣṭrī *suṇaī*, *jāṇaī* beside Śaurasēnī *suṇedi*, *jāṇedi*.

The necessity of finding a form with original *kṣ* rules out also the derivation from **es-ske-*.

R. L. TURNER.

L'ASVAMEDHA. Description du sacrifice solennel du cheval dans le culte védique d'après les textes du Yajurveda blanc. Par P. E. DUMONT, chargé de cours à l'Université de Bruxelles. pp. xxxvi + 415. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1927.

The Çrautasūtras of the Veda are among the most dreary portions of Sanskrit literature, but they are the essential foundation of our knowledge of the Vedic sacrifice, and all work on Vedic religion is impeded by the fact that so little in the way of translation of these texts has yet been accomplished. It is, therefore, very fortunate that the Fondation Universitaire has been able to render available the funds necessary for the printing of M. P. E. Dumont's treatise on the Aṣvamedha, one of the most interesting and curious of the great Vedic offerings. The work gives, first, a complete exposition of the essential features of the sacrifice as set out in the texts of the White

Yajurveda, the *Vājasaneyi Samhitā*, the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the *Kūtyāyana Śrautasūtra*, and then adds a translation of book XX of the *Apastamba Śrautasūtra*, Book XV of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, and of the fragments of the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra* published by Professor Caland in *Acta Orientalia* IV, thus giving a very full presentation of the ritual of the Black Yajurveda. Finally there is given a version of the relevant portions of the Āgamedhika-parvan of the *Mahābhārata*. The questions of more general interest regarding the character and purpose of the sacrifice and of parallel rites are briefly indicated in the Introduction, but are not treated at length, nor, indeed, unless a fresh theory can be brought forward, would much purpose be served by a review of these much discussed issues.¹ On the other hand, it is most convenient to have so clear, accurate, and complete an exposition of the horse sacrifice, and M. Dumont is to be congratulated on the successful accomplishment of a task always difficult and often extremely tedious.

M. Dumont's renderings of the Sūtras are trustworthy, and doubt as to their correctness is seldom possible save where the text itself is doubtful, as is too often the case with the text of Baudhāyana, which Professor Caland had to edit from very unsatisfactory manuscript evidence. Sometimes help can be derived from the fragments of the *Vādhūla Sūtra*; thus in *Baudhāyana*, xv, 8, the word *vyudacadhvam* is undoubtedly given probability by the occurrence in the *Vādhūla* of *apodacya*.² In *Baudhāyana*, xv, 14, again *ārohaṇamahānasāni* is hesitatingly rendered "grands chariots munis d'échelles pour y monter"; but fragment 76 of the *Vādhūla* gives six kinds of *anāṇsi*, of which the first two are *ārohaṇam ca mahānasam ca*, and the constant parallelism of the two texts suggests that *ārohaṇamahānasāni* must be taken as a Dvanda compound. The *Vādhūla* again in fragment 81 enables us to emend with assurance two dubious passages in the text of *Baudhāyana*. The *Vādhūla* has: *athaiteṣām bailvānām edhācūtānām ṣoḍaśa vā vinṇatīm vā caturvinṇatīm vā racāyam cinvanti*, as printed by Caland (p. 189), who gives *racāya* as a noun in his index (p. 211), although he himself suggests the obvious solution, namely to read *vāracāyam*, and to treat this as a gerund in *am*, for which *Baudhāyana* has a parallel in *ūrmikāram* (viii, 9). That this is correct may be seen at once from the *Baudhāyana* passages; in xv, 14, we have: *bailvāni dārvācūtāni*

¹ Keith, *Taittiriya Samhitā*, i, pp. cxxxiii ff.; *Religion and Philosophy of the Veda*, ii, 343 ff.

² In *Acta Orientalia*, iv, 206, *ac-upa*, *ud* is given, but *apodacya* in the citation.

chindata tāni pravakalāni kṛtvācāyam cinuta in Caland's text, but the one good manuscript M reads *kṛtvāracāyam*, and it is clear that this should be replaced in the text in the form *kṛtvāracāyam*.¹ This is confirmed by xv, 19, where Caland prints: *athaitēṣām dārvācitānām viṇṇatīm vā caturviṇṇatīm vā madhyegner acāyam cīvā*, with M, but where it is clear that we have simply a case of haplography, a *ra* having dropped out, as constantly happens in manuscripts. A survey of the variants in these two passages will reveal that nothing can be made of them, whereas *aracāyam* meets every requirement of palaeography and sense. In *Baudhāyana* xv, 37, again, M, in dealing with the expulsion of the scapegoat, reads: *athainam iṣujitāt prathamanti*, which Caland alters to *pradhamanti* and M. Dumont renders "en soufflant sur lui à la distance de la portée d'une flèche (!)" evidently sharing Professor Caland's doubts as to the correctness of *iṣujitāt*. But there can be no doubt that *iṣujitāt* is correct, if we refer to fragment 69 of the *Vādhūla Sūtra*, where we find: *etām viṣam saṁvahati yāvad asyeṣujitām bhavati*, while in the parallel passage in fragment 99 to the expulsion of the scapegoat the words addressed to that unhappy wight are: *mā me vijite vātsīḥ*. It is clear, therefore that all that is meant is "they expel him from the realm" or "he expels him from the realm"; the verb remains dubious, but *pradhamanti* seems very strange and possibly it is better to substitute *pramathanti* or *pramathati*, which is as easy a correction as *pradhamanti*, and, on the whole, a less unnatural term. In other cases the *Vādhūla* merely gives us an equally obscure term; thus in fragment 76 it has *mānaskṛt* for the *mayaskṛt* of *Baudhāyana* and, though the context suggests that the term must mean "leather-worker", neither form seems easily to yield this sense.

In *Baudhāyana* xv, 4, Professor Caland felt bound to allow the sacrificer to invite the Brahmins and the Kṣatriyas to confer on him by the horse-sacrifice success for the purpose of oppressing even the Brahmins²; the reading, however, was even then unsatisfactory seeing that it compelled the assumption of an unusual form *saṁāpayātā* and an unexpected sense, whereas the opposite sense required no more than the reading: *athābrahmayjyātām asmai saṁjānate* in place of *atha brahma*³ as read in M, the only manuscript giving the words. In the *Vādhūla*, fragment 71, has twice unequivocally *abrahmayjyātāyai*,

¹ Caland (*Acta Orientalia*, iv, 189) gives this as the reading of M., but see p. 218, n. 5 of the edition.

² Contrast *Baudhāyana*, xii, 9: Soma is the King of the Brahmins.

and M. Dumont's translation of *Baudhāyana* should no doubt be emended accordingly. On the other hand, it is needless to seek to make the two Sūtras agree in all details by emending; thus in *Baudhāyana* xv, 22, it is not probable that we should read *dvau dvāv anyāv* in order to make out that the Adhvaryu and the Pratiprasthātṛ are each replaced by two minor priests, so as to make *Baudhāyana* and *Vādhūla* agree in the number of priests who act during the night; if the author of the *Baudhāyana* had meant this, he would doubtless have expressed himself quite clearly. Nor again does it seem possible to construe the words *digbhyo vaṭabe* in *Taittirīya Saṁhitā*, v. 6, 21, to mean four mares, one to each of the quarters, as Professor Caland has proposed¹; as M. Dumont himself remarks, *Baudhāyana* in various points differs from the *Taittirīya*; thus the latter mentions (v. 5, 24) but eight² as opposed to the eleven paryaṅgya victims of *Baudhāyana*, xv, 23, and in v. 5, 12-21, the *Saṁhitā* ignores the victims for Soma and Pūṣan and for Indra and Pūṣan recorded by *Baudhāyana*; it may well be, therefore, that the *Taittirīya* mentions but 22 as against 24 victims of *Baudhāyana*, and that this number was held to be asymmetrical by other authorities on ritual followed by *Baudhāyana*. Discrepancies between *Kātyāyana* and the older texts of the White Yajurveda are also known as regards the numbers of victims (p. 159).

The *Vādhūla* fragments raise many curious questions; fragment 69 with its elaborate system of notification by the king who desires to perform an Aṣvamedha to neighbouring kings, and the use of marriage alliances to secure acquiescence in his proposition, suggests a rather late stage in the development of the rite, and the passage may be late. Fragment 94 records the interesting fact that the boy who was to cut up the horse was led to the place with signs of mourning, as in the case of one about to die, clearly an intimation of the danger involved in laying hands on the victim so filled with the divine potency. But it is interesting to note that the mourning was preserved though the cause ceased to exist, for the chapter explains how Dīrghatamas Māmateya invented a mode by which the boy might avoid the fate, although only through another meeting with death. The curious retention of a custom, when its rationale had disappeared, has caused the tradition of the text to be corrupted; it runs in the manuscript: *yo ha smety āhur etasya purā prathama āchyaṭi mūrdhā ha smāsyā*

¹ *Acta Orientalia*, iv, 193.

² Rather ten; there are only eight distinct offerings, but in two cases there are two victims.

vipatiṣyati. The repeated *ha sma*, which is interesting, is, of course, conclusive that *vipatati* is the correct rendering. The dittography shortly after suspected by Professor Caland is doubtless better explained as only apparent, and M. Dumont's emendations of the text in this case are to be preferred. It seems, however, dubious if we can accept as correct the restoration by the editor of *kumārehi te 'hañ tad vakṣyāmi*, which gives an unlikely position of *te*, while the manuscript has *to*.

M. Dumont suggests (p. xii) that in the rite the chief queen by reason of her special rôle in relation to the sacrificial horse is regarded as the *çakti* of the god, i.e. the feminine form of the divine power, and the *çakti* of the king, i.e. the feminine form of the royal power, just as the horse is the symbol of Prajāpati and the king as sacrificer. The suggestion is ingenious, but is not apparently supported by anything in the texts. Nor is it altogether clear in what light the queens and their attendants were regarded in view of their participation in the rite. The *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* as M. Dumont points out, evidently contemplates (xiii, 5, 4, 27), that they were handed over to the four great priests who performed the rite, but in *Kātyāyana*, xx, 8, 26, already we find this practice negated on the score both that the wives have a right to share the profit of the sacrifice, and that it would really be impossible for the king thus to hand over his wives. *Āpastamba* also (xx, 10, 2) provides for the wives being made over to the priests, but clearly, as often, this prescription is based on the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and not on a *Brāhmaṇa* of the Black Yajurveda.¹ Various explanations of the usage are possible; it is conceivable that the wives, with whom go in any event their retinues, were deemed too sacred, too much permeated by the divine power or *mana*, to remain in contact with the king when, the sacrifice completed, he resumed his status as king, which in theory is transferred to the Adhvaryu during the period of the sacrifice. Or we may merely have one more proof of the extension of Brahmanical claims. In the allocation it is noteworthy that the chief queen is given to the Brahman priest, not to the Adhvaryu, as might perhaps be expected if she really were regarded as partaking of the essence of the royal power as suggested by M. Dumont.

Some light is thrown by a citation of M. Dumont (p. 185) on the puzzling question why the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and the Sūtras of both branches of the Yajurveda should deny the existence of the omentum in the case of the horse, a fact which has naturally been

¹ See Keith, *Taittiriya Saṁhitā*, i, p. xli.

adduced as a proof of distinct failure of observation. The explanations of the error given by M. Dumont from A. Chauveau¹ is that "l'épiploon du cheval, surtout s'il s'agit d'un cheval de cours, est peu gras et translucide". The curious phraseology of the *Baudhāyana Śrautasūtra*, xv, 30: *nācvasya vapā bhavati candram iva medaḥ parivṛktam sācvasya vapā* suggests that the sacrificial priests had observed the phenomenon of transparency.

One final example may be quoted of the help given by comparison, thus rendered easy, of parallel texts. The sacrificer and his favourite wife are to spend a night in continence, as is laid down in the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, xiii, 4, 1, 9. In the *Vādhūla Śrautasūtra*, after laying down this rule prefixed by *tad āhur*, the text continues: *tad u vā āhur asty evātra kārīva yan nagno nagnayā saha çayitānantarhito 'mithunībhaveñ jāgarāyai vā etad rūpam jāgarayanta evopāsīrann iti*. Professor Caland doubted the interpretation of *kārīva*, which the comment misunderstood wholly, as it took *kārīvayam* together and glossed the passage *garbhāpramādo vā*, and his own version assumes that the opinion expressed is unfavourable to the practice enjoined. This, however, is clearly not the case: the *Çatapatha* explains that the sacrificer thinks, when he thus acts: "May I, by this self restraint, reach successfully the end of the year." The abstention is not useless; on the contrary the sacrificer must keep awake and at the same time he accumulates force and strength in lieu of dissipating it; this view explains the following words, *jāgarāyai vā etad rūpam*, which are rendered meaningless if we assume that the practice is disapproved by the *Sūtra*. This view is probably held by M. Dumont, for he renders "Il est pur ainsi dire agissant (?) (*karīva*) ici", but the construction rather seems to be *kārī* as neuter,² and there seems no reason to alter *kārī* into *kari*.

M. Dumont expresses his obligations not only to Professor L. de la Vallée Poussin who encouraged him to undertake his laborious task, and to Professor Caland who initiated him into the mysteries of *Baudhāyana* and examined his work before publication, but also to the translation of the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* by the late Professor Eggeling, "qui constitue, pour tous ceux qui étudient le rituel védique un instrument de travail presque indispensable," a graceful and assuredly well deserved compliment to a pioneer work.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

¹ *Traité d'Anatomie comparée des animaux domestiques* (ed. 1890), p. 430.

² If masculine *yo* would be natural in lieu of *yan*.

TRITA ĀPTYA, eine vedische Gottheit. I. Inauguraldissertation von K. RÖNNOW. (Uppsala Universitets Årsskrift, 1927, Filosofi, Språkvetenskap och Historiska Vetenskaper 5.). 8vo. pp. xxviii + 189, ii. Uppsala, 1927.

It is not very often that a young scholar makes his *début* with a work so good as that presented by Dr. Rönnow. For it bears the stamp not only of scholarly thoroughness, but also of intelligence; the author can think for himself, and generally he thinks well. The only really unsatisfactory point about the book is that it is incomplete; the second part, dealing with the myth of Trita's battle with Viśvarūpa, the origin of the Sōma-sacrifice, and the Trita-legend as a whole, it not yet published, and until it appears we are unable to pass a final judgment upon the work. The present instalment, however, is remarkably good and interesting.

Trita Āptya in the Rgvēda is a mysterious figure, and scholars have greatly exercised their wits and their imaginations to explain the part that he played in Vedic myth. Hitherto they have not been very successful, and it has been reserved for Dr. Rönnow to present a reasoned and reasonable view of the god's character which on the whole satisfies the requirements of the case.

In Dr. Rönnow's opinion, Trita was originally a hero of divine or semi-divine nature who with various other attributes was a dragon-slayer and associated with water and the purifying powers of water. His primitive name was *Trīto-*, practically the same as the Greek *Τρίτων*. But somehow he came to be regarded with special interest as the third of the Three Brothers in the well-known saga, which is spread over the Indo-European area, and hence (in the Indo-Iranian period ?) his name was altered to *Trita*, "Third Man", whereupon his brothers in the legend were accordingly designated *Ēkata*, "Number One", and *Dvīta*, "Number Two". The name *Āptya*, our author holds, is probably derived from *āp-* "water", and denotes Trita's character as a water-deity.¹

¹ This etymology, I must confess, seems to me very doubtful. The Vedic *aptyá*, which is perhaps connected, is of obscure meaning. An Indo-Eur. suffix *-tjo* lacking evidence and so does an Indo-Ir. *-tya* after consonants. Even the Hindus were not quite happy about it, as we see from *Taitt.-Br.* III, ii, 8, 9 ff. (quoted by Dr. Rönnow on p. 30), which gives a double derivation, first taking the word as *āpya-*, from *āp-*, and then as *ātmya-*, from *ātman-*. (Does not this fact, by the way, suggest that at the time of the composition of the *Taitt.-Br.* the *Prakrit* pronunciation of *ātman-* was already *appa-*, or something very like it ?). The Avestan *Ātēya* indicates, as Bartholomæ has remarked, that the early Indo-Ir. form was *āpya-*, a word which was already unintelligible in pre-Vedic times, and which was therefore altered by the Aryans of India to *āptya-*, by false etymology from *āp-* or *āpla-*, or both.

Dealing accordingly with Trita as a water-god, our author begins by showing the immense importance of the position that water holds in the religious life of early man and the wide variety of the rôles played by its deities, and he then proceeds to apply his view of Trita's nature to the data of the *R̥gvēda*. He accepts the theory that there were two main swarms of Aryans who invaded India, and that the first of these brought with them the gods generally styled *Asura*, at the head of whom stood Varuṇa, while the second swarm introduced the cult of Indra and the other *Dēvas*. The *Asuras*, and notably Varuṇa, had already become comparatively civilised and ethical deities when the newcomers, still quite barbarous in character, burst upon the scene. The two cults clashed; their opposition is still traceable, especially in the Vedic rituals, and gradually the *Asuras* as a class came to be identified with demons, *rākṣasas*, and the like.

In pre-Aryan times there was in Northern India a cult of serpents of *Nāgas* (mythically the same as dragons) as rulers of the waters and of the *Sōma* or *Amṛta*, which is the divine essence of water. Apparently Varuṇa took over from these serpent-deities the rule of both the earthly and the heavenly waters,¹ perhaps by peaceful penetration. But when the worshippers of Indra and the other *Dēvas* arrived in India, they waged furious wars upon the earlier gods, to which the *R̥gvēda* bears witness, especially in its references to Indra's battles with the dragon *Vṛtra* for the release of the kine or waters. Indra's supremacy came to be acknowledged, and he became the chief deity of the *Sōma*-ritual. Trita had a career somewhat like that of Indra. He was represented as fighting, either alone or in company with Indra, whose greater glory has eclipsed his; he slew Tvaṣṭar's son *Viśvarūpa*, as Indra slew Tvaṣṭar's son *Vṛtra*. There are traces of a belief that once *Viśvarūpa* possessed the *Sōma*; hence it is possible that Trita was once reputed to have freed the waters, like Indra, and won the *Sōma* by conquest. Probably the same idea underlies the myths of the conflicts between the *Dēvas* and *Asuras* for the sacrifice; the *Asuras* were the earlier possessors of the *Sōma*, the *Dēvas* superseded them in the *Sōma*-cult. Trita in the *R̥gvēda* presses the *Sōma* and worships with it, besides possessing it, dispensing it to the gods and ruling over it in the waters (cf. *R.V.*, IX, xcv, 4, where *Sōma* is styled *Varuṇa*, as is sometimes the case in ritual), by virtue of his original nature as

¹ It is worth pointing in this connection to the remarkable *Varuṇo nāga-rāja*, *J.P.T.S.*, 1885, p. 14.

a water-god, for the Sōma—identical with *amṛta*—is the essence of water; but he does not seem ever to have become the centre of a Sōma-ritual himself.

In these constructions there is much that is attractive and probably also much that is true, but there are likewise some points that are doubtful. The conflict between the Āditya-cult (with Mitra and Varuṇa at its head) and the Indra-cult is notorious. But why must we assume that it arose in consequence of a second invasion? We see in Boghazköi the Ādityas and Indra dwelling together in unity; was the Mitannian treaty preceded by two Aryan invasions? It is surely more reasonable to suppose that the two cults were, for the period with which we are concerned, contemporary and concurrent, though perhaps championed by different branches of the same race, and that in India they ultimately came into conflict. Nor do I understand why Dr. Rönnow should maintain, as he seems to do on p. 13, that the Sōma-rituals of the Asura-cults, afterwards taken over by the Indra-cult, were originally part of the worship of the native Indian serpents and dragons of the waters. Did the Aryans bring with them no similar legends and cults of their own; and were the Gandharvas, serpents, and dragons of Vedic myth all loans from the natives of India? Obviously not, for *ex hypothesi* Trita himself is an old Aryan water-god and dragon-slayer. The Aryans came into India from regions where rivers, lakes, and springs existed, and where accordingly their mythopoeic fancy had abundant opportunity to create legends such as meet us in the Rgvēda. The Gandharva as a spirit associated with the waters and Sōma, as I have shown in some detail in these pages (p. 703 ff. of the last number of this *Bulletin*), is certainly Indo-Iranian, and probably Indo-European also, and the Sōma-cult is of genuinely Aryan origin. It seems most likely then that the Aryans introduced water-cults of their own which were combined with those native to India, and they certainly imported the Sōma-cult.

I am also unable to agree with Dr. Rönnow in his view of the original nature of Viṣṇu and in his theory that the word *svadhā* is etymologically a variant to *sudhā*. But the matter in his book that calls for my assent and admiration is far more than that from which I must respectfully dissent. Besides the points to which allusion has already been made, there are several most instructive discussions, notably those on the evidence of the rituals, the character of Sōma-Amṛta as the essence of water or "Water of Life", the character

of the Gandharvas, and the study of the term *svadhā*, which are of high value. Much of this material has a special interest for me, because it tends to confirm and extend the views that I have set forth with far less skill in my paper on *Yama, Gandharva, and Glaucus*. The study of the book whets the appetite, and we hope soon to see the publication of the concluding volume. And when that volume appears, we trust that it will contain, besides a complete index, a full analytical table of contents, which will enable the reader to find his way with ease through the somewhat difficult pages of a work which, while excellent in its matter, is at times rather bewildering in its method of exposition.

L. D. BARNETT.

BEITRÄGE ZUR METRIK DES AVESTAS UND DES RĠVEDAS. Von JOHANNES HERTEL. Abh. der phil. hist. Klasse der sächsischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, Bd. xxxviii, No. iii. Pp. iv + 98. Leipzig, 1927.

In this skilful and careful study Dr. Hertel shows that the text of the Avesta—the later as well as the earlier—is mainly metrical and intended for chanting, and he analyses the laws of its metrical composition by determining the length of lines and the incidence of cæsura and arsis in them. While the *Gāthās* of *Zarathuṣtra* are strophic in structure, the verses of the later Avesta are here shown to fall into *laisses* or *tirades*, groups of lines predominantly octosyllabic, but in certain definitely fixed cases decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic, which vary in number while in sense forming a whole, and which are often internally connected by rhyme and assonance. In the later Avesta the lines regularly consist of even numbers of syllables, having a strong accent on the last syllable, while occasional catalectic lines occur at the end of *tirades*. In the *Gāthās*, however, the usual verses are of 7, 9, or 11 syllables; the first of these classes is derived from the catalectic octosyllabic line, the second from the hypercatalectic form of the same, and the third from the catalectic form of the dodecasyllabic line. The main results of the inquiry for Avestic metres essentially agree with those found for the *Rgvēda*, except that Vedic metres are further characterised by quantitative distinction; they may be tabulated thus, it being premised that — denotes strong arsis, — medium, and ˘ weak, and that the cæsura always falls at the end of words:—

Octosyllabic - (a) 4 + 4: — ' — ' | — ' — '
 (b) 2 + 6: — ' | — '' — ' — '
 3 + 5: — ' — | '' — ' — '
 5 + 3: — ' — ' — | ' — '

Heptasyllabic (a) 4 + 3: — ' — ' | — '
 (b) 2 + 5: — ' | — ' — '
 3 + 4: — ' — | ' — '

Enneasyllabic (a) 4 + 5: — ' — ' | — ' — '
 (b) 2 + 7: — ' | — '' — ' — '
 3 + 6: — ' — | '' — ' — '
 5 + 4: — ' — ' — | ' — '

Decasyllabic (a) 5 + 5: — ' — ' — | '' — ' — '
 (b) 4 + 6: — ' — ' | — '' — ' — '
 6 + 4: — '' — ' — ' | — ' — '

Dodecasyllabic : (a) 4 + 4 + 4: — ' — ' | — ' — ' | — ' — '
 4 + 2 + 6: — ' — ' | — ' | — '' — ' — '
 4 + 3 + 5: — ' — ' | — ' — | '' — ' — '
 4 + 5 + 3: — ' — ' | — ' — ' — | ' — '
 (b) 3 + 4 + 5: — ' — | ' — ' — | '' — ' — '
 3 + 3 + 6: — ' — | ' — ' | — '' — ' — '
 3 + 5 + 4: — ' — | '' — ' — ' | — ' — '
 5 + 4 + 3: — ' — ' — | ' — ' — | ' — '
 5 + 2 + 5: — ' — ' — | ' — | '' — ' — '
 5 + 3 + 4: — ' — ' — | ' — ' | — ' — '

The heptasyllabic and enneasyllabic lines are limited to the Gāthās. Only in R̥gvēda and Gāthās is the catalectic form of the dodecasyllabic line developed into a regular verse; in the Later Avesta regularly, and occasionally in R̥gvēda, the earlier practice prevails, the lines being normally acatalectic, with catalexis only at the end of *tirades*. The Vedic *triṣṭubh* has arisen from a catalectic form of *jagatī*.

The demonstration of these laws necessitates a certain amount of re-writing of the traditional Arsacid text of the Avesta: thus

omitted or wrongly supplied endings have to be supplied or corrected, and due consideration has to be given to the metrical questions involved in prothetic, anaptyctic, and *svarabhakti* vowels, hiatus and *sandhi*, slurring of vowels, alternative forms of words, and the like, all of which receives instructive treatment in a separate chapter. This is followed by a metrical analysis of Vendidad XXII and III, Haðōxt Nask II, and the decasyllabic and dodecasyllabic verses of Yašt X, followed by a fully annotated translation of Vendidad XXII.

The work will be challenging to some, and stimulating to all. The establishment of the author's thesis entails considerable changes in the orthography of the text and some other alterations, which are sure to evoke discussion and perhaps some dissent; on the whole, however, his criticism tends to demonstrate the general soundness of the traditional text on main points. A singular but inevitable conclusion is that the Later Avesta, which in its present form is considerably later than the Gāthās, is metrically far more archaic than they, and this fact suggests ample food for thought. But space forbids us to enlarge upon these issues, and we must wind up our survey with thanks to the author for having made a really valuable contribution to Indo-Iranian philology.

L. D. BARNETT.

INDRA IN THE R̥GVEDA AND THE AVESTA. By KSHETREŚA CHANDRA CHATTOPĀDHYĀYA. Pp. 11-24. Extract from the Proceedings of the Fourth Oriental Congress in India.

Indra was the god of battles. His epithet *vṛtrahán-*, means 'slayer of enemies' rather than 'slayer of the demon *vṛtrá-*', for *vṛtrá-* in the R.V. more often means 'enemy' than 'demon'. This epithet corresponds with Av. *vorəθrayna-*, the angel of victory. Indra's quality as god of rain, was acquired later, being usurped from Trita Āptya. The demon Indra of the Vendidad is late and may be the less reputable Indra of the Purāṇas. The writer points out that the changes of meaning of Asura-Ahura and Deva-Daēva can be explained as ordinary development without recourse to Haug's theory of a religious schism. This is supported by the development of Skt. *devāḥ* into Sindhi *ḍeu* 'demon'. Even if all the writer's conclusions do not find general acceptance, this little paper deserves notice as representing work on scientific lines by one of the younger school of Indian scholars.

R. L. T.

NALA AND DAMAYANTI. By N. M. PENZER. $6\frac{1}{2} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xi + 207.
London : A. M. Philpot, Ltd., 1926.

This is not a translation of the story of Nala and Damayanti as told in the Mahabharata, nor of any other Sanskrit rendering of the same theme. It is, says the author, an entirely original rendering of the tale based as closely as possible on the Sanskrit versions, but with additional descriptive matter connecting the various incidents. To those who know the story as told by the poets of India, either in the original or in translation (surely Mr. Penzer is wrong in suggesting that no English translation has been more than a mere abstract of the Sanskrit original), the addition of descriptive matter might seem superfluous, or even likely to spoil the beauty of the original. Nevertheless the work has been skilfully done, and makes a pleasing whole. But the simplicity, and the vigour, and with them the moving appeal, of the epic version has disappeared. Mr. Penzer has reproduced not epic, but *kāvya* and though *kāvya* may have great beauties, it is different from epic. A few details. Do deodars (p. 32) grow in Berar? On p. vii the form Saivite is used, and in the next line Shiva. Despite some aesthetic objections the use of diacritical marks, at least of that for long vowels, would help to avoid some of the hideous deformations which the many names are otherwise destined to suffer on the lips of readers unacquainted with Sanskrit. Vibkitaka appears on p. 150 for Vibhitaka and is repeated on the next page.

The work is beautifully printed on beautiful paper. But why will printers, for this class of work, use the conjoint & and &st, which serve no purpose but to distract the reader's eye? The ten miniatures by Mr. Zenker, in the Persian style, add to the charm of the book. May it have the success it deserves and show many what beauties await them in Indian literature.

R. L. T.

MAHĀVĪRACARITAM : edited with critical apparatus, introduction, and notes. By the late TODAR MALL, revised by A. A. MACDONELL. $10 \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. liv + 351. Panjab University Oriental Publications. Oxford University Press, 1928. £1 4s.

The publication of this edition of Bhavabhūti's drama will awaken keen regret in all Sanskrit scholars at the untimely cutting short by death, in 1918, of the promising career of its author. Pandit Todar Mall was Government of India Sanskrit Scholar in the years before the War. It was at Oxford under the supervision of Professor Macdonell

that he prepared this critical edition of the *Mahāvīracarita*. The War came; and his work remained unpublished. After his death, Professor Macdonell despite the sacrifice that such labour would entail and in the midst of his own most pressing duties, undertook the work of revising and editing his late pupil's manuscript. For this pious task students of Sanskrit all the world over will be profoundly grateful. The labour must have been great; but few tragedies are greater than that the accident of death should leave unfinished or unpublished the faithful work of many years.

It is not only that we should have lost this particular edition of a Sanskrit drama; but students, and particularly Indian students who have not been brought up in the critical school of the Western Classics, would have lost a model which must prove a fruitful incentive to similar work.

For, as Professor Macdonell says, "no classical Sanskrit text has ever been so exhaustively prepared by an Indian scholar." Even those so prepared by Western scholars are all too few in number. One of the greatest gaps which the student of the Greek and Latin Classics feels when he comes to the study of Sanskrit is the absence for much even of the more famous classics of really critical editions

Eighteen MSS. were collated, and their variant readings have been shown in footnotes below the text. The introduction is both exhaustive and illuminating. The explanatory notes are to the point, and do not include the often unnecessary annotations of many Indian editions; they are the more welcome because the editor (in tender regard for the diligence, and perhaps for the purses, of students) decided to omit the translation that the author had prepared. The excellent appendices contain the entirely different text offered by the Mysore MS. for the last three acts; the readings of two MSS. received too late to be collated with the text; an index of metres, of first lines, of noteworthy Sanskrit and Prakrit words. The whole deserves the beautiful type of the Oxford University Press, and the pains which both printer and reviser have lavished upon its outward presentation.

One general criticism only need be raised. As the reviser himself says, if he had been the author, he would have made it more concise in many respects. That is a criticism which students, and particularly Indian students, should take to heart. The conditions of a scholar's life in India has led to a prolixity (though in Todar Mall it has been severely pruned) which stands in queer contrast to the abbreviated conciseness of the *sūtra* style.

Finally may the widest publication be given to Professor Macdonell's hope that this volume of Todar Mall's "may help to inaugurate in India a new era, in which all the best classical texts will be edited anew by Indian scholars with a critical training in method ensuring the production of texts that will furnish a sound basis for further research".

R. L. T.

PANCARĀTRAM OF BHĀSA. Edited, with Introduction, English Translation, Notes, Glossary, etc., by WAMAN GOPAL URDH-
WARESHE. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 16 + 110 + 72 + 116 + 16.

This illustrates aptly the need of such a model, as that reviewed above, for Indian editors of Sanskrit texts.

R. L. T.

SVAPNAVĀSAVADATTA : Translated into Marathi By W. G.
URDHARESHE. $4\frac{1}{2} \times 7$, pp. 7 + 168

A lucid and accurate translation that may be recommended to readers of Marathi.

R. L. T.

BIŚALADEVA RĀSO. Edited by SATYAJĪVAN VARMMĀ. $5 \times 7\frac{1}{2}$,
pp. 46 + 115 + 4 + 2. Nāgarī-pracārīṇī-sabhā. Benares, 1927.

In the Sabhā's Annual Report on the search for Hindi MSS. for the year 1900, the existence in Jaipur of a MS. of *Biśaladeva Rāso* written in 1612, was notified. This was commented upon by Syām Sundar Das and Rāmnārāyaṇ Dūgaṛ in the *Nāgarī-pracārīṇī-patrikā* in 1901 and 1902. The 4th sarga of the poem was published by Lālā Sitārām in *Bardic Selection* in 1922. We have now for the first time the four sargas before us. To the text, with its foot-notes giving modern Hindi renderings of obsolete words, the author has added an excellent introduction in Hindi, in which he discusses the date of Viśaladeva and of the author Narapati Mālha. He concludes that Viśaladeva was ruler of Ajmere from 1153 to 1163, and that the Rāso was composed in 1155. But, alas, even if it was then written, we have no MS. so old; and, as the editor points out, between that date and the date of the extant MS. the language of the poem was doubtless greatly changed. As it stands, it is of the W. Hindi or even Rājasthānī type; the nom. sing. masc. in -o, gen. -āha, loc. -āī; pres. indic. is formed by the old present with the verb "to be" (usually *hū* in 1st pers., *chāī* in 3rd pers.: *karū hū, lāgaī chāī*); future usually

< Skt. -iṣya-, e.g. *rākhasyū* (with *y* imported from Skt.), *desai*. In phonetics, intervocalic -n-, -ṇ- appear as -ṇ- (*bhaṇai*, *suṇai*, etc.); and a reduction of double consonants with compensatory lengthening has been carried through. There may be some doubt, however, as to the truth of the editor's contention that it was originally composed in the ancestor of *kharī bolī*. The editor is to be congratulated on his work, and his example commended to others, who may have, or gain, access to the wealth of Medieval Indian vernacular literature awaiting publication.

R. L. T.

BHĀNUBHAKTA'S *BADHŪ-SIKṢĀ*. Edited by ŚRISŪRYAVIKRAM GĒWĀLĪ. Annas 2.

BHĀNUBHAKTA KO *JĪVAN CARITA*. By the late MOTĪRĀM BHATTA. Edited by ŚRISŪRYAVIKRAM GĒWĀLĪ. pp. 30. Darjeeling: Nepālī-Sāhitya-Sammelan, 1927. Annas 5.

NEPĀLĪ SĀHITYA Part 4. By PĀRASMAṆI and ŚEṢMAṆI PRADHĀN. pp. 176. Calcutta: Macmillan and Co., 1927. Annas 7.

NEPĀLĪ VYĀKARAṆ. By PĀRASMAṆI and ŚEṢMAṆI PRADHĀN. p. 144. Calcutta: Macmillan and Co., 1928.

The publication of books in Nepali continues apace. The work of the poet Bhānubhakta (1812-68), translator into Nepali of the Rāmāyaṇa, deserves to be better known. A good and complete edition of all his works is to be desired.

The reviewer may perhaps be forgiven a feeling of pride when he finds in the Nepālī Sāhitya an account of three very gallant men, one time his comrades: Havildar-Major Buddhibāl Thāpā, killed in action in the Judaeon Hills, Rifleman Kulbir Thāpā, V.C. and Rifleman Karanbahādūr Rānā, V.C., all of the 2/3rd Q.A.O. Gurkha Rifles.

The Nepālī Vyākaraṇ is clearly written; but it suffers from the defect of so many modern Indo-Aryan text-books of grammar: a slavish adherence to the form and terminology of Sanskrit Grammar. To take an example. In declension there are in reality two cases only, direct and oblique. The syntactical relationships expressed by case-terminations in Sanskrit are expressed in Nepali by postpositions following the oblique case. These postpositions are the same for both singular and plural. Yet, in this Grammar, for every noun and pronoun there are set out seven cases in singular and plural, instead of at the most 3 forms only (two for the singular, and one for the plural).

Finally, let me make an appeal : that those who are trying to form Nepali as a modern literary language, should not imitate Bengali by quite unnecessarily replacing good native words with importations from Sanskrit.

R. L. T.

CEYLON JOURNAL OF SCIENCE. Section G. Archaeology, Ethnology, etc. Vol. i, part 3. The Archaeological Commissioner, Colombo, 1927. Rs. 3-50.

As usual, the Journal of Science is illustrated with a profusion of well-reproduced plates ; in this number there are twenty-nine, illustrating the Commissioner's Archaeological Summary, and two admirable ones illustrating his article on " The Throne in Indian Art " In addition, there are six articles, of which perhaps the two most interesting are that dealing with " The Divinity of the guest " with parallels from Greece and New Zealand, and that offering an explanation of the hymns of the R̥gveda—iv, 42 and i, 32—based upon the equation *Sacrificer = Indra*. All these articles are by Mr. Hocart, the Archaeological Commissioner. It seems a pity that a publication so lavishly produced should not attract other contributors.

R. L. T.

ESSAYS AND CRITICISMS By SYAMACHARAN GANGULI, B.A., Hon. Fellow Calcutta University, and late Principal, Uttarpara College, Bengal. London : Luzac and Co., 1927.

This is a collection of papers contributed to the *Calcutta Review* and the *Modern Review* from 1877 to 1925. The author who was born in 1839, shows even in his earliest paper, first published as long ago as 1877, a surprising modernness of outlook. This paper, which is the most important of those contained in the book, deals with " Bengali, Spoken and Written ". It protests against the Sanskritization of Bengali, so diligently promoted by the pandits of the nineteenth century, and urges that the only sound ideal is the assimilation of the style and vocabulary of written Bengali to the everyday speech of educated Bengalis. The venerable author is to be congratulated on having lived to see the development of the language which he desired, actually taking place. The modern school of Bengali writers headed by Rabinadrath Tagore have both in prose and poetry succeeded in emancipating themselves from the tyranny of Sanskrit, and from the

pedantry which insists on "calling common things by uncommon names", and have at the same time made Bengali a marvellously effective and living literary language capable of expressing with force and exactness the most delicate shades of meaning.

Perhaps the most interesting thing in the whole volume is the section in which the different points of view taken by the author and by Bankim Chandra Chatterji with regard to the Sanskrit element in Bengali are set forth. Bankim Chandra, though he undoubtedly did much to purge Bengali prose of its pedantry, never dared to make his characters talk consistently in the actual colloquial style universally employed by Bengali speakers, but put into their mouths, out of deference to the pandits' objection to the literary use of the true vernacular, many expressions and words that were grotesquely impossible as spoken Bengali. Symacharan Babu had undoubtedly a clearer and truer conception of the lines along which the language must develop than the great novelist who, it is interesting to note, was his fellow-student at the Presidency College.

The book also contains papers dealing with various suggestions for a common script for Indian languages. The writer rejects, and gives good reasons for rejecting, both the proposal to make the Devanagari such a common script, and also Mr. Knowles' suggested romanized script. He considers the script of the International Phonetic Association unsuitable for the purpose, and in this he would find most, if not all, of the members of the Association in agreement with him, for the International Phonetic notation aims at scientific accuracy in a degree that would be unattainable by any script intended for practical use for all the people speaking even one language, to say nothing of a script to be applied to a number of languages.

Some of the articles contained in the book deal with political and social subjects, such as the partition of Bengal, the reduction of armaments, self-determination, alcoholism, protection, etc., and there is a particularly interesting sketch of the author's views of religion.

The book is small but valuable as the record of the reaction of an alert Bengali mind to some of the problems and movements which have emerged in India during the last half century.

W. SUTTON PAGE.

AN INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY OF THE RELATIONS OF INDIAN STATES WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By K. M. PANIKKAR. pp. xxxi + 169. Hopkinson, 1927. 10s. 6d.

Mr. Panikkar's little book, to which Lord Olivier has written a foreword, is both interesting and timely. The author has aimed at surveying with historical exactness the development of the relations between the Indian states and the English Government from the close of the eighteenth century. The interest of his volume consists, not in the discovery and statement of new facts, for indeed we think he would not claim to have produced any, but in his attitude and the interpretation which he places on the acknowledged facts. The difference between his views and those of Lee-Warner afford an instructive contrast. Lee-Warner expounds with singular precision and clearness the policy gradually evolved in the Foreign Department down to the government of Lord Curzon. He illustrates and indeed emphasises the manner in which action in regard to one state was apt to serve as a precedent for action in another, although the treaties relating to the two states might be totally different; and he dwells upon the practice of "reading the treaties all together", much as if separate and individual rights had altogether disappeared in the process of time. And it was of course the fact that there was a strong tendency prevailing down to the end of the nineteenth century making against the effective survival of individual treaty rights. But with the accession of Lord Minto to the control of Indian state relations a reaction set in which has steadily progressed until the present day. It is this reaction which Mr. Panikkar represents; and its great objective is a restatement and revision of the treaties, so as to set up instead of documents obviously of impaired validity an authoritative statement of the principles governing the relations between the Government of India and the subordinate states. This is a political question which we cannot here discuss. But the historical part seems to us to state very fairly from the princes' point of view the development of policy from Dalhousie to Curzon. Sometimes Mr. Panikkar trips in his history. Rumbold was never accredited to the court of the Nawab of Arcot; it was Lake, not Wellesley, who beat Perron's troops, Perron himself having already abandoned Sindia. Nor do we think Mr. Panikkar quite fair to the policy adopted towards the Gaiikwar in 1875. It seems to us to represent an attempt to find a method of dealing with erring princes in a more even-handed manner than had always been exhibited in the past, and so far it marks a step in advance.

As regards the gradual assumption of powers over the Indian states, his attitude seems to vary, and he clearly holds some of this justified by the interests of India as a whole. But his view of the full internal sovereignty of the principal states goes as far as that of H.E.H. the Nizam, which can only be defended on the basis that the treaties survive in full force—a position which appears to us untenable.

H. D.

SUTTEE. By EDWARD THOMPSON. pp. 165. Allen and Unwin, 1928. 7s. 6d.

This brief volume is an essay rather than the "historical and philosophical enquiry" announced by the sub-title. The rite of widow-burning has attracted attention of recent years owing to ill-advised endeavours to defend it on the part of Indian nationalists. That in certain cases it exhibited traits of great heroism nobody would deny. But Mr. Thompson very justly points out that these cases are, and necessarily must be, exceptional; that some of the most famous instances must be defended mainly on the ground that they saved the victims from a conqueror's harim; and that in general the practice was an unhappy correlative of that life of privation and contempt to which the Hindu social system condemns the widows of many castes. Viewed broadly the custom is, as the author urges, a relic of primitive, barbaric ideas, incapable of any general defence. At the same time he deals some shrewd and well-deserved blows at the hesitating, half-hearted endeavours to check the practice, made by the Company's government down to the time of Bentinck, but which had the undesired and most unhappy result of encouraging it, especially around Calcutta. With grim humour he reminds us of those annual lists of burnings which the collectors "had the pleasure" to submit for the information of the Nizamat 'Adalat, in accordance with the regulations.

H. D.

THE BRITISH WEST AFRICAN SETTLEMENTS, 1750-1821. By EVELINE C. MARTIN. pp. xi + 186. Longmans, 1927. 7s. 6d. net.

The history of our West African Settlements in the eighteenth century is not in itself a matter of strong interest. As Miss Martin observes, the Guinea Coast was not the scene of any incident specially striking the imagination. But nevertheless it well deserves the thoughtful and lucid study which she has devoted to it. It illustrates for example the way in which political pressure was compelling the

Home Government to take an ever-growing interest in the overseas dependencies. At the very time when the cabinet was beginning to concern itself actively with the affairs of the East India Company, it had just removed a section of the African coast from the control of the African Company in order to place it under a royal government ; and the Humanitarian Movement, which modified so deeply the English attitude to Indian problems, led at the close of the century to the establishment of a new settlement at Sierra Leone entirely inspired by the idea of trusteeship. Miss Martin's subject therefore offers to the student of eighteenth century India, a number of curious parallels and contrasts. Thus it is a familiar fact that from the Regulating Act onwards the directors of the East India Company consisted of a body of twenty-four persons, eighteen of whom held office while the other six were invariably re-elected as their turn came round. In like manner the committee which managed the affairs of the African Company seem to have consisted of a permanent body of sixteen, nine of whom held office in rotation. Again, the East India Company's factories had been apt to seek to contract themselves out of the national obligations of war. Madras and Pondichery came to an agreement in 1703 ; Mahé and Tellicherry did the same in 1729, and again in 1744. The practice vanished before the growing importance of the political struggle in India, but seems to have persisted on the African Coast down to 1780, when the governor of Cape Coast Castle entered into a treaty of neutrality with the Dutch governor of Elmina. In another respect too, the African settlements continued to reproduce the earlier conditions of the Indian factories, for till the establishment of Senegambia in 1765 there was no court of justice of any sort, the Company not being so far trusted. The province of Senegambia too during its brief existence (1765-78) affords an example of factory administration under Crown management. Miss Martin regards it with more indulgence than the present writer is disposed to allow (cf. the *Revue de l'histoire des colonies françaises*, t. iv, pp. 267-300 1916). But she admits the difficulties of control, the lack of regular supervision, the absenteeism of officials. Altogether she is to be congratulated on producing a study of tropical administration in the eighteenth century of high interest for the light which it sheds on the general attitude towards problems not fundamentally different from those which confronted the East India Company.

H. DODWELL.

HILLS OF BLUE : A Picture-Roll of Chinese History from Far Beginnings to the Death of Ch'ien Lung, A.D. 1799. By A. E. GRANTHAM. With 19 portraits and a map. London : Methuen, 1927.

In Mrs. Grantham's vivid "Picture-Roll" not "10,000 miles of scenery" merely, but a ten-thousand-mile-long Lord-Mayor's procession of oriental splendour passes before the eyes of the reader.

Perhaps only encyclopaedic minds such as Macaulay's or Gibbon's could follow the roll and grasp its full significance, but Mrs. Grantham is to be congratulated upon the way in which she has succeeded in forming a vision of Chinese history as a whole, and reproducing that vision, century by century, dynasty by dynasty, reign by reign, in vivid, and often, indeed, lurid colours which convey something of the amazing alternation of virility and decadence which is characteristic of Chinese civilization. The sordid ugliness and detailed horrors of palace intrigues are over-emphasized, but through the magnificence of the reigns of worthy rulers and the complete desolation which existed under the degenerate, the personality of the great figures of China's history is impressed upon the mind.

The picture of Wên Ti's envoys carrying urgent requests for peace to Kajuk (p. 95) who "followed one another in such swift succession that they never lost sight of each other's official hats and umbrellas", the pathos of Liang Wu Ti's end (208), the terror-stricken court of Ch'ung Chêng on the arrival of the rebels (485-6), the summary of Wên Ti's work (230)—in these and many other passages there is a fulness of detail lacking in many histories of wider scope, and an intimate knowledge of individuals seldom granted to the western reader of Chinese history. The background is as distinct, and the characters are at least as real as the living but elusive War-lords of China to-day.

Not yet, however, has the history of the Chinese nation been written in full. This book, like most books on the subject, is a history of the rulers of China, of its governing class, its wars and its intrigues, but the more difficult task of writing the real history of the Chinese *people* awaits its John Richard Green.

The fact that the book was printed in Great Britain may account in part for errors and inconsistencies in the spelling of names. The author says that she has followed Giles' Dictionary; she may have done so, but her printers and readers have ignored her standard. So we find hyphens and capitals wandering at large, and the same name spelt in more than one way, a serious fault in view of the difficulty

presented by Chinese names even to the initiated. Thus, Confucius, the Latinized name of K'ung Tzū, which might well have been used throughout, since the book is intended for the general reader, is referred to in no fewer than five different ways. Despite this fault, however, and apart from a few lapses into language unworthy of the book as a whole and an occasional slight incoherence of style, Mrs. Grantham has presented to the general reader an eminently picturesque account of China up to the end of the eighteenth century.

E. D. EDWARDS.

ESSAI SUR L'HISTOIRE ANTIQUE D'ABYSSINIE : le royaume d'Aksum et ses voisins d'Arabie et de Meroe, avec 14 planches hors texte et 4 cartes. Par A. KAMMERER. pp. 198. Paris : Geuthner, 1926.

It is always pleasant to find a retired diplomatist sitting down to a piece of learned work on some subject connected with the country in which he has served, and we must congratulate M. Kammerer on an attractive and useful book.

He has combined in it two somewhat remote subjects. The one is the survival in Abyssinia of a number of pillar monuments, which M. Kammerer compares with his native *menhirs*; they are clearly connected with some phallic worship—their date, neolithic or other, is uncertain; they have still to be studied, and the admirable photographs here reproduced merely promise future elucidation. The greater part of M. Kammerer's book is occupied by an examination of Abyssinian history of the period extending from the first century B.C. to the seventh century A.D.

In this, M. Kammerer does not claim to have made any new discoveries of importance. He has used the work of Littmann and Conti-Rossini with intelligence, and sets out the available evidence (it is indeed slender, alas) clearly and agreeably, passes from Aelius Gallus to the Meroitic kingdom, the introduction of Christianity into Abyssinia, some account of the Axumite Empire, as it might almost be called, and of its shrinking before the advance of Islam.

The book is admirably illustrated throughout and the representations of Axumite coins, with M. Kammerer's careful descriptions, call for especial praise.

S. GASELEE.

SANKAI KYŌ NO KENKYŪ: An investigation concerning the Three Degrees Sect. By YABUKI KEIKI. Tōkyō: Iwanami Shoten, 1937. 18 yen.

This is the most important work on the Tun-huang manuscripts since Pelliot and Chavannes' *Un Traité Manichéen Retrouvé en Chine*.¹ Its late appearance is due to the fact that the first draft was destroyed in the earthquake of 1923. With a courage not unparalleled in Japan, but almost inconceivable to Western minds (I know of three manuscripts by European writers that were destroyed in the earthquake, and not one of these authors has had the heart to return to his task), Mr. Yabuki rewrote his book, which in this second version runs to some 1,300 pages.

I will not attempt to summarize the contents of this vast work; but I hope that the following notes will call attention to the importance of contemporary Buddhist scholarship in Japan, and to the necessity for all students of Northern Buddhism to be equipped with a knowledge of Japanese.

The history of the Three Degrees Sect stretches roughly from the end of the sixth to the middle of the ninth century. It derives its name from the theory that between the departure of one Buddha and the arrival of his successor there are three "steps" by which mankind climbs down to darkness. For 500² years his essence is still perceived and his teaching rightly apprehended; for a further 500 years an "idolon" or image of his person and doctrine can still reach the human mind. In the third stage (which lasts till the coming of the future Buddha Maitreya) the concept of Buddha has irredeemably vanished, we are all spiritually blind, sinful, incapable of perceiving the middle path between existence and non-existence, over-specialized ("sharp") in our sense-perceptions, so utterly corrupt as to defile the most generous action by the very fact that it is we who perform it.

This three-fold division of the period between Buddha and Buddha was a theory accepted by almost all sects and goes back to very early days. It was in the stress laid upon this doctrine and the consequences drawn from it that the San Chieh sect was peculiar and even, as was subsequently decided, heretical.

The Founder.—Hsin-hsing³ was born at Hsiang-chou in Honan

¹ Paris, 1911-13.

² The periods are variously given, but according to all reckonings the sixth century A.D. comes well within the third period.

³ 信行.

in A.D. 540. In his youth he was an invalid, and consequently unable to practise meditation or recite the scriptures. But from his seventeenth year his interest was centred on religion. He became a monk, and seems to have inhabited two different monasteries in his native town. Here he thought out the new doctrine and way of life which will be presently described. But at the age of 47 he had found only four converts; two monks and two laymen who were apparently both members of his own family. However, his name was rapidly growing, and next year (589) he was summoned to the capital (Ch'ang-an in Shensi) by the Emperor Wên of the Sui dynasty. In 594 he died and was buried in the Chung-nan hills. During his latter years he achieved an extraordinary reputation. The eulogies written after his death teem with resounding phrases, the "greatest of Śākyamuni's followers", "sole support of the Church"; but the anecdotes told concerning him, such as his excessive outburst of sensibility at the age of 4, on seeing a bull straining to drag a cart through the mud, are the stock-in-trade of Buddhist hagiography, and give us no clue whereby to distinguish him from rival saints. Moreover, we cannot be certain what part of the doctrine, as we know it from later writings, belongs to the founder himself, and what was added by his successors, so that our picture both of his personality and his opinions becomes somewhat dim. What emerges vividly from the surviving documents is the general complexion of San Chieh views during the time of the sect's prosperity.

This age, then, is a dark chasm which divides the world that is gone from the world that is to come. We are like a traveller who, after the sun has set and before the moon has risen, must creep warily along the main high road. If he turns to right or left he may mistake a ditch for a dyke, a shadow for a stepping stone. And so we, if we turn aside to worship this Buddha or honour that saint, may in the darkness of our latter-day hearts, for all we know, be worshipping a pig or honouring a goat. And what is the main road, the general way, that is left to us?

Our inner, transcendental vision is lost; Buddha is no longer visible to us in his "true form" but only in the complicated, kaleidoscopic mirage that our physical senses convey; he is accessible only as mirrored in All Creatures that have Life.¹ For this reason the followers of Hsin-hsing provoked ridicule by prostrating themselves

¹ Owing to the theory that plants cannot feel and that life is consciousness, the vegetable world was specifically excluded.

in the street before any chance-comer, whether donkey or human being. Our behaviour must be appropriate to the Age in which we live. The followers of Śākyamuni in the First Age were able to fertilize their lives with meditation and prayer. But for us to imitate them would be just such folly as once led a fool to strew gold and silver on his field instead of manure, thinking that it was filthy to eat cabbages that were grown with the aid of dung. Nor can life in the cloister help us. Who are we that we should live in houses with fine rooms, when Buddha (i.e. mankind and all creatures) must often dwell in vile and nauseous places?

The followers of the sect accordingly did not live in monasteries, but were allotted courtyards and out-houses of monastic buildings. Their lives, however, were spent for the most part in crowded streets and markets. Here, rather than in cell or hermitage, they felt able to commune with the Tathāgata, the ceaseless undercurrent of life. For images and libraries of holy books they had little respect. "Such things," says a ninth century opponent, "they regard as mere lumber."

Another tenet of the sect was that, for men of the Third Stage, the attainment of individual salvation was impossible. We are like a carriage that has come to bits. The individual pieces are useless. But tied together with rope and a few sticks it may yet see service of a kind. And so must we, making ourselves as blind as possible (for our sharpened senses tinge the world for us with a false diversity and separateness) rumble along together, stealthily and unobtrusively creeping nearer to salvation, like a man who with his servants has been made prisoner in a foreign land. He escapes from his prison. But he still wears his Chinese clothes and if he were seen on the road he would at once be arrested. So he must go secretly, travelling only at night, and thus he may reach his own home.

The followers of the sect currently observed austerities that had indeed long been known as forms of occasional penance, but had never been adopted as a permanent way of life. They ate only once in the day and would take no food that they had not themselves received as alms. Their clothes were made of such rags as they could collect from rubbish heaps. Most conspicuous of all was the stress they laid on alms-giving: "Of all the Buddhas that occupy the diverse spheres of the Ten Quarters of the Universe, there is not one who gained his Buddhahood save by alms-giving." About 630 was founded the Inexhaustible Treasury, into which were tilted cart loads of silk and money. The great houses of Ch'ang-an poured out their wealth

in this anonymous donorship.¹ From time to time the treasury was opened, and its contents divided into three parts. One was used in the repair of ancient monasteries and stūpas, for it was a tenet of the sect that the degenerate beings of this "third stage" are incapable of producing new buildings that would not be an insult to the ideas they were supposed to incorporate. A second part was distributed among the poor and hungry all over China, the rest being used in miscellaneous dedications. A certain P'ei Hsūan-chih whose piety had attracted attention for many years, was put in charge of the treasure-room. About 650 he was suspected of peculation. He got wind of this, and fled. On the wall of his sleeping-place the monks found the poem:—

You put your lamb under the wolf's care,
 You left your bone in front of a hungry dog;
 Knowing that I was not an Aohan²
 How could you expect me not sometimes to steal?

In 713 was published an Imperial proclamation which stated that this treasury "supposed to succour the poor and weak, has in reality been squandered for improper purposes". It was therefore to be seized and officially distributed among Taoist and Buddhist temples. This was not the first time that the sect had suffered from governmental hostility. Their writings, accepted as orthodox by the official list of scriptures drawn up in 664, were denounced as heretical in the list of 695. In 699 a proclamation ordered the sect to abandon all practices and austerities save those of begging, eating only once a day, avoiding cereal food, and meditation.³ In 725 the followers of Hsin-hsing were ordered to destroy the partitions which separated their quarters from those of the ordinary monks. In 730 their writings were again denounced as unorthodox. However, it appears (not with absolute certainty) that in 800 their books once more appeared on the official list.⁴ In 845 strong measures were taken against the huge encroachments that monasticism had made on Chinese life. Thousands of monasteries were closed and their inhabitants compelled to resume a lay existence. After this date such faint echoes of the sect's activity as still survive are to be sought in Korea and Japan rather than in

¹ It was considered an essential of alms-giving that it should be entirely impersonal, the donor neither disclosing his name nor having any control over the way in which his gifts were used.

² Arhat, Saint.

³ Meditation was, however, theoretically discouraged by the sect.

⁴ The *Cheng Yüan Lu*.

China. The Korean catalogue of 1090 still contains two works of the San Chieh sect. In Japan, the Shōsō-in Treasury at Nara contains fragments of San Chieh writings that were copied in 747. Throughout the middle ages important works survived that have now completely disappeared, and even in 1792 Ensen, a priest of the Zōjōji, writes that he once saw a copy of the *San Chieh Chi Lu* (Hsin-hsing's principal work), but could make no sense of it.

At the present moment there survives in Japan only one work, the *San Chieh Fo Fa* (in four chapters which are scattered over various temple libraries). All the rest of our knowledge concerning the sect is derived from the Tun-huang manuscripts brought back by Pelliot to Paris and Stein to London. Of these there are about 20; they were examined by Mr. Yabuki in 1916, and again in 1922.

One document (Stein 2137) incomplete at both ends, appears to be an extract from Hsin-hsing's own writings. The rest date from the T'ang dynasty and in method of composition follow the practice of T'ang commentators; that is to say, they subject scriptural and exegetic texts to an elaborate and rather forced analysis, discovering in them hidden schematizations and cross-correspondences.¹ The interest of the San Chieh sect was of course centred upon those scriptures that foretell or can be construed to foretell the coming of the Third Stage. Of Hinayāna works the most useful was the Mixed Āgama, which is frequently quoted; but the basis of San Chieh teaching is the *Sūtra of the Ten Wheels* (Nanjio 64) which explains how Buddha's ten wheels (i.e. ten powers) can efface the ten Sin-wheels of humanity. The discourse is given at the request of the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha, who arrives at the assembly clad as a monk. The worship of a particular Buddha was utterly at variance with the views of the sect, but the need for a central figure was felt, and in course of time it seemed at any rate to outward spectators that the Bodhisattva Kshitigarbha played much the same part in the San Chieh sect as did the Buddha Amitābha among followers of the Pure Land doctrine. Kshitigarbha is indeed preeminently the guardian deity of the Between-time—the gap between one Buddha and the next.

Each day at break of dawn he enters into successive meditations
And mentally visits every Hell, to relieve the sufferings of the
damned.

¹ One excellent practice of the sect deserves mention. In quoting they scrupulously distinguish between "the text", "the purport", or "general sense" of the text and "human opinion", i.e. the commentaries.

In Buddha-less spheres of this World he saves all living things ;
In this life and the after life he can lead the way.

Thus Kshitigarbha assists Yama in the merciful judgment of the dead, and in China replaces him, Yama being relegated to a merely accessory position. Readers of *Un Traité Manichéen* will remember that Kshitigarbha figures there (p. 53) as the fourth of the Five Deities of the Macrocosm. Did Manicheism borrow the name from Buddhism, or did both religions draw on a common source ? Other alternatives seem improbable.¹ *The Sūtra of the Ten Wheels*, first translated into Chinese early in the fifth century, seems to be a genuine translation from Sanskrit, and the cult of Kshitigarbha presumably existed in India, or at any rate in some sphere of Sanskrit culture in the fourth century. But it is not mentioned by any of the Chinese pilgrims, from Fa Hsien onwards.

Another link between the San Chieh sect and Manicheism is the *Great Cloud Sūtra*. In 690 the usurping Empress Wu Hou caused a "new translation" of this well-known sūtra to be made, with passages inserted in which it was foretold that Maitreya would one day descend to earth and rule China in the guise of a woman. The new translation was officially circulated throughout China, and Wu Hou was able to pose as an incarnation of the Future Buddha. Now we know that the Manichean temples erected in China in 768 and 771 received the name of Great Cloud Temples, and it has been suspected that there was some connection between Manicheism and the forged prophecies issued in the new *Great Cloud Sūtra* of 690. Finally, the San Chieh sect was currently accused of having had a hand in the concoction of these prophecies. It has therefore been suspected that there is some connection between San Chieh and Manicheism. All those questions, only alluded to in the final version of the book, were discussed at length in the draft which perished in 1923. We can only hope that Mr. Yabuki will find time to return to them, particularly in view of the increasing interest in Manicheism.

The intrinsic importance of the San Chieh documents, apart from the light they shed on an obscure chapter of Buddhist history, lies rather in the state of feeling that they express than in any intellectual subtlety, dialectic power or literary beauty, qualities in which they fall far short of the Indian Abhidharma. The controversies of the age were marred by the vastness of the accepted Buddhist Canon. Each

¹ It is, for example, unlikely that Buddhism derived the name from Manicheism.

party in the discussion quoted from its own favourite bunch of scriptures, which the other disputant accepted as orthodox, but chose for purposes of argument to ignore. The opponents, therefore, could never get to grips, and it was only fatigue or lack of ingenuity that brought the combat to a close. But as documents of psychological history the writings of the sect are of the greatest interest, all the more so since the secular literature of Hsin-hsing's age (the second half of the sixth century), being mostly either trivial or wholly retrospective, fails to throw light on the contemporary mind of China. It is not difficult to trace a connection between the San Chieh creed and the desperate political situation of China at the time of Hsin-hsing's birth. Four hundred years of disunion and disorder had followed the fall of the Han dynasty. Half and sometimes more than half of the country had been seized by successive barbarian invaders; public security had sunk to the lowest ebb. Finally, in Hsin-hsing's prime had come the great prosecution of 574, when 2,000,000 (?) Taoist and Buddhist monks were forced back into secular life. It seemed indeed as if the destruction of the Law so often foretold in apocalyptic works as marking the last phase before the coming of Maitreya, had actually taken place. But the Third Stage was to last 10,000 years, and by no reckoning could it be maintained that in the sixth century it had advanced more than a few hundred years. Maitreya was therefore a long way off, and he figures only occasionally and very dimly in the San Chieh books. Theirs is a dark and hopeless or at least desperate creed, that flattens out the spiritual world into one dead level of ignorance and folly. It could not long compete with the optimistic creeds that offered a swift and easy approach to Paradise.

The sect with which Hsin-hsing's followers came chiefly into conflict was indeed the Pure Land¹ (Japanese Jōdo) whose worship of Amitābha, a "separate Buddha", seemed to them a perilous proceeding. With the other great Chinese sect, the Dhyāna (Zen) which arose almost at the same time, they came to a less definite issue, for though meditation was considered by the San Chieh to be "unsuitable" to the age, they did not altogether eschew it. The Tun Huang collections contain a large number of wholly unedited Zen documents. It is greatly to be hoped that Mr. Yabuki or one of his colleagues

¹ The earliest Paradise scripture that survives in the Chinese Tripitaka is the *Akshobhya Sūtra*, translated in A.D. 147. Whether An Shih-kao's translation of the *Amūlābha Sūtra* (attributed to the same time) ever existed is doubtful, in view of the extremely conflicting evidence about the extent of his activities.

will turn their attention to these and throw some light on the absolute darkness which surrounds the birth of the most famous and typical Far Eastern sect.

A. WALEY.

MOHAMMEDAN SAINTS AND SANCTUARIES IN PALESTINE. By TAUFİK CANAAN. London: Luzac and Co., 1927.

This book, by Dr. T. Canaan, a Jerusalem physician who has made a considerable study of Arab folk-lore, who is a prominent member of the Palestine Oriental Society, and also author of *Aberglaube und Volksmedizin im Lande der Bibel*, gives a valuable and interesting account of sanctuaries and of saints who are the object of a popular cult in Palestine to-day. It is not limited, as the title would suggest, to Muslim shrines and saints only, but deals also with those venerated by Palestinian Christians.

The author discusses the sites of these sanctuaries and the reasons for their choice. "High Places" have always been associated with religion in Palestine, and monasteries as well as shrines are to be found on the summits of the hills there to this day, and that this preference was well-known even in the earliest days of Islām, is suggested by the tradition according to which the Prophet stated that after a certain period, "monastic life upon the tops of the mountains" would be lawful for his followers.¹

The writer, in describing the structure and decoration of these tombs, gives several inscriptions, including that on the tomb of Fātima (daughter of the Imām Ḥusayn, not Ḥasan as stated here), near Hebron, which is given more fully by Ibn Baṭṭūta.²

The association of trees with shrines and holy personages, of which the author gives several instances, was to be found also in pre-Islamic Arabia and is still existent among Muslims in India and Albania and North Africa.³

The types of tombs mentioned include the "maqām", a sanctuary of some size, sacred usually to a saint universally honoured, which

¹ Al-Dhahabī, *Mizān al-ʿiḍāl*, i, p. 377.

² أَشْكُتَ مَنْ كَانَ فِي الْإِحْثَاءِ وَمَكَتَ : بِالرَّغْمِ مَتَى بَيْنَ التَّرْبِ وَالْجَبْرِ
بِقَبْرِ فَاطِمَةَ بِنْتِ ابْنِ فَاطِمَةَ : بِنْتُ الْإِيْمَةِ بِنْتُ الْإِنْتِجَمِ الزَّهْرِ
بِقَبْرِ مَاثِيكَ مِنْ دِينٍ وَمِنْ وَرْعٍ : وَمِنْ عَظَافٍ وَمِنْ صَوْنٍ وَمِنْ خَفَرٍ

(i, p. 119).

³ Cf. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, pp. 185-93. Al-Ṭabarī, i, 922. Garnett, *Women of Turkey (Muslim)*, p. 212; Trumeleit, *Les Saints du Tell*, pp. 306-25.

M. Clermont Ganneau has identified with the "makōm" of Deuteronomy, and the "high places" against which the Jewish prophets preached so often in vain.¹ Another type is the "ḥuwayṭa", which in Palestine is the name given to a small enclosure of stones, and is also found in North Africa as a pyramid of stones, in the form of a circle or horse-shoe, erected over the tomb of marabouts, who are not of sufficient importance to be given a more pretentious shrine. At these shrines offerings are made, including animal sacrifices. The "muqaddam" (not "muqaddim") mentioned in this connection (p. 160) to whom Doutté refers (*Magie et Religion*) is not an "offerer", but a shaykh; the term is used in North Africa to denote the local leader of a group of dervishes.

To the saints venerated at these shrines, recourse is had in all difficulties; to them prayers are offered and vows made. As human beings once themselves, they understand human needs and weaknesses, and are easier of access than God Most High. To the Palestinians, as to Muslims all over the world, the saints have become minor deities and superstition has given them a place equal to—if not above—that of God Himself. As in other Muslim countries, women saints receive veneration equally with men, and though their shrines are fewer in number in Palestine than those of men saints, the author notes that 60 per cent. of the women saints enjoy a wide reputation as compared with only 31 per cent. of the men.

Like all Muslim saints, these Palestinian "walis" are popularly believed to have the power of working miracles, healing the sick and punishing those who do violence to their shrines, while they are also credited with ability to walk on the sea and to fly. The saints of Palestine naturally include many Biblical characters such as Nebī Mūsa (Moses), Dā'ūd (David), Ayūb (Job), Yūnis, (Jonah), and Khalīl (Abraham) revered by Christians, Jews, and Muslims alike, and also saints of purely Muslim origin, including such famous leaders as al-Ḍasūqī, al-Rifa'ī and Abū Hurayra, whose shrines are found here, though they were actually buried elsewhere. The woman saint Rābī'a (see p. 57), who is buried in the grotto of St. Pelagia, is Rābī'a bint Ismā'il of Syria,² not her more famous namesake Rābī'a al-'Adawīyya of Basra,³ who died and was buried at Basra.

It is a pity that this book, with its wealth of valuable material,

¹ *Arabs in Palestine*, p. 209.

² Ob. A.H. 135.

³ Ob. A.H. 185.

should not have been provided with a full index, a lack for which a detailed table of contents is no adequate compensation and it is also regrettable that a book so carefully compiled should be marred by want of care in proof-reading. "Wich" for "which", "wifs" for "wives", "backed" for "baked", "mediant" for "mendicant" are only a few out of numerous misprints. It is also unfortunate, since the book appears in English, that a system of transliteration more generally intelligible to English readers, should not have been adopted in preference to the German system.

M. S.

LETTERS ON RELIGION AND FOLKLORE. By the late F. W. HASLUCK, annotated by M. M. HASLUCK. London: Luzac and Co., 1926. 12s. 6d.

These are the letters of a scholar who had a wide knowledge of the religions, history, and folklore of the Levant, and had also made a close study of the unpublished records of earlier travellers. His contributions to the *Annual of the British School at Athens* and to "*Folklore*", and his other published work had made him an accepted authority on his special subjects, and his premature death at the age of 42 was deeply regretted by a large circle of those who were interested in the folklore of the Near East.

The letters were written to a personal friend, not for purposes of publication, and for most of the period which they cover the writer was an invalid, and as such precluded from as systematic a study as he would have liked to make of the topics he discusses. The letters have been selected and annotated by his wife, to whom the thanks of readers are due for the careful way in which she has carried out a task which in the nature of the case was difficult, but to which she brought first-hand knowledge of many of the subjects discussed.

The letters deal, as the title-page tells us, with religion and folklore, and mainly with the two great religions of Christianity and Islām and their interplay in the Near East, and there is much discussion of saints and sanctuaries. "Rabahet" (mentioned on page 189) should be Rābi'a bint Ismā'il, a well-known Syrian saint who died at Jerusalem in A.H. 135.

The book contains an interesting appendix on the Round Temple and Round Church, and is well illustrated by photographs and sketches, the latter by the author himself. The feeling with which one leaves

this book is that of deep regret that the gifted and scholarly writer of these letters should not have lived to work out and develop his interesting theories, and to give them in finished form to the world. This book makes the reader look forward to the longer work *Islam and Christianity* by this writer, also edited by his wife, which is now in the press.

MARGARET SMITH.

THE DIFNAR OF THE COPTIC CHURCH. From the Vatican Codex Copt. Borgia 59. Edited by DE LACY O'LEARY, D.D. pp. viii + 120. Luzac. 12s.

I reviewed the first part of this publication, covering the first four months of the Coptic year, in the *Bulletin*, vol. iv (1926), p. 406, the text of which was reproduced from the MS. of the *Difnar* in the John Rylands Library at Manchester; this is a welcome instalment, and I look forward to the final portion, which is also to be found in the Vatican MSS.—the present volume covers the months of Tobi, Mechir, Phamenoth, and Pharmouthi: Pachon, Paoni, Epep, and Mesore (and the *Epagomenae*) are still to come. For general remarks on this important liturgical book of the Coptic Church, I venture to refer back to my previous notice.

The following suggestions may be made in the names of the Saints commemorated:—

5 Tobi. Eusegnius: not Eugenius (*Synazarium*, ed. Basset, but) *Εὐδαίγιος*.

18 Mechir. Malatinos (= Meletianus), given by the Coptic text, is wrong: the Arabic has the true name ملاتيوس = Meletius.

25 Mechir. The virgin saint martyred with Archippus (or Arsenius) and Philemon was not Pelikia but Lycia. Dr. O'Leary has printed *επεσραν πελικια*, which is ungrammatical, for the copula is needed: read *επεσραν πε λικια*. "her name being Lycia".

14 Phamenoth. Anodoros and Alindios: should be Agathodorus and Elpidius.

17 Pharmouthi. Eplanios: the Arabic of the *Synazarium* gives the right reading, Blasius; he became so popular in the West that we sometimes forget his Eastern origin—an Armenian by birth, bishop of Sebaste.

19 Pharmouthi. Aristo: so shortened as to be almost a nickname; from Aristobulus. On this day there is also a commemora-

tion of seven martyrs, over the last of whom Dr. O'Leary has gone wrong, calling him (or her) Nikome. The Coptic is $\pi\lambda\iota\sigma\sigma\epsilon\varsigma$ $\xi\epsilon\pi$ $\pi\iota\kappa\omicron\mu\epsilon\lambda\eta$ $\eta\tau\epsilon$ $\delta\alpha\delta\tau\lambda\omega\pi$; not difficult in itself, but made certain by a reference to the *Synaxarium*, which ends the list with $\omega\lambda\iota\sigma\omicron\varsigma$ (Valesius) and then says of them $\kappa\alpha\tau\alpha$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$ $\mu\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon\tau\epsilon$. Dr. O'Leary should not have been deceived by a Greek word with the Coptic plural article.

Students of Egyptian hagiology should be grateful to Dr. O'Leary and to the Bristol Colston Research Society, whose generosity has assisted the present publication, and we must hope that they will continue their help to allow the work to be completed.

S. GASELEE.

MARCO POLO: IL MILIONE. A cura di LUIGI FOSCOLO BENEDETTO, 14 x 10 in. pp. v-ccxxi; 3-281, several leaves unnumbered. Firenze, Olschki, 1928.

Professor Benedetto, liberally subsidized as it appears by the City of Venice and by the Italian Geographical Society, has been able to devote himself for three years to the study of the text of Marco Polo, and the result appeared in a large well-printed volume at the beginning of 1928. The book is divided into two parts, Introduction and Text. It is evident that the text was printed before the Introduction and that the latter was printed off sheet by sheet as it was written, so that the author gives information on p. cii which he was unable to do on p. lxxxix. Very remarkable as the whole book is it might have been better still perhaps if it had been done more deliberately and had received a final revision before any part of it was printed. It has been said to be based on the study of "all the manuscripts", but the author himself makes no such claim and indeed he could hardly have read, much less studied, all the 120 odd MSS. which he describes, in the space of two years or less, in addition to transcribing the longest of them all and large passages from several others.¹ But it is clear enough that he has read and studied a large number of the more important MSS. and with regard to not a few of these he is the first scholar to record the results of such study. The Introduction consists of a description and reasoned classification of all the MSS. known to Benedetto. Such a classification has no doubt been attempted before,

¹ Since writing this I have seen a statement in the *Rivista Geografica Italiana* that Prof. Benedetto studied the Marco Polo MSS. in the summer of 1924.

for example by Yule, but on nothing at all like the present scale. And though further study may modify some of the conclusions in some small points, it does not seem likely that Benedetto's work will need to be done again. The MSS. are securely divided off into five families, of which four are in turn cut up—one of them with almost infinite intricacy—into subfamilies. It is characteristic of Benedetto's method, or perhaps a mere indication of haste and want of revision, that he provides no list of MSS. with numbers or other fixed symbols by which he and his successors may refer to them briefly, and that A¹ may mean the Paris MS. Fr. 5631 in Chapter II, while the della Crusca MS. at Florence is A¹ in Chapter III; and that *VB* is used on p. clxxxiii without any explanation of the initials or any statement that they are to be applied to a certain small class of Italian MSS.; that he calls leaves cc., ff., and (I think) pp., indiscriminately; and that he refers to his own printed text sometimes by the chapter and line, sometimes by the leaf and column of the MS. There are some misprints and many slips in the transcription of manuscripts.

The second half of the book is occupied by the text. At the head of each page is the text of *F* (Fr. 1116) correctly transcribed and well edited at last. The erratic spelling of the original is in some cases standardized and modernized, but this extremely difficult operation has been wisely and moderately performed. One would like to ask in passing how the sound of *W* was expressed in medieval French or Italian. Is *uocan* (which Yule identifies with *Wakhan*) necessarily modernized as *Vocan*, or may it remain *Uocan*? The still more erratic punctuation has been very thoughtfully and successfully modernized. And finally the very frequent gaps and mistakes of the original have been filled or corrected as the case may be. These additions and corrections are for the most part obvious and within the power of any careful reader to make, but some of them are more ingenious and difficult, and in any case here they are, clearly set down in print, and the famous text is perfectly intelligible for the first time. A very few of these emendations seem to be unnecessary, and one or two perhaps mistaken. At the foot of the page in smaller type are printed the additional passages not found in *F* from other sources, and pre-eminently of course from Ramusio (which remains the sole authority for many passages) and *Z*, a modern but hitherto unnoticed MS. found by Benedetto in the Ambrosiana at Milan. The success with which this awkward piece of arrangement has been carried out by printers and editor is very remarkable. The additions themselves are full of interest

and some of those from Z appear in print absolutely for the first time. Of some of these new pieces one feels that their general suppression does credit to the good taste of the middle ages, but others are of quite extraordinary interest and we cannot be too grateful to Benedetto for having recovered them. Between these two parts of the page and in still smaller print come critical notes, the least satisfactory part of this most satisfactory section of the book. One need not complain that there is not, as one enthusiastic reviewer has said there is, a complete *apparatus criticus*; such a thing would merely be an unwieldy mass of useless matter. Wherever a change has been made in the text of F, the reading of the MS. is given below. Thus where *sovrane* is printed in the text (p. 210), *dou rance* (a slip for *rauee*) appears in the notes. This is as it should be; but why space should be wasted by recording all the little mistakes in the French Geographical Society's edition of 1824, it is hard to see. That text has done good work, and its publication was one of the greatest events in the history of Marco Polo studies. Nothing is gained by laughing at it now, and the great space thus wasted could have been filled to very great advantage first by giving the authority for the emendations of the text, and secondly by adding to the present very small selection of various readings, especially in the case of the proper names.

The illustrations are interesting, and well done, but of no critical value. It is specially disappointing and most surprising not to find a page of Z among the facsimiles of famous manuscripts. There is an admirable index.

In conclusion Professor Benedetto is specially to be congratulated on having given us an edition of one definite text (F), relegating all additional matter to footnotes and resisting the temptation to produce another eclectic text or to make any foolish attempt to restore an imaginary "original text"; and to this very notable edition his learned essay on the classification of the manuscripts forms a worthy introduction.

A. C. MOULE.

TRAVELS OF FRAY SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE. Edited by LIEUT.-COL. C. E. LUARD. Vol. i: Arakan. Hakluyt Society, 1927. 37s. 6d.

Before his deeply lamented death last year, Colonel Luard had, with the assistance of Father Hosten, completed his edition of the *Travels of Fray Sebastian Manrique*, the first volume of which has just

been published by the Hakluyt Society. The whole work will certainly form a valuable addition to this great series of travels. Here and there the volume seems to have lacked the final touch. On p. 141 "fast" seems a misprint for "feast"; and there are notes which will never be needed by those who use the volume, e.g. the note on Masulipatam on p. 217. Nor do we like the practice of clubbing several notes together under a single reference number. But apart from these trifles, the volume is excellently edited, and the translation, which simplifies many of Manrique's involved sentences, runs with ease and with something of the true tone of the seventeenth century.

As a writer, Manrique cannot rank high. He is rhetorical, full of quotations from the Vulgate, the Fathers, and occasionally profane writers. He is not always honest, as we reckon honesty, and will cite native chronicles when his real source of information is Mendez Pinto. After the manner of Livy, he places in his own and other people's mouths prodigious harangues, which can never have been delivered. But his narrative of his own adventures is straightforward and at times vivid; and he himself must have possessed a most attractive personality. He was a zealous missionary, and yet tactful and discreet. He was evidently able to impress those with whom he came in contact—king, priests, or officials. We judge him to have been entirely free from the faults and vices which are commonly attributed to the Portuguese of his day in India; and he appears at once pious, humble, and humane. He compares himself with all his advantages of Christian upbringing with an Indian Christian, and was confused to think how little he was doing, although in fact he had risked his life time and again.

The principal value of the present volume consists in the account which it gives of the kingdom of Arakan in the second quarter of the seventeenth century. Manrique, who belonged to the Augustinian Order, was sent from Hugli to minister to the Christian population to the eastwards, and so proceeded to Dianga, the port opposite Chittagong, and then to Arakan, where he was detained by the Magh ruler, who, like the Burmese kings, could not bear to allow foreigners to leave his dominions. It was some five years before he could effect his departure, and his narrative throws much light on a kingdom best remembered for the raids conducted by the Maghs and vagabond Portuguese in their service on the eastern districts of Bengal. Manrique's account of the Portuguese is probably more favourable than was warranted by the facts; at all events he displays their best

side to the reader, as was indeed natural in a fellow-countryman. His description of many of the Arakanese customs is very inconsistent with Buddhist principles; and it is sometimes hard to know whether he is mistaken, or whether more primitive customs had modified Buddhist practices. In one case at all events, his description of the Talaing spirit-dance, he is probably mistaken in introducing sacrifices. At the court Muslim influences were strong, as was natural owing to the neighbourhood of the great Moghul Empire. It had been exhibited by the adoption of Persian titles and the issue of medallions bearing the *kalima*, in spite of the king's Buddhist faith. At the court of Thirithudamma Manrique found a Muslim magician exercising great influence; and he is said to have induced the king to prelude his coronation by a huge number of expiatory executions; but these must have been due less to any specific Muslim influence than to the survival of more primitive ideas, as Mr. Harvey has pointed out. The coronation is described in great detail; and was preceded by the coronation of twelve minor chiefs so as to justify the King's assumption of the title "Lord of the Twelve Kings".

H. DODWELL.

A PAGEANT OF INDIA. By ADOLF WALEY. Pp. x + 556. London: Constable and Co., Ltd., 1927.

The inequality of this book is due to the inequality of the authorities which have been used in its compilation. The author lays no claim to profound scholarship, and it would be unreasonable to demand of the writer of a history of India from the earliest times to the beginning of the eighteenth century ability to consult original authorities for all his facts, but it is not unreasonable to expect that modern authorities should be consulted. The book suggests that the author was engaged on it for some years, in the course of which he learned much, for while the record of the reign of Aurangzib and of the latter part of that of *Shāh Jahān* is based on the best modern authorities, the account of all that goes before that period appears to be drawn from the works of earlier writers who, for lack of material, could reproduce nothing more than the uncritical records of two or three Indian chroniclers. The author does not even seem to have consulted, for the reign of Akbar, the late Mr. Vincent Smith's illuminating study of that ruler; and the same author's small *Oxford History of India* would have saved Mr. Waley from many a slip; for instance, from the assumption that

Dihli has been from time immemorial an imperial city, and that its rulers in the twelfth century were Emperors of India, or even of Hindūstān. The use of the geographical term "Afghānistān", when speaking or writing of that country before the middle of the eighteenth century, is an anachronism, as is also the description of the mounted troops of Mu'izz-al-dīn Muḥammad as "Afghan cavalry". "Alik Khān" is an unfamiliar version of the name of Ilak Khān of Transoxiana; it is not safe to assume that two sons of a Muslim sovereign, born on the same day, are twins; the Saljūqs are better described as Turks than as "Tartars"; the genealogical tree of the Ghaznavids will be searched in vain for Mas'ūd's two sons, "Modud and Madud"; and Timūr was not "the Moghul". The correct name, or title, of the third of the Slave Kings (not "emperors") of Dihli was Īltutmish, not Altamsh: "Huluku" is a strange variant of the name of Hulāgū Khān; and the title of the brother of 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī was Ulugh Khān, not Alaf Khān. The author's reticence on the subject of the relations between 'Alā-al-dīn Khaljī and Kāfūr Hazārdīnāri (Malik Nāib) and between Qutb-al-dīn Mubārak and Khusrav Khān does credit to his delicacy, but amounts to concealment of relevant facts without a knowledge of which it is impossible to understand the course of events at this period.

The account of the mutiny of Muḥammad ibn Tughluq's army before Warangal is incorrect, but the details of the mutiny have been so garbled, perhaps intentionally, by the contemporary Indian chronicler that few European historians have succeeded in discovering the fact that Muḥammad himself was the rebel, and that the principal officers of his army refused to join him. This prince committed many follies after his ascent of the throne, but was never so foolish as to contemplate "the conquest of that portion of the Himalayan range situated between India and China", that is to say, nearly the whole range. The title of the first king of the Bahmanī dynasty of the Dakan was not "'Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan Shah Gangu Bahmani", but "'Alā-al-dīn Ḥasan, Bahman Shāh", and it had no connection with the caste-name Brahman. Mr. Waley was probably unaware of the latest results of epigraphical research. The circumstances of this King's election, too, are very imperfectly narrated, also the account of the reign of Firūz Shāh Tughluq, of whose campaigns in Sind and Bengal no mention is made.

The author is too ready to accept genealogical claims formulated, but never substantiated, e.g. the claim of Prithvī Rāj to descent from

the Pāndava Yudhisthira ; that of the Rāthors of Mārwar to descent from the Gaharwārs of Kanauj ; that of Yūsuf 'Adil Khān of Bījāpūr to descent from the 'Uthmānli Sultāns ; that of Lakhojī Yādavrāo to descent from the Yādava house of Devagiri ; and that of the Bhonsle clan to descent from the Sesodias of Mewār. On the other hand the statement that the Nizām Shāhi kings of Aḥmadnagar were "to a certain extent of Hindu extraction" is misleading. They were immediately descended of a Brahman family of Pāthri.

Indiscriminate praise of Akbar is another defect of this book. He was undoubtedly a very great ruler, and in advance of his age, but he was not free from weaknesses, among which were inordinate vanity, love of conquest for its own sake, incontinence, and intemperance. The courtly fabrication that he chivalrously refused to smite the wounded Hemu has been too readily accepted, the account of the death of Jaimal at his hands is inaccurate, and *'Ibādat-Khāna* does not mean House of Argument, but House of Worship. To assert that the apostate Christians who fell into Akbar's hands on the capture of Asirgarh were "re-baptized" is to accuse the Portuguese priests in Akbar's camp, the best, be it remembered, that Goa could produce, of gross ignorance of Catholic doctrine and practice. Those whose baptism is doubtful are baptized *sub conditione*, but a lapsed Christian is not re-admitted to the Church by re-baptism, for the Sacrament of Baptism cannot be repeated.

"The famous Moghul clan of the Syeds of Barha" is a strange confraternity. A Sayyid is a descendant of the prophet Muḥammad, and therefore, by descent, an Arab of the Quraish tribe. He cannot be a member of a Mughul clan. The claim of the Sayyids of Bārha to the status of Sayyids has not invariably been admitted, but they have not hitherto been accused of being Mongols. No official of the emperor Jahāngīr could have been entitled "Kuli Khān", nor could the founder of the dynasty of Golconda have been entitled "Kuli Kutub Shah". His name and title were Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh.

Only a few out of many inaccuracies have been cited, but Mr. Waley's work is, in spite of its errors, a praiseworthy endeavour to present the history of India to the English reader in an acceptable form, and it is to be hoped that it will arouse interest in this much neglected subject.

W. H.

THE LETTERS OF GERTRUDE BELL. Selected and edited by LADY BELL, D.B.E. London: Ernest Benn, Ltd. 1927.

It is well that Gertrude Bell should have been allowed to tell her own story. No adequate life of her could have been written but by a relation or intimate friend, and such a life would have been liable to depreciation on the score of partiality. Her letters show the woman as she was. From them each can form his own estimate of her worth, and few will withhold the meed of admiration due to a personality so commanding and so charming. Materialists of the grosser sort may regard her life as wasted, in the sense that she missed some of its joys, and much of its physical comfort; but let them re-read this book to learn how joyful a life of sacrifice may be. No one was more capable than Gertrude Bell of deep affection, of appreciating to the full the happiness of intimate association with those whom she loved, and of the enjoyment of life's lighter pleasures; but she found a higher happiness in the work which lay before her, the work which none but she could have done so well. Wherever she was and however she was employed, she tasted life to the full. "Say, is it not rather refreshing to the spirit to lie in a hammock strung between the plane trees of a Persian garden, and read the poems of Hafiz?" is a strange question from one who was yet a girl. Her delight as "the best of all lady mountaineers" in Alpine climbing, in eluding Turkish officials and penetrating the country of the Druzes, in the strange gutturals and broken plurals of the Arabic language, which she afterwards acquired so perfectly; the great zest with which she entered into the spirit of archaeological exploration in Asia Minor, her tolerance even of Basra and her joy in her work in 'Irâq, all go to make up the picture of a full and happy life, to which the colour is supplied by her deep love and affection for her family.

The letters contain a few slips hardly to be expected from such a scholar as the writer of them. Among these we may instance *yaila* for *yailaq*, Jelal-ed-Din Zumi for Jelal-ed-Din Rumi, and the statement that the death of Husain is mourned on Muharram 15.

The present writer had the privilege of a slight acquaintance with Gertrude Bell, but never enjoyed an opportunity of improving it. It needs the pen of one who knew her better to do full justice to this wonderful woman. "Scholar, poet, historian, archaeologist, art critic, mountaineer, explorer, gardener, naturalist, distinguished servant of the State, Gertrude was all of these, and was recognized by experts as an expert in them all." Her family alone can estimate and

appreciate her love for them, but the evidence of that love which appears in her letters, portrays for the reader a most lovable character. Her learning, her ability, her energy, her devotion to duty, and, above all, her modesty after great achievements, complete the picture.

W. H.

SUHAIL. By COLERIDGE KENNARD. London: The Richards Press, 1927.

This book, discursive, curious, introspective, and intermittently observant, breathes the joy of Persian travel, its pictures of which will awaken pleasant memories for all who have enjoyed traversing the open desert and the naked hills in leisurely fashion with a string of mules, and the conversation of muleteers, and of casual acquaintances among wayfarers and villagers. "The road stretches onwards to a long low ridge striped with salt." What traveller nearing the end of this long stretch, has not longed to see what lies over the edge of the ridge, only to discover that what lies beyond is even what lay on the hither side? The author has a sense of beauty, and the *hashish*-bred dream of Isfahan transcends the reality but by a little and merely restores faded glories; but Natanz might have left memories other than that of the hoary brigand Naib Husain. He will no more play his pranks on rotund Englishmen and Bakhtiyari warriors, for both he and his son Mashallah have long since expiated on the gibbet their lives of violent, if occasionally facetious crime.

It is a pity that the transliteration of Persian words should convey so little idea of their pronunciation, and that in the verses which the author reproduces quantity marks should be so misplaced as to destroy the rhythm. This is especially regrettable in the verses quoted on pages 59 and 60, where the author's faulty and hardly intelligible transcription gives no idea of the stately *rajaz*, one of the most musical of all Persian metres. The verse translations need have lost neither beauty nor rhythm by closer adherence to the originals.

Sir Coleridge Kennard's observation is not always exact. *Mullas*, for instance, do not wear red turbans. Some of his Persian words are impossible. There is no such name as "Gurbam Ali", nor are the questioners of the dead named "Nunkir and Mimkir", and these are only random examples of many similar errors which it would be worth while to correct should the book reach a second edition, from which the author's gibe at his military hosts might well be omitted.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

KENYA FROM WITHIN. By W. MCGREGOR ROSS, late Director of Public Works, Kenya. pp. 486. Eight illustrations from photographs and 18 maps and diagrams. London: George Allen and Unwin, Ltd., 1927.

This is a much-discussed work—and discussed, in some quarters, with considerable venom, in spite of the fact that it is commendably free from bitterness and notably fair to all parties. It is also eminently readable, and may be recommended to the attention of anyone interested in East Africa, whether prepared or otherwise to agree with its conclusions. It must be said, however, that from any point of view, Mr. McGregor Ross's book provides abundant food for thought and deserves serious consideration. After a historical retrospect sketching in outline the events of four centuries, we have, in four most illuminating chapters, an account of the Imperial British East Africa Company and its activities, and of the various phases through which the land question has passed. The currency problem, a sore perplexity to outsiders, is also fully explained. We have a graphic picture of the various conflicting elements in the Colony and their apparently irreconcilable interests—but thoughtful readers will discover at least hints towards a solution. Due consideration to the questions here raised and discussed, would require at least the scope of a *Quarterly* article; suffice it to say that the whole book should be read and carefully weighed by intending settlers—more particularly, perhaps, Chapter VII. Those who eulogize in glowing terms the "ideal climate" of the Highlands are apt to forget that low temperature in equatorial latitudes is not everything, and that high altitudes, and perhaps other insufficiently investigated factors, may have a disastrous effect on the nerves, accounting in many cases for what used to be known in Germany as *Tropenkoller*. The same is true, to some extent, of Southern Rhodesia, a delightful region, but no place for people with, e.g., weak hearts. "For English children," Mr. McGregor Ross says, "the country is a forcing-house"—a point which parents will do well to bear in mind.

A. W.

FESTSCHRIFT MEINHOF. Hamburg: Augustin, 1927.

This handsome volume was offered to Professor Meinhof—the *doyen* of Bantu studies in Europe, on the occasion of his 70th birthday, by a number of his colleagues and friends. The fifty contributors include representatives of Germany, Austria, Britain, the United States, France, Italy, Sweden, Norway, Holland, and South Africa.

Most of the essays deal, as is fitting, with African languages (Meinhof's name is chiefly associated with the Bantu family but he has not confined his attention to it, as readers of his *Sprachen der Hamiten*, not to mention numerous occasional essays, will remember)—but studies from other speech-families, and in general linguistics are contributed by Professor Meillet, Dr. Panconcelli-Calzia, Professor Boas, Mr. Sidney Ray, and others, and four papers, not strictly linguistic, by Dr. Thilenius, E. Cassirer, M. Schlunk, and T. W. Danzel. The volume forms a little library in itself, and would require many pages to discuss it adequately. A pathetic interest attaches to the second essay, "Classes nominales en Wolof", by the late Maurice Delafosse. Professor Westermann's recent work has placed the whole question of the Sudanic languages (in which I suppose Wolof must be included) in a new light, and the relationship of his *Klassensprachen* to Bantu calls for intensive investigation. The Wolof classes, though distinguished by prefixes, do not appear, on a casual inspection, to be identical with the Bantu system, and an important point of difference is to be found in the fact that the plural is not indicated by a change of prefix. Hansen (Kiel) discusses the negative particle in Bantu for which he postulates a primitive form *Ka*. I cannot here examine his arguments in detail, but they appear to me to supply a much-needed explanation of the enigmatic Vemba form *nshi-*, the cause of serious heart-searchings to many students.

K. Roehl (Dar-es-Salaam)—author of a meritorious Shambala Grammar, has an interesting paper, headed "Eine fast verloren gegangene Klasse des Ur-Bantu"—viz. a class with the prefix *ku-*. In spite of the wide knowledge and careful research here evident, I am unable to agree with the whole of his conclusions. His first set of examples (Ruanda *uku-guru*, Nyamwezi *kugulu* "foot", Ruanda *uku-voko*, Herero *oku-oko* "arm", etc.) are clearly locatives, which, by a quite intelligible process have taken the place of the simple noun. (Cf. Bleek, *Comparative Grammar of South African Languages*, § 434, where the locative nature of the prefix is recognized, though he does not hint at the substitution of the locative for the primitive form.) This is more particularly evident in words denoting parts of the body, which in some languages are found in their original form—e.g. Pogoro *ligulu* "foot" (Mombasa Swahili *guu*). Apart from these, Roehl places in his lost *ku-* class a number of nouns in which the *ku* almost certainly forms part of the stem, e.g. Swahili *u-kucha* "nail", *kose* "neck", *kope* "eyelid", and even *ki-fua* "chest" (as being derived

from a primitive *-kúpa*) and even the almost universal Bantu *kumi* "ten". With regard to the last-named, one would like to inquire how Zulu has developed the form *ishumi*, whereas the *ku-* infinitive prefix¹ (the locative is lost in this language except for some pretty obvious traces), retains its shape. Roehl divides the Shambala *kuli* "dog" a word "sonst unerklärlich" into the *ku-* prefix and *li < lia* "to cry"; therefore = "Heulvieh"! His idea is that this prefix denotes (a) parts of the body; (b) animals; (c) plants and parts of plants; (d) weapons, implements, etc.—a fairly comprehensive category. Not content with words obviously containing the syllable *ku-*, he adds several in which other consonants are derived by Meinhof from a hypothetical primitive *k*—which *ex hypothesi* forms part of the stem. Dr. Eiselen has written on the modifications produced by nasals in the sounds of Thonga—a language not yet sufficiently studied from the phonetic point of view, as Junod's valuable work does not appear to have been followed up.

I have necessarily confined my attention chiefly to the Bantu part of this work, but even to this it is impossible to do justice within the present limits. Such contributions as that of Professor Daniel Jones on "Words distinguished by Tone in Sechuana", Dr. Doke's "The Significance of Class Ia of Bantu Nouns", the Rev. W. Bourquin's "Die Sprache der Phuthi" certainly deserve the full examination which cannot be accorded them here. I must, however, mention Miss Stevenson's "Specimens of Kikuyu Proverbs", P. Blessing Dahle's transcription (with musical notation) of the Zulu song composed after the battle of Isandhlwana, and Dr. Cerulli's "Il gergo delle genti di bassa casta della Somalia"—which may be of value in clearing up the relation between these "Nilot tribes" and the Wasanye and Waboni of Kenya.

Of capital importance, to conclude, is Professor Czermak's very scholarly and suggestive essay "Die Lokalvorstellung und ihre Bedeutung für den grammatischen Aufbau afrikanischer Sprachen"—which I would commend to the attention of all language-students.

A. W.

¹ I think it is generally admitted that the infinitive and locative prefixes are originally identical, though now differentiated in function.

CHINSENGA HANDBOOK. A Manual of the Nsenga Language spoken in the Protectorate of Northern Rhodesia. By A. SIDNEY B. RANGER, M.A., F.R.G.S., late Priest of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa. $8\frac{1}{2} \times 5\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 337. London : Sheldon Press, 1928. 10s. 6d.

Nsenga is a Bantu language, unwritten till within the last 25 years ; the first attempt in this direction being made by the late A.C. Madan, who, in 1905, estimated the tribe as numbering some 50,000 individuals. Mr. Ranger gives the figure as 70,000. They live on the northern bank of the Zambezi (whither they appear to have migrated about a hundred years ago), to the east of the Lwangwa River, extending eastward to the border of the Nyasaland Protectorate. Mr. Ranger is of opinion that "with the speech of adjacent people, Chinsenga—beyond the usual Bantu affinities—has little in common. In its range of words it would appear to be richer than, at any rate, those to the east, and both in vocabulary and in syntax it bears a closer resemblance to Chiwiza and Chiwemba than to them". A cursory inspection, however, reveals a large number of words identical in form with those of similar meaning in Nyanja, while others are the same save for slight change, of sound. The comparative richness of two languages is difficult to gauge, unless one has a close acquaintance with both ; a glance at the late D. C. Scott's Mang'anja (Nyanja) Dictionary—bearing in mind, moreover, that Dr. Hetherwick has collected between four and five thousand additional words—might suggest that this language need not fear a comparison with Nsenga. In the author's account of Nsenga sounds—though expressed in pre-phonetic terms—there seems nothing to which one could take exception, but he raises two interesting questions. One concerns the sound for which he uses the symbol \acute{w} (elsewhere, e.g. in Lamba, denoting the bilabial fricative) and which is "spoken not with the lips pursed and the mouth contracted, but more softly, from the front of the mouth, and with the tongue pressed lightly against the lower teeth". Mr. Ranger expressly says that the sound is not quite the same as "what is usually denoted by a b in Chiwemba" (i.e. as I understand it, the bilabial fricative). It is probably similar to, if not identical with that referred to in Scott's Dictionary, which, according to information received from Dr. Hetherwick, is certainly not the bilabial fricative. Another point is the sound written as sy and said to be interchangeable with sh (\int). I suspect it to be—Meinhof's "cerebral" (retroflex) s —a very common sound in Yao, and not always easy to differentiate from \int .

As regards the arrangement of the noun-classes, I regret to see that *li-* and *lu-* are lumped together as Class 5, because both have plurals in *ma-* (consequently those *lu-* nouns which have plurals of Class 10 are classed under 9—here called 3). Confusions of this sort would be avoided if grammarians would follow Bleek's arrangement of counting singular and plural prefixes as denoting separate classes, recognizing the fact that they do not always correspond in pairs—that one plural may belong to two or more singulars, or even (as in Ganda) that a prefix may be plural with one class of nouns, and singular with another.

The remarks on the first—usually called the person-class are extremely suggestive. "In Chinsenga . . . this class is by no means confined to words which stand for human beings . . . it comprises the names of . . . the majority . . . of the animals, birds, fishes insects, reptiles, trees, bushes, grass and herbs. Yet the class is not limited even to animate beings, whether human or otherwise, for included in it are numbers of words which denote things not possessing life. In so far as it is possible to generalize, these inanimate objects may be said to include, to some extent, dances, scarification-marks, maladies and various foods in their prepared state."

As regards animals, it seems clear that, originally belonging to other classes (most usually the 9th or *n-* class as *nkandwe*, jackal) they are placed in the first class, and receive its plural prefix, by way of personification. With regard to trees and plants the case is more puzzling—but I might suggest that some confusion arose (though it does not seem to have done so in other languages) through the first and third prefixes (*ma-* or *m-*) being identical. Whether some obscure notion of personality attaches—or formerly did so—to the other objects enumerated, it would be interesting to inquire; it is at any rate worth noting that the Baganda places *kaumpuli* "small-pox" in the person-class.

The "alternative plural" in *ma-* (p. 10) is probably (though perhaps its original force has been lost or obscured in Nsenga) augmentative, implying either a large number of objects, or several objects of unusual size. It is curious to find that augmentatives in *chi-* (p. 12) are treated as nouns of the 7th class, and have plurals in *vi-*, in Chinyanja they count as of the 5th and their plurals take the prefix *ma-*. The whole of this book tempts to further discussion, which, unfortunately, is impossible here. It includes a useful vocabulary and collection of phrases.

A. WERNER.

EINFÜHRUNG IN DAS STUDIUM DER KAUKASISCHEN SPRACHEN. Mit einer Sprachenkarte von ADOLF DIRR. Verlag der Asia Major. $9\frac{1}{2} \times 6\frac{3}{4}$, pp. vii + 380. Leipzig, 1928.

This book deals with thirty-five Caucasian languages divided into three sets: those of the north-west (Ap'hkhaz, Ubych, Circassian), the south-west (Georgian, Mingrelian, Laz, Svanetian), and north-east (subdivided into the Chechen and Lesghian groups). The author makes clear his aim, which is not to speak of foreign languages now used in the Caucasus (e.g. Russian, Turkish, Armenian, Osset, etc.), and having an Indo-Germanic, Semitic or Ural-Altaic character; he limits his inquiry to those which, as a working hypothesis at least, may be considered to have sufficient in common to be called vaguely "Caucasian", though the isthmus is nothing but a "refugium gentium" and not necessarily the original home of any of them, and postulates the existence of a "Protocaucasian" tongue at some early period. Dirr's book is meant to be a step towards the recognition of such a Protocaucasian idiom, and thirty years' work have well prepared him for this effort to give to the world something better than the work of von Erckert (1888). Of Marr's "Japhetic" theory Dirr quotes his former opinion (*Caucasica*, i, 1924, p. 109) that there is much truth in the theory, whose discovery is comparable in importance with that of the unity of Indo-Germanic, etc., but adds that Marr has altered his thesis, or rather "Procrustean bed" on which he lays and maims languages, to such an extent that Dirr can no longer follow him, and must protest strongly against the attempt to bring into philology the political view now propagated from Moscow of the subjugation of the Orient by Indo-European "bourgeois colonial policy". The sketch-map at the end of the book is poor, as the author admits, but to improve it would have cost too much; the bibliography (pp. 378-9) also is inadequate; the cardinal numbers in the thirty-five languages (pp. 358-61) are given.

Dirr rightly insists on the importance of his work as an endeavour to bring the Caucasian languages into direct touch with Western Europe, saving students the trouble of learning Russian. For a century St. Petersburg strove to weaken the prestige of the literary languages of the Caucasus by patronizing the lesser languages; primers, catechisms, and school books, sometimes carelessly edited and inaccurate, were printed in quaint orthography for tribes who possessed no books or MSS. before, and in this way valuable material has been collected and preserved. This policy continues, with results which its authors do

not seem to realize; its tendency is not only to strengthen local tradition and desire for "self determination" and autonomy but, as the influence of books such as Dirr's and Marr's gradually becomes felt, to strengthen the sense of Caucasian unity.

While maintaining the kinship of the Caucasian tongues, the author rightly says this does not exclude their relationship to other groups; they form a branch but the branch belongs to a tree with common roots. His chapter (pp. 24-8) on the question whether the Caucasian languages are really "isolated" is of interest, and rejects the *a priori* theory of a "polygenesis".

The longest section is, naturally, that devoted to the Georgian group (pp. 57-131) which alone has a literature and, moreover, a strongly marked identity. Here the student will find a very short outline of the elements of Georgian grammar, though it is a pity that for the sake of economy all the examples are transliterated; the remarks on the nature of the Caucasian verb in general are clear and sound (from p. 62), though necessarily brief; a paragraph (p. 129) enumerates some of the characteristics of the group.

O. W.

CAUCASICA. Herausgegeben von A. DIRR. Fasc. 4 und 5. Verlag der Asia Major. 10 x 7, pp. 144 und 130. Leipzig, 1927.

The fourth part of Mr. Dirr's *Caucasica* contains two sections, of which the former is the conclusion of *Armenisch und Südkaukasisch, ein Beitrag zur Frage der Sprachmischung von Gerhard Deeters*, giving a mass of material for the study of Georgian and Armenian phonetics and etymology. Chapter IX (p. 13) deals with grammatical gender, Chapter X (p. 18) with the Survival of the Indo-Germanic case system and the final chapter (*Das Armenische als Mischsprache*) sums up the whole work and ends with a reference to Professor Marr's "Japhetic" theory, remarking that the question of the relationship of the Georgian and Armenian Languages must remain open till we have more certain etymological knowledge of the Karthvelian (Georgian) group.

The second article (to be continued) is *Die Sprache der Ubychen*, grammar, texts, glossary, and German index, by Adolf Dirr, of the language of the Ubychs, or Ubukhs, or Abaza, who formerly lived in the Western Caucasus, north-west of Sukhum, between the rivers Shakhe and Shatshe (cf. Bell's Circassia) but in 1864 all fled, like their neighbours, from the Russians to Turkey, and are now almost lost as a separate racial and linguistic group. To preserve what is

left of their language, Dirr was sent, in 1913, by the Russian Academy to Srpandža Göl (Ismid district) and he here gives the result of his visit. All the surviving Ubykhs speak Turkish, Circassian and a rapidly lessening quantity of their own tongue. The present article devotes 5 pp. to phonetics, the grammatical sketch begins on p. 72, and is followed, on p. 110, by texts, with German translation, and on p. 125, the glossary.

The fifth part of the journal *Caucasica* continues and concludes (pp. 1-54) the editor's grammatical sketch, with texts, glossary, and German index, of the rapidly dying Ubych language. Professor Dirr also gives (pp. 55-9) as a specimen of the polyglot verse of the Tiflis costermongers (a jumble of four idioms: Georgian, Armenian, Tatar, and Russian), a love-song composed by A. Grishašvili, ten years ago the most popular writer of that kind of composition (collections of his works were published in 1910 and 1914), and (pp. 60-72) four Udian folk-tales with German translation. The last and longest contribution to this number (pp. 73-130, with a sketch-map of the Mediterranean, Black Sea, and adjacent regions) is by Robert Eisler, and deals with the names of the "sea-peoples" in Oriental documents; it is of great interest for all students of the history of the ancient world and deals with the etymology of names like Hellene, Dolop, Chalyb, Chaldi, etc.; the part played in the formation of these ethnic terms by the Caucasian plural endings in *ni* and *pi*, *bi* is insisted upon and the 30 pp. of notes full of bibliographical references show a vast amount of careful research. A further instalment of this important work is to appear in the next number of *Caucasica*.

O. WARDROP.

LEHRBUCH DER GRAMMATIK DER JAPANISCHEN SCHRIFTSPRACHE.
pp. xxiii + 118. Die Übungsstücke auf Japanisch, pp. 19. Von
KURT MEISSNER. Tōkyō, 1927.

The book under review is, to the best of my knowledge, the first grammar of the Japanese written language compiled by a foreigner in which an attempt is made to illustrate the relation between the written and the spoken forms. The subject matter is fairly well arranged, being treated more or less under the direct method, and the explanation is short and clear, which is all that is required of a grammar.

Beside examples illustrative of grammatical rules, reading exercises are also copiously given, both in native and in romanized scripts,

taken from various elementary books and the newspapers. Added to these are excellent materials for translation from German into Japanese and vice versa. The brief explanation of the epistolary style given in the last chapter is extremely useful.

The book, however, is not faultless. Rather serious is the frequent omission of the long vowel sign. A writer of the Japanese language, when writing in Rōmaji, must always bear in mind that by ignoring the long vowel sign, or writing a single consonant for a double, he is, to the Japanese mind at least, shortening the word by one syllable, thus turning it into an entirely different term or coining a word. To quote a few instances from the present work *Shodoshima* (p. 59) should read *Shōdoshima* (小豆島); *mai-cho* (p. 86), *maichō* (毎朝); *ichido* (p. 102), *ichidō* (一同), in which last example the former meaning "once" and the latter "all".

The author should also be advised to use a hyphen or a dot between two elements of a compound, whose first element ends in *n*, and the second begins with a vowel or the consonant *y*. Thus *danyaku* (p. 23) would become clearer if it were written *dan'yaku* (彈藥); *koni-na* (p. 65); *koni-i-na* (懇意な); *unun* (p. 79), *un'un* or *unnun* (云々).

Apart from these orthographical inaccuracies, there are some words erroneously transliterated, as, for example, *Bantōtarō* (p. 19), which sounds to the Japanese ear "Tarō, the head-clerk", but is really *Bandōtarō*, another name for the River Tone; *kiito* (p. 19) should read *kenshi* (絹絲) if it does not mean "raw silk" (生絲); *shōzei* (p. 51) should be *kozei* (小勢), while *ōzei* (多勢, p. 51) would better be read *tazei* or *tasei*; *mokuin* (p. 85) should read *kokage* (木蔭). With these it may be mentioned that the phrase *yuku tokoro . . . , ja . . .* (p. 64), should be *yuku tokoro ja*, for the word *ja* is not, in the present context, equivalent to *de wa*, "then", but means *da* "am", and *tsukimiyo ya* (p. 85) should read *tsuki miyoya*.

The native text is very well printed, the only error, as far as I have detected, being 身體 (*Übungsstücke*, p. 3), which should be 進退 if it means "das Vor- und Zurückgehen" (*Lehrbuch*, p. 23).

When these orthographical irregularities and a few mistakes in the exercises have been corrected, the book will undoubtedly render a great service to the elementary student of the Japanese written language.

S. YOSHITAKE.

PHILOLOGY AND ANCIENT CHINA. By BERNHARD KARLGREN. pp. 167, 8vo. Oslo, 1926.

Chinese Philology, or, to use Professor Karlgren's term in its continental sense, Linguistics (p. 9), has until recently been an almost, if not entirely, unexplored field. In the middle of the last century Joseph Edkins carried out some researches which, though vitiated to some extent by theories which could not be substantiated have proved valuable to his successors. Towards the end of that century, and in the early years of the twentieth century, Schaank, followed by Pelliot and Maspero, made successive essays in the same direction. It remained, however, for Professor Karlgren effectively to open up this field, and to point the way to others both, as to the task to be attempted and the methods of its accomplishment.

Perhaps we may be forgiven if we appear to use a somewhat extravagant expression when we say that there is something fascinating about the Professor's deliverances whether as a lecturer or as a writer. The fascination lies in the combination of a modest, simple, and lucid presentation with an almost unbelievably voluminous mass of material gathered together as the basis of that presentation. As some indication of what is meant, let the reader scan the pages of the small and unpretentious volume *Sound and Symbol in Chinese* (London, 1923) or of the volume now under review, and having noted their simple statements, turn to the author's works *Études sur la phonologie chinoise* (Leyde, 1915-26) and *A Mandarin phonetic reader in the Pekinese dialect* (Stockholm, 1917), and note the enormous array of comparative tables which have been massed together before such lectures as those presented in this volume could be delivered. The Sinological world owes a great debt of gratitude to our author for his indefatigable labours.

The task to which the Professor has set himself and to which he invites others to set themselves, is a formidable one, to say the least. "The reconstruction of the Chinese language, as it sounded in different periods of the past," which, he asserts, is an inevitable and central task in Sinology" (p. 66) presents a very different problem from those presented by corresponding tasks in other languages. The one fact that the written language has all through the many centuries of Chinese literature continued to be essentially a pictographic language means that a literary work of the seventh century B.C. could be read in any age and in any dialect with the pronunciation of that age or dialect without regard to the pronunciation of the period in which it was

produced, with the result that the original pronunciation was almost irretrievably lost. Add to this the further fact that since the period in which such a work was produced the spoken language has passed through such changes that if the work be read say in modern Pekinese, it will, though perfectly intelligible to the eye, be totally unintelligible to the ear, and that in the poetry of the period you have rhymes that do not rhyme, and it will be realized that the problem is in many respects unique.

Professor Karlgren, however, is not to be dismayed by any difficulties, formidable though they may be. He brings to his aid every available means for the achievement of his aim, and with undeniable success. The ground, it is true, has to some extent been prepared beforehand by Chinese scholars, and our author has not been slow to avail himself of all the help that can be derived from them. In the sixth century there were Rhyme Dictionaries, the most valuable of which was the *Ts'ie-yün*. Fragments of this have recently been discovered in Central Asia, and the rhymes and spellings have been preserved in later adaptations of the work (p. 68). Later, in the eleventh century came the work of *Ssü-ma Kuang*, the celebrated historian of the Sung period, who attempted to produce a key to the lexicon of the sixth century, based on the language of the eleventh century (p. 70). His tables of sounds were included in the famous *K'ang Hsi Dictionary*, published in 1716.

But the help derived from these sources is very meagre, and the investigator has perforce to turn to other sources for his material. Not the least fruitful of these is a comparative study of the Phonology of the many dialects which exist to-day (pp. 74, 78 ff.). It is an established fact that the progressive changes in pronunciation through the centuries have been of an assimilative nature. The process indeed is still going on. Within the last 40 years it is observable in some areas that two classes of sounds like *kien* (見) and *tsien* (賤) have assimilated and both become *chien* as in Modern Pekinese. It is largely because of this that a literary work of the Ante-Christian period if read with modern pronunciation is unintelligible to the ear. The homophones abound to such an extent that it is impossible to distinguish between them. But such was not the case in the period in which the work was produced. From a comparative study of the different dialects, as well as of the different varieties of Mandarin, Professor Karlgren takes us back through these assimilative changes to the sixth century and even earlier, and shows by valid reasoning what must have been the pronunciation of that age (pp. 78-83).

A further aid in his task is furnished by loan-words in such foreign dialects as Sino-Korean, Sino-Japanese and Sino-Annamese in which are to be found many words borrowed from Chinese in ancient times the modern pronunciation of which often furnishes a key to difficulties not otherwise soluble (pp. 75-8, 83-5).

Of these and other methods of research most interesting examples are given in considerable detail, to follow which would carry us beyond the scope of a review article ; but it may be of interest to call attention to an instance given by the author of the value of such linguistic researches from the point of view of literary criticism. A much discussed question in Sinology is the authorship of the *Spring and Autumn Classic*, or rather of the *Tso-chuan*, the famous commentary on the Classic. Various theories have been propounded, among which is that of Grube that Confucius himself was the author. Professor Karlgren discusses this from the standpoint of linguistics and instances the two words 於 and 于, which in Modern Pekinese are homophones, but which as late as the sixth century were respectively pronounced *i'o* and *jiu*. These two particles, which to-day are not only pronounced the same, but are also used interchangeably, in the most Ancient Classics present a rather interesting phenomenon. In the *Shu-ching* there is a practically exclusive use of 于 ; in the sayings of Confucius and Mencius 於 is used almost exclusively ; whereas in the *Tso-chuan* both occur. Our author investigates this phenomenon in some detail, and reaches the conclusion that the last named work cannot have been produced by Confucius (pp. 102-8). Apart altogether from the question of the soundness of the reasoning, the case cited is interesting as suggestive of the possible developments we may see in the future of both linguistic researches and literary criticism.

J. PERCY BRUCE.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. I, Part I. 14 × 10½, pp. xviii + 517 + 48. Edited by Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, O.M. Calcutta. (For abbreviations see footnote.)

With Part I of this volume Sir George Grierson must feel that his work on the Survey is at an end, for Part II, a list of words, is in the Press, and Part III is to be by another hand. If it is the highest satisfaction to know that one has given pleasure to many people, Sir George Grierson and Professor Sten Konow must feel it in full as they contemplate the large volumes of this series, which are not only a mine of information, much of it not available elsewhere, but are so

brightly written that often many pages may be read at a stretch without a sense of weariness.

The first 200 pp. are a survey of the introductions to previous volumes and state Sir George's well-known views about "Inner" and "Outer" languages and about Śiṇā's not being an Indo-Aryan language. There follows a most interesting description of two Dard languages, Tirāhī and Śiṇā. The Tirāhī portion is entirely new; Sir Aurel Stein's extensive notes are the source of information, and the little grammar educed from them is very good. The Śiṇā part of vol. viii has been rewritten from material recently supplied by Col. Lorimer which included a grammar and texts, and which made it possible to deal adequately with the Gilgitī dialect. I have noted with great pleasure the improvements in the section on pronunciation and regret only that my detailed accounts of Śiṇā sounds (see footnote¹) were published too late to be used in the body of this volume. It shows an enormous advance on vol. viii, but some mistakes have been repeated and further corrections are therefore necessary. I accordingly mention the changes made and those still required.

The specimens underlying vol. viii, with the exception of 'Abdu'l Ḥakīm's, made no clear distinction between cerebrals and non-cerebrals or between aspirated and unaspirated sounds. In this volume they are all differentiated and consequently many new sounds are added to the previous list. To take two random examples; vol. viii had *c* and *t*, written at hazard in several ways. Here we have *c*, *ch*, *ç*, *ch*, and *t*, *th*, *t*, *th*, all distinguished; that is eight sounds instead of two. This is a point of great importance. We cannot emphasize too strongly the wide difference in Śiṇā between cerebrals and non-cerebrals and between aspirated and unaspirated sounds. They are as distinct as in North India. An Indian will recognize them easily, but he will make innumerable mistakes in writing them down unless he has had a long training in recording sounds. Indian alphabets indicate with great accuracy Śiṇā *t*, *d*, *r*, *n*, *ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṛ*, *ṇ*, and also the aspiration.

We are told on p. 329 that there are seven cerebrals in Śiṇā, viz. *c*, *ç*, *j*, *z*, *ḍ*, *v*, *ṛ*. This is correct, but we should add *t*, making a total of eight. On the same page occur the expressions "*j* or *z*" and "*ḍ* or *t*". Put in phonetic language they probably mean that the

¹ Abbreviations. S.G. my *Grammar of the Śiṇā Language*, especially Pronunciation, pp. xi, 1-11; Low Tone, 84-9; words with so-called palatal sounds, 89-95; words containing *t*, *ḍ*, *r*, *n*, 96-9. B, J₁, J₂ refer to articles of mine dealing with Śiṇā sounds, viz. B., *Bull. Sch. Or. Stud.* III, Pt. 4, 799 ff.; J₁, *JRAS.* Jan., 1925, pp. 92, 3; J₂, do., July, 1927, pp. 558, 9.

two sounds in each case belong to the same phoneme. I have often thought that *z* may belong to the same phoneme as *j*, and *z* to the same as *j* (B. 800), but we are not in a position to say definitely; all four sounds undoubtedly occur in the language, and must be recognized, whatever may ultimately be established as to the range of the phonemes. The problem is very complicated, and Professor Turner has made the remarkable suggestion that we are in the presence of two pairs of overlapping phonemes, four in all, as follows, *z*, *z* + *j*, *z*, *z* + *j*.

In *Ṣiṇā* *ḍ* and *r* are different sounds just as they are in Panjabi and village Kaśmirī, and they are practically never interchanged. The word for "big", *bōrū* given on p. 329 with either *ḍ* or *r*, should be written only with *r*. *bodū*, much or many, is another word altogether (JRAS., April, 1927, p. 317).

Vol. i limits the occurrence of cerebral *ṇ* to words which have another cerebral. This limitation is incorrect. On pp. 96-9 S.G. will be found a list, which could be enlarged, of words containing *ṇ*, and it will be seen that a majority of them have no other cerebral. It is stated that *ḍ*, *r*, *ṇ* are the same as in North India. This is correct, and the statement should be applied also to *ṭ* (B. 802; J₁ 92; J₂ 559).

t and *d* are pure dentals the same as in India (B. 799, 801; J₁ 92).

Vol. i very properly distinguishes the unaspirated sounds *c*, *ç*, *t*, *ṭ*, *k*, *p* from the aspirated *ch*, *çh*, *th*, *ṭh*, *kh*, *ph*. Except for final plosives the distinction is the same as in India, and it is equally constant; thus *khoikī*, eat; *khojoikī*, ask; *likhoikī*, write; and *thoikī*, do, are fully aspirated.

It is correct to say that the sound of *th* in "think" does not occur; that of *th* in "then" is said to occur in loan words, but no example is given. In point of fact it never occurs.

The following list of errata takes account of consonants alone. I exclude words in which the mistake appears to be a printer's error, e.g. *tiki*, *ṭiki*, bread; *ṣak*, *ṣak*, full; *yaṣkī*, *yaṣkī*, suitable; *bat*, *baṭ*, stone; *ṣum-*, *ṣum-*, be tired; *tore*, *ṭore*, stumps, and others. (Correct forms *ṭiki*, *ṣak*, *yaṣkī*, *baṭ*, *ṣum-*, *tore*.)

As printed.	Correct form.	As printed.	Correct form.
<i>hane</i> , egg	<i>ṇ</i>	<i>ṣadar</i> , servant	<i>ṣ</i>
<i>tari</i> , ball	<i>ṭh</i>	<i>batso</i> , calf	<i>taho</i>
<i>maroc</i> , mulberry	<i>c</i>	<i>khen</i> , time	<i>ṇ</i>

As printed.	Correct form.	As printed.	Correct form.
<i>çîş</i> , hill-top . . .	<i>chîş</i>	<i>uçâto</i> , arrived . . .	<i>çh</i>
<i>mec</i> , table . . .	<i>c</i>	<i>cei</i> , <i>cei</i> , woman . . .	only <i>cei</i>
<i>rogoto</i> , sick . . .	<i>t</i>	<i>kiri</i> , down . . .	<i>kh</i>
<i>daštoiki</i> , know . . .	<i>št</i>	<i>kudo</i> , lame . . .	<i>kh-r</i>
<i>takur</i> , barber . . .	<i>th</i>	<i>kud-</i> , be lame . . .	<i>kh-r</i>
<i>ganoiki</i> , bind . . .	<i>n</i>	<i>dāk</i> , letters . . .	<i>d</i>
<i>cunu</i> , small . . .	<i>n</i>	<i>tutañ</i> , darkness . . .	<i>tut</i>
<i>çañoiki</i> , send . . .	<i>ch</i>	<i>gan</i> , leg . . .	<i>n</i>
<i>der</i> , stomach . . .	<i>d</i>	<i>irgātak</i> , all round . . .	<i>t</i>
<i>gati</i> , together . . .	<i>t</i>	<i>danu</i> , pomegranate . . .	<i>n</i>
<i>deger</i> , ram . . .	<i>d</i>	<i>turi</i> , whip . . .	<i>th</i>
<i>küre</i> , hoof . . .	<i>kh</i>	<i>fitik</i> , displeased . . .	<i>t</i>
<i>şal</i> , fever . . .	<i>s</i>	<i>diru</i> bullet . . .	<i>d-</i>
<i>tenis</i> , tennis . . .	<i>t</i>	<i>roj</i> , anger . . .	<i>z</i>

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

MALAYĀLAM SELF-TAUGHT. By DON M. DE ZILVA WICKREMasinghe and T. N. MENON. Marlborough's Self-taught Series, pp. 136. London, 1927. 4s.

To a foreigner undertaking the study of Malayālam, this book would doubtless prove a very valuable introduction inasmuch as it contains a good many conversational-phrases, a select vocabulary, and some of the elementary principles of Malayālam Grammar expounded in the clearest and most lucid manner possible. Besides, the phonetic system introduced in the book is so very perfect and simple that any one will be able to aim at the correct pronunciation without any outside help whatever.

But I should like to mention a few defects, too, which I have been able to observe in the course of my perusal.

The Malayālam idioms given in the book are in many instances colloquial and dialectical, and thereby are apt to be misleading. It would be well if instead of idioms and usages peculiar to a particular district of the Malayālam speaking country, forms and phrases of a more literary and widely accepted character were introduced.

p. 60. *jôhŭ* (colloquial) *jôhŭi* (literary).

p. 70. *ninnalinal*—is nowhere used in language.

p. 80. *ôŭŭ ôŭŭnnu ôŭŭ ôŭŭm*—the literary and correct forms will be *ôŭikka ôŭikkunnu ôŭiccu ôŭikkum* (transliteration adopted here is not according to the Marlborough's system of English phonetics).





p. 101. For "do you here?" *kittô* is incorrect. The correct form is *kêttô*.

p. 102. *vallâte vêgam*—*vaŭare vêgam*.

p. 102. For "I am sorry to trouble you so much"—*ninnale innine upadravikkênŭi vannatil vyasanikkunnu* would be properly constructed.

In the portion dealing with the Malayālam alphabet and pronunciation it is stated that in addition to the primary vowel sounds of the Malayālam language, the Malayālam alphabet contains six more characters representing the Sanskrit letters *ṛ*, *ṝ*, *ḷ*, *ḹ*, etc. The insertion of long *ḹ* among Sanskrit vowels must evidently be a slip, since *ḹ* has no long form in Sanskrit. The Malayālam language has borrowed the Sanskrit sounds only to enable it to represent correctly Sanskrit words which have been grafted into the Malayālam vocabulary from time to time. In Sanskrit itself words containing *ḹ* sounds are very rare. In Malayālam and some other Dravidian languages the long *ḹ* must have found its place in the alphabets as a result of proportional analogy.

p. 11. The pronunciation of *n* in "not" and in words like Malayalam "nāṭaka" is quite different. There are separate signs also to represent these sounds *ṇ*, *ṇ̄*.

Printers' errors: p. 61,  instead of ; p. 91,  instead of .

It is hoped that the authors will rectify the mistakes noted above in the next edition of the book. The appearance of the book is excellent.

K. GODA VARMA.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIKES, publiée sous la direction de L. MASSIGNON. Tome I. Année 1927. 4 Cahiers pp. 618.

Professor Massignon's new journal differs from its predecessor, the *Revue du Monde musulman*, not only in format, but as the change

of name implies, also in function. Alongside the usual contributed articles, replacing the treatises which filled the volumes of the old *Revue*, the editor lays special stress on the need of an analytical survey of the progress of Islamic studies. This is to be supplied by periodical bibliographies, under the title of *Abstracta Islamica*, the first of which is the personal contribution of M. Massignon to this volume. Under twelve rubrics (culture, histoire des idées scientifiques, linguistique, ethnologie, histoire littéraire, arts et métiers, législation et administration, dogme philosophie et mysticisme, modernisme etc., colonisation européenne et politique contemporaine, histoire des régions naturelles, bibliographie et divers) the output of contemporary research is first summarized as a whole, and then analysed volume by volume. The advantages of such a systematic review need no emphasizing, especially in view of the deficiency (signalized in the editor's foreword) of "working tools" in all departments of Islamic studies.

The contributed articles cover a wide variety of fields. Cahier I opens, after the *Abstracta Islamica*, with the procès-verbaux of the meetings of the Algerian commission appointed to prepare legislative measures for the amelioration of the condition of Kabyle women (1925-6). One interesting feature of this report is the opposition of the Muslim jurist member to the nature of the proposed changes.

Achille Sekaly Bey opens in Cahiers I and IV a study of the constitution and teaching of al-Azhar. Here there are two points which the author appears to overlook. It is far from the case that only "during the last few years" political agitation has invaded this sanctuary "habituellement réservé à la prière, à la méditation, et aux études"; the second point is that if "reform" is pushed too far, there is some risk that al-Azhar will merely lose, in favour of some other institution, its present predominant position as a theological seminary. The *Souvenirs* of Mustafā Kamāl, translated by M. Deny in Cahiers I and II, form an important supplement to the history of modern Turkey. Cahier III contains an article of peculiar interest on the influence of Bektashism in Albania and Macedonia. Much of Cahiers III and IV is taken up by a translation of the Chronicles of Walata and Nema in the western Sudan, from the eighteenth century to the present day, which, though doubtless of local value, are the most painful reading imaginable. It is to be hoped that any further literary productions of the same sort may be relegated to some colonial publication. Of the minor articles, some remarks on the article "Kalender" in the *Encyclopaedia of Islam* call for notice as th

first of a number intended to criticize and supplement the data contained in that valuable compilation. There will be general agreement that M. Massignon's journal has made an excellent start.

H. A. R. G.

HANDBUCH DER ALTARABISCHEN ALTERTUMSKUNDE, in Verbindung mit Geheimrat F. Hommel und Prof. Nik. Rhodokanakis herausgegeben von Dr. DITLEF NIELSEN. I. Band. Die Altarabische Kultur. 4to, pp. 272. Kopenhagen, Paris, Leipzig, 1927.

The recovery and reconstruction of early South Arabian civilization is one of the most astonishing feats of modern archaeology. In most other cases there was a vast quantity of more or less accessible remains, together with a mass of literary evidence, either recovered from the ruins themselves, or derived from outside contemporary sources. For South Arabian culture archaeological research has been dependent on a handful of explorers, whose ingenuity enabled them to make stealthy examinations of a few sites and escape with their lives and material, and a corpus of some 7,000 inscriptions from all parts of eastern Arabia, about half of which are incomprehensible. External sources are both meagre in the extreme and late. For the millenium prior to 300 B.C. there are but two Assyrian synchronisms; even the queen of Sheba does not help, since she came from northern Arabia, not from the Yemen. In addition to this the task of reading and interpreting the inscriptions has been left to a band of scholars barely exceeding a dozen in all. In this country in particular, though Englishmen played a prominent part in the early discoveries, they have received very scant attention, at least until the publication of Professor Margoliouth's *Schweich Lectures on the Relations between Arabs and Israelites*. This sumptuous "Manual", which is the joint work of all the greatest living authorities on the subject, and presents with a marvellous degree of completeness the hitherto ascertained results of South Arabian research, should go far to rescue from neglect a field which is of the first importance for many aspects of Semitic culture and studies. The volume before us contains five chapters of general introduction to South Arabian archaeology, dealing respectively with the general history of South Arabian research (by the editor), the history of the South Arabian communities (by Professor Hommel), their public organization (by Professor Rhodokanakis), archaeology

(by Professor Grohmann), and religion (also by the editor). Successive volumes are to contain selected inscriptions with a grammar and vocabulary. Naturally, with so young a subject, and one in which the data are still so fragmentary, it is not intended to serve as the last word, but rather as the starting point for further investigations. A great many conclusions still rest on deductions from isolated inscriptions or on indirect evidence, particularly in Professor Nielsen's own subject, but it is safe to say that most students, like the present reviewer, will receive it with gratitude and admiration for the immense and fruitful labours of these pioneers.

H. A. R. GIBB.

NOTES AND QUERIES

ACCOUNT OF SOME SCIENTIFIC MANUSCRIPTS IN LIBRARIES IN PERSIA : by F. KRENSKOW

In a recent issue of the Arabic journal *Loghat el-Arab*, appearing in Baghdād, under editorship of Père Anastase, a brief account was given of valuable Oriental manuscripts preserved in the larger libraries of Persia, especially in Teherān. My attention was drawn to the remark that there were also several works by Ibn al-Haitham and I wrote to Sayyid Abu 'Abd Allāh az-Zinjānī asking him if he could give me some particulars concerning these manuscripts. He has had the kindness of sending me a list of these works with the additional offer of having copies made of the works in his own possession. Several of these works are to be found in European libraries, but it may be of interest to know where additional copies are to be found, which probably could be utilized in the way of having copies made, should the occasion arise. I should have been happy to have had access to the treatises of Ibn al-Haitham on the Halo of the moon and the rainbow, which form a kind of appendix to his large work on Optics, when I prepared the edition which is to be printed in India. The text of these two treatises is particularly faulty in the Indian manuscripts and the one preserved in Leiden, which is the only copy available in Europe. For the notice on the three manuscripts in Teherān we are indebted to the Persian Minister of Education who was on a visit in Zinjān when my informant received my letter and he kindly sent the particulars to be enclosed in Zinjānī's letter.

MANUSCRIPTS IN TEHERAN

- (1) *Risālah fil Asṭarlāb* by Abū Raiḥān al-Bīrūnī. MS. is incomplete.
- (2) *Risālah fi Tarbī' ad-Dā'irah* by Ibn al-Haitham al-Miṣrī.
- (3) *Kitāb al-Maṭālī* by Hypsikles translated by Qusṭā ibn Lūqā, revised by al-Kindī, and edited by Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī

MANUSCRIPTS IN ZINJĀN

- (4) *Iṣlāḥ Kitāb Manālāūs fil Ashkāl al-Kuriyyah* by Yaḥyā b. Muḥammad b. Abī Yashkur al-Qurṭubī; followed by an appendix by the same author with the title: *Hādihi Maqālah alḥaqāhā Ibn Abī Yashkur dakara fihā mā yatafarra'u 'an ish-Shakl al-Qaṭṭā' min an-Nisab al-mu'allifa 'alā sabīl al-Ījāz wal Ikhtiṣār*. This

manuscript is old and furnished with mathematical drawings in red ink.

(5) Translation into Persian of the *Taḥrīr* of Euclides by Maḥmūd b. Mas'ūd b. Muṣliḥ ash-Shirāzī, the commentator of the *Ḥikmat al-Ishrāq*.

The last leaf of this manuscript containing the date is lost.

(6) A volume containing several treatises by al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan Ibn al-Haitham, not dated, but apparently written before the tenth century of the Hijrah.

(a) Qaul Ibn al-Haitham fiḍ-Ḍau'.

(b) Qaul Ibn al-Haitham fi Adwā' al-Kawākib.

(c) Risālah libn al-Haitham fi Tarbi' ad-Dā'irah.

(d) A short treatise in Persian dated 959 A.H., entitled: *Risālah fi Masāḥat al-Ashkāl al-Musaṭṭahah*.

(7) *Sharḥ as-Sarkhadī 'alā Risālah Ma'rifat al-Astarlāb* by aṭ-Ṭūsī.

(8) *Sharḥ Taḍkirat aṭ-Ṭūsī* by ash-Sharīf al-Jurjānī.

(9) A short *Risālah* called in the introduction: *al-Maqālat al-Mafrūzah min Zīj ash-Shajari* by al-Khāzinī.

(10) *Risālah fi In'ikās ash-Shu'ā'āt wa In'itāfihā* by Naṣīr ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭūsī.

(11) *Risālah fil Atharain al-Qaus wal Hālah wa Taḥrīr Maqālah Ibn al-Haithan fi dālīka* by Kamāl ad-Dīn al-Ḥasan al-Fārisī.

(12) *Risālah fi Ma'rifat ash-Shakl al-Qaṭṭā' wa Barāhīnihi* by an unknown author, who states in the introduction that he had written a large work on the same subject in Persian and had been asked by some friends to make a translation into Arabic. This work has five *Maqālahs* as follows:—

(a) *Maqālah tashtamil 'alā an-Nisab al-Mu'allifa wa Ahkāmihā*.

(b) *Fil-Shakl al-Qaṭṭā' as-Saṭḥi wan-Nisab al-Wāqi'a fihā*.

(c) *Muqaddimat al-Qaṭṭāi al-Kurī wa fimā la yatimmu sh-Shakl illā bihā*.

(d) *fil Qaṭṭā' al-Kurī wan-Nisab al-Wāqi'a fihā*.

(e) *fi Uṣūl tanūbu 'an ash-Shakl al-Qaṭṭā'i fi Ma'rifah Qisiyi d-Dawā'ir al-'Izām*.

MANUSCRIPTS IN THE POSSESSION OF SAYYID ABŪ 'ABD ALLĀH

AZ-ZINJĀNĪ

(13) *Risālah fil Ārā' aṭ-Ṭabī'iya allati yaqūl bihā l-Ḥukamā'* by Flūtarkhus al-Yūnānī copied from an ancient manuscript dated 677 A.H.

(14) *Risālah Aristātālis fi 'Ālam wal-Makhlūqāt* known as *ar-Risālat ad-Dahabiyah*.

(15) *Risālah fil-Kulli wa Ḥarakatihi* by al-Iskandar al-Afrūdīsī.

NOTES

(1) Br. = Brockelmann, i, 476, No. 5.

(2) Br., i, 469, No. 9.

(3) Br., i, 204, No. 1g.

(4) Br., i, 474, No. 12, 11.

(6a) Br., i, 470, No. 32. (6b) Br., i, 470, No. 24. (6c) = No. 2 above.

(7) Br., i, 512, No. 48.

(8) Br., i, 511, No. 40.

(9) Cf. Br., i, 494, No. 1.

(10) Br., i, 511, No. 37.

(11) These two treatises form an appendix to the great work on optics by Ibn al-Haitham in the press in Hyderābād.

(13) An Arabic translation of this work of Plutarch appears not to be mentioned elsewhere.

(15) Cf. Ibn al-Qiftī ed. Cairo, p. 40; Ibn Abi Usaibi'a, i, 69-71, where this work does not appear to be mentioned among those enumerated, though several have similar titles.

PRESENTATION FROM TOKYO UNIVERSITY

The Library of the School has recently benefited by a handsome gift from the University of Tokyo in acknowledgement of the assistance rendered by England to that University in the reconstruction of their Library, which was destroyed by earthquake in 1923.

The gift is a facsimile of four scrolls containing a commentary on the *Saddharma Puṇḍarīka Sūtra*, one of the Sacred Books of Buddhism, written by the Prince Imperial Shōtoku-Taishi, who was Regent of Japan from A.D. 593-622, and who is generally held to be the founder of Japanese civilization. The copy presented is a photographic reproduction of the beautiful original manuscript, now in the archives of the Imperial Household, and the decoration on the scrolls as well as the wooden case which contains them are also faithful copies of the original.

THE "BARON MAX VON OPPENHEIM-FOUNDATION"
(Oriental Research Institute)

A laudable example has been set by the well-known Orientalist and collector, Baron Max von Oppenheim, in establishing during his life-time the "Baron Max von Oppenheim-Foundation" (Oriental Research Institute), in which he has invested his entire fortune. An important part of the Foundation is the Library of about 40,000 volumes, collected personally by Baron von Oppenheim in the course of many years. The Oppenheim library with its supplementary collections of maps, photographs, pictures, Oriental manuscripts and book bindings, as well as its rare objects of the art of writing and printing, and specimens of the material culture of the Near East, will be continually augmented and brought up-to-date in order to serve as a basis for research.

The granting of scholarships for the purpose of study, of travel in the East, of visiting foreign museums and libraries as well as of aiding the publications of gifted students, will be a principal object of the Foundation. In addition, the "Oriental Research Institute" will eventually take an active part in the excavations and research expeditions in the East.

The home of the Foundation will be in Berlin. It is proposed to establish the institution in its own building, which, in the nature of a club, will contain living quarters for young students, and will offer the possibility for illustrated lectures and a variety of educational entertainments.

The following subjects are to be particularly cultivated by the Foundation:—

- (1) The old East, principally the Babylonian, Assyrian and Hittite civilizations.
- (2) The Islamic world.

After the death of its founder the work of the Baron von Oppenheim-Foundation will be carried on by a Board of Trustees, comprised of a number of scholars and officials. At present the Foundation is under the protection and supervision of the Prussian Ministry of Science, Art, and Public Education.

ALL INDIA ORIENTAL CONFERENCE

The Fifth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference will be held at Lahore, from the 19th to the 23rd of November, 1928.

The Conference will be divided into a number of sections, the provisional list of which is as follows :—

(1) Vedic ; (2) Classical ; (3) Philosophy ; (4) Philology ; (5) Fine Arts ; (6) Arabic, Persian and Zend ; (7) History and Archæology ; (8) Urdu ; (9) Hindi ; (10) Panjabi ; (11) Anthropology.

All Orientalists are invited to become members of the Conference by paying a fee of rupees five only to the Honorary Treasurer, Mr. A. C. Woolner, M.A., C.I.E., University Hall, Lahore.

We are asked to print the following letter.—EDITOR.

SIR,—May I ask for your assistance in tracing a work of considerable linguistic importance. During our stay in Agadez in 1927 the late Sieur Dufail mentioned a small vocabulary of Air Tamazheq which he had just completed and hoped to publish on his return to France.

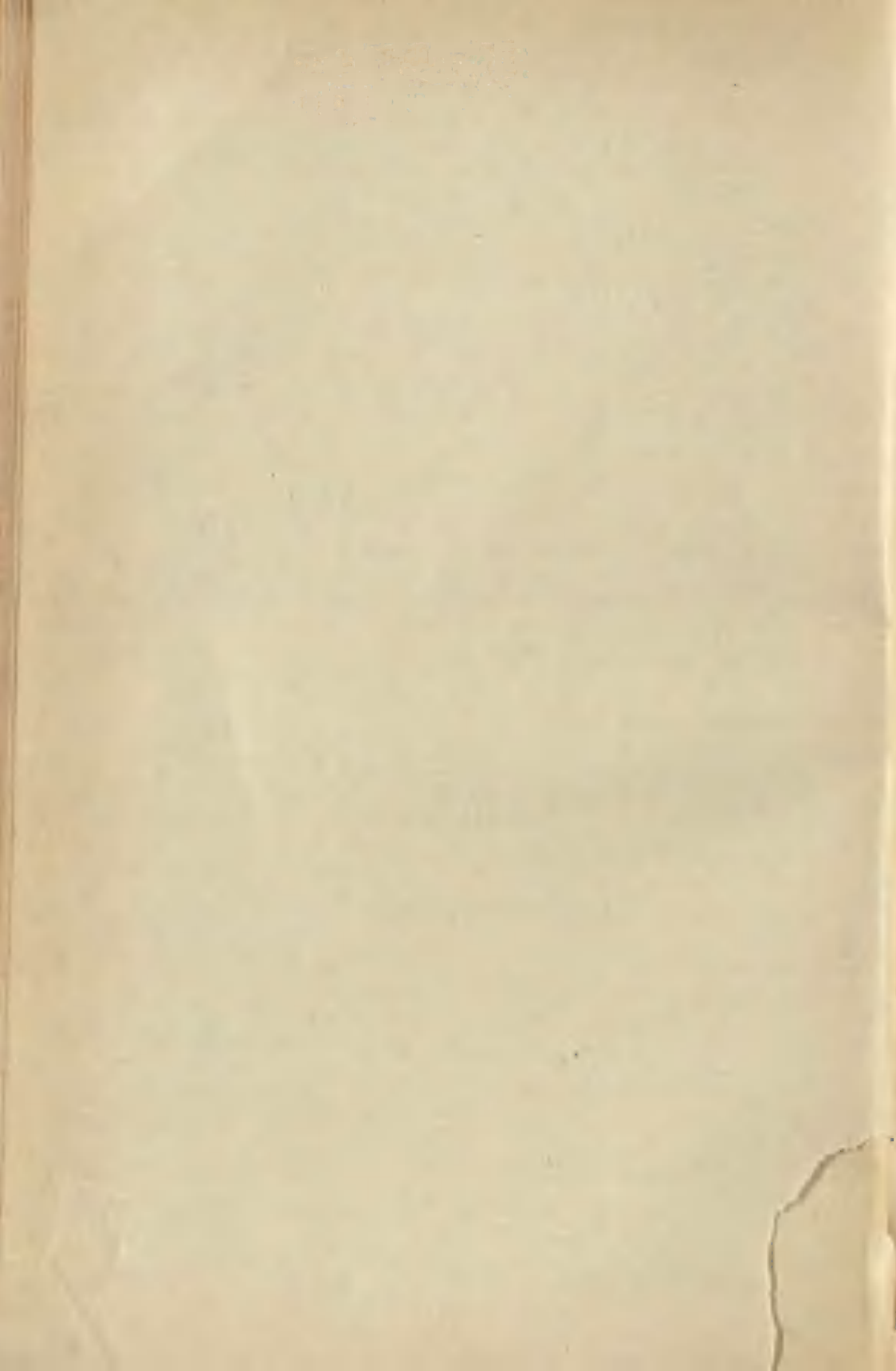
I do not know whether he had already placed the volume in the hands of a publisher or whether the intention was cut short by his tragic death in Southern Air. The care and the attention which the French authorities and the University of Algiers in particular have devoted to the study of the languages of North Africa are sufficient guarantee that this unique document will be made available to students if its existence has become known to them.

However, in case it should have been forced by the accident in Tegama into undeserved oblivion, perhaps this letter may help to rescue it. The publication of this, the only work on the language of Air, would constitute the best memorial of the gallant officer who was its author.

Yours, etc.,

PETER RENNELL RODD.

25 CAVENDISH SQUARE, W. 1.



OBITUARY

Canon W. H. T. Gairdner

In Temple Gairdner, who died at Cairo on 22nd May, Oriental studies have lost not only an accomplished scholar, but one who contributed in an outstanding degree to the spread of Arabic studies in this country. The works by which he established the study of modern Arabic on new and sounder lines will long hold their own as the model of their kind. During his latter years he was eager to strengthen the ties between this school and the Cairo School of Oriental Studies, which was his own creation, and his personal contacts with members of the staff were supplemented by regular correspondence. In carrying out the programme which we had planned in common, we shall miss very deeply the knowledge and experience which he always placed so freely at our disposal.

H. A. R. G.

The Rev. William T. Balmer

The death of the Rev. William T. Balmer, which occurred at St. Mary's Hospital, Paddington, on 15th May, removes another landmark in the history of African language-study. Mr. Balmer, though too little known outside the ranks of his own society (the Wesleyan Methodist Church) had worked for many years as a missionary in West Africa—on the Gold Coast, where he was head of the Mfantipim High School, and later at Sierra Leone, as Principal of the Boys' High School and Vice-Principal of the Fauah Bay College. This institution is under the joint management of the C.M.S. and the Wesleyan Missionary Society, and a colleague belonging to the former body writes¹: "His lecture list was full to capacity, but he was never so happy as when adding to it the private helping of little groups of backward students. He even undertook a course of University Extension lectures outside." He produced a number of text-books in English for the use of Native schools—but it is his work on the Twi language which chiefly concerns us. At the time of his death he was engaged on the revision of Christaller's great Dictionary—practically the only one in existence—and it is much to be regretted that he was unable to complete it. Several translations

¹ *Methodist Recorder*, 24th May.

and, I understand, a collection of Twi folk-tales and traditions, still in MS., are in the hands of the Society with which he was connected, and await publication. Mr. Balmer was an active member of the Committee convened by Mr. Welman in November, 1924, to consider the question of a uniform system of orthography for Twi and Fanti, and it was he who drew up the report of that Committee. It was tentative, and in some respects unsatisfactory; but after his return to England, he took up the study of scientific phonetics with great enthusiasm, and, though not able to be present at last year's Conference at the Gold Coast, would certainly, had he lived, have cordially co-operated in carrying out the views of Professor Westermann. He had just introduced the new scientific script to the missionaries on the Ivory Coast, whither he had gone "to help in the attempt to reduce the Adjukru language, spoken by thousands . . . satisfactorily to writing", when he was overtaken by fatal illness, and compelled to return to England.

A. W.

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FEATURES. All articles written by experts. Amongst the contributors during 1923 were:

POLITICS. India: Sir P. E. Sivaswami Aiyar, Sir Thomas Bennett, M.P., Sir M. de P. Webb, Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru.

Far East: Chao-Hsin-Chu (Chinese Chargé d'Affaires), T. Okamoto (Japanese Embassy in London).

Near East: Sir Abbas Ali Balg, Major-General Lord Edward Gleichen, Miss Scatcherd.

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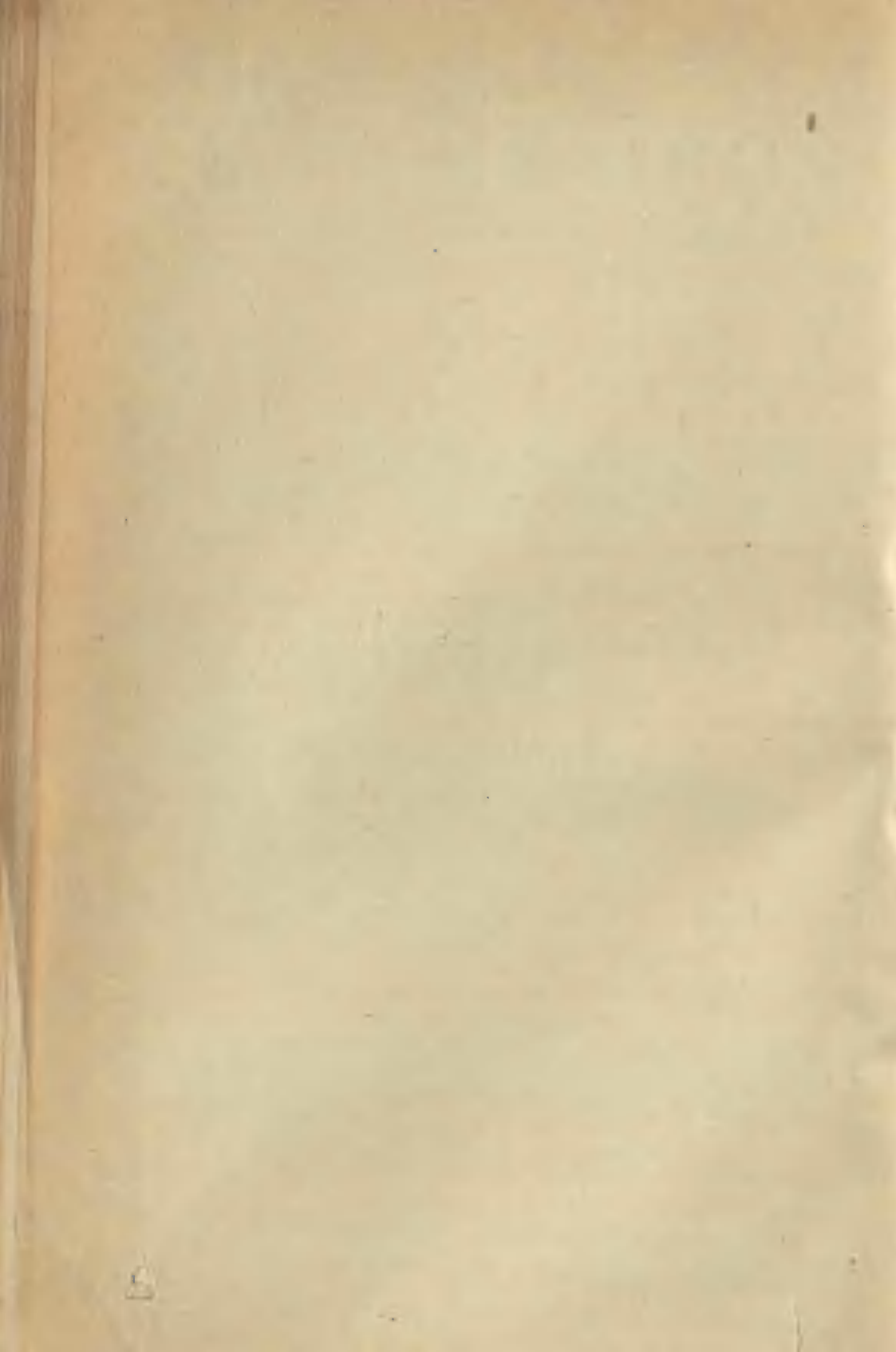
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BULLETIN

OF THE

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LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

UNPUBLISHED MANUSCRIPTS OF FR. FERNÃO DE QUEIROZ S.J.

By G. SCHURHAMMER S.J.

IN his article, "The Manuscripts Collected by William Marsden, with special reference to two copies of Almeida's History of Ethiopia,"¹ Sir Denison Ross gives a description of MS. 11966, formerly in King's College, now in the School of Oriental Studies. The bulky volume contains four different works:—

1. The final version of Fr. Manoel d'Almeida's History of Ethiopia.
2. Appendix I, containing a refutation of the chief errors in Urreta's "*Historia ecclesiastica de la Ethiopia*", Valencia, 1610.
3. Appendix II, containing another refutation by the Patriarch D. Affonso Mendez S.J., under the title: "*Informação em que se mostra, em que tempo se pregou o evangelho em Thiopia e começou a vida monastica, e quaes forão seus instituidores e pregadores.*"
4. Appendix III (f. 80^v–94^v), a treatise about the means of opening Ethiopia to the Gospel, bearing the title, "*Informação succinta sobre a redução do Imperio Abexino pera Sua Alteza vêr e seus Ministros.*" The last date mentioned in this last third Appendix is 1669. About its author Sir Denison Ross writes: "The authorship of Appendix III remains a mystery, but it is obviously the work of a man intimately acquainted with Ethiopia and with recent happenings in and around the Red Sea."²

¹ *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies, London*, ii (1921–3), 313–38.

² *Ib.*, 325.

The author of *Appendix III* is nobody else but the famous author of the monumental "Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão" and elected Patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr. Fernão de Queiroz S.J.¹

The following writings of Queiroz have come to our knowledge :

1. *Historia da vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto*. Lisboa, 1689.

2. *Conquista temporal e espiritual de Ceylão*. Colombo, 1916 (the original MS. is in the Bibliotheca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro ; a rough draft is in the Bibl. da Ajuda, Lisbon, Codex 51-9-9 ; the English translation by Fr. S. G. Perera S.J. is in the press).

3. Letter to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, 1st October, 1671 (publ. Beccari S.J., *Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales Inediti*. Romae, 1913, xiii, 444-6).

4. Letter to the same, Goa, 19th January, 1672 (publ. ib. 448-51).

5. Letter to Fr. Assistant Francisco de Almada S.J., Cochín, 15th December, 1681 (published below).

6. Letter to Fr. Provincial of the Augustinians, Goa ?, 7th October, 1678 (MS. copy British Mus. Add. MSS. 9855, f. 127r).

7. *Informação succinta sobre a redução do Imperio Abexino pera Sua Alteza vêr e seus Ministros* (MS. 11966, Appendix III, School of Oriental Studies, London. Copy of the time).

8. Theological and Philosophical Treatise (MS. lost, mentioned in his Necrologue below. Cf. also his letter of 1681).

9. *Perfeito Missionario* (unfinished MS. lost, mentioned ib., and in his letter of 1681, and probably also Beccari, xiii, 446).

10. *Conquista temporal e espiritual do Oriente* (planned, cf. *Hist. da vida do V. I. P. de Basto*, 261-2).

11. Other MSS. which all perished in the flames, 1664 (*Basto*, Preface, 4^v and Beccari, xiii, 446).

Let us now sketch the life of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz in a few words.

1617. Born in Canavezes near Amarante, Portugal.²

1631, 26, xii. Enters the Society of Jesus in Coimbra.³

¹ About Queiroz and his "Conquista de Ceylão", see G. Schurhammer and E. A. Voretzsch, *Ceylon zur Zeit des Königs Bhuvaneka Báhu and Franz Xavers*, 1530-52, Leipzig, 1928, 40-9. We are indebted to Fr. A. Kleiser S.J. for many dates about Fr. Queiroz taken from the MSS. in the possession of the Society of Jesus. The MSS. quoted are from the same provenience, where no other place is given.

² So the MS. *Catalogus triennalis* of the Portuguese Province of 1633. The Goan Catalogues give always the better known Amarante as birthplace.

³ C. Sommervogel S.J., *Bibliothèque de la Compagnie de Jésus*, Bruxelles, 1895, vi, 1341.

- 1635 Sails to India with the famous Fr. Mastrilli and thirty-one other Jesuit Missionaries (Basto, 210, 224, 541).
- 21, xi. Lands in Cochín, meets Br. Pedro de Basto S.J. (ib., Preface, 3^r).
- 8, xii. Lands in Goa.¹ Rector of St. Paul's College is Fr. Manoel de Almeida S.J., who came from Abyssinia, 1634 (Beccari, xiii, 35; v, p. xxxv).
1636. The Patriarch of Abyssinia, D. Affonso Mendez S.J., arrives in Goa, banished from his Mission (Beccari, xiii, 106; MS. 11966, App. iii, f. 86^v).
- 1635-41. In Goa, New St. Paul's College, studies Humaniora and Philosophy.
- 1637, 9, i. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Manoel Severim de Faria, Goa. Speaks of the "mintiras" and "sonhos" of Frei Luis Urreta² and adds: "pella qual causa fiz hum tratado em que se mostra o tempo, en que comessou em Ethiopia a pregação do Evangelho e a instituição da vida monastica. de que mando a V.M. huma copia por duas vias" (Beccari, xiii, 121-2; this "tratado" is Appendix II of MS. 11966 of the School of Oriental Studies).
1640. Restoration of Portugal's independence.
1641. Queiroz begins Theology in Goa (MS. Goa, Catalogus triennalis, 1641).
- 1645, 1, iii. Br. Pedro de Basto dies in Cochín (Basto, 532).
- 20, xii. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Pope Innocence X, Goa. He says he wrote a book "haud mole tenuem", which he dedicated to the Propaganda Fide, in the hope that this Institution would publish it, and recommends this to the Pope. The book is his "Bran Haymanot", Light of the Faith (Beccari, xiii, 251).
- 1646, 6, i. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Fr. Assistant Nuno da Cunha S.J., Goa, about the correction and impression of the "Bran Haymanot". He is sending it to Portugal in two copies "por duas vias . . . escrito por Canarijs" (Beccari, xiii, 262-4).

¹ R. P. Marcelli Mastrilli e Societate Jesu et xxxii sociorum, ac xvi aliorum Religiosorum, *Iter in Indiam*, S. P. Francisci Xaverii Patrocinio feliciter peractum. *Ab eodem Marcello descriptum atque ad Catholicam Hispaniarum Reginam transmissum*, Antverpiæ, 1637, gives a detailed description of this voyage.

² Mendez alludes to the work of Frei Luis de Urreta O.Pr., *Historia de la Sacrada Orden de Predicadores en los remotos Reynos de la Etiopia*, Valencia, 1611.

- 10, v. Fr. Ml. de Almeida S.J., author of the "*Historia de Ethiopia a Alta ou Abassia*", dies in Goa (Beccari, v, p. xliii).
1647. Queiroz "taught 1-2 years Humaniora, was Vice-rector in Diu, and is now destined to teach Theology" in New St. Paul's College, Goa (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1647), where he is still teaching, 1649 (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1649).
- 1647, 14, x. Letter of the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide to Patriarch Mendez, Rome, proposing to publish first a summary of the "*Bran Haymanot*" (mentioned Beccari, xiii, 329-30).
- 1649, 20, iii. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to the Cardinal Prefect of the Propaganda Fide, Goa, accepting this proposal, but declaring himself unable to do the work himself (ib.).
- 1652, 1, i. Queiroz emits his four vows as Profess of the Society of Jesus (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1653).
1653. In the Profess House of Goa. Rector of the College of Thana (ib.).
- 1654, 2, i. Letter of Patriarch Mendez to Fr. Procurator Francisco Velho S.J., Chorão (Goa) speaking of his past illness and his old age (75 years), and of his two works (the "*Bran Haymanot*" and the "*Expediitio Aethiopica*"), which he sent to Rome to get printed, and recommending to him for the same purpose Fr. Queiroz, "lhe encommendo muito o padre Fernão de Queiros, porque hé bom paesano, et in eo requiescunt viscera mea" (Beccari, xiii, 387-9).
- 13, i. The same to Fr. Procurator Pedro de Valadares S.J., Chorão, saying he is sending ch. 29 of the 7th book of "*Bran Haymanot*" in its new form, and another copy of the "*Expediitio Aethiopica*" as the first one got lost at sea, and that he sent last year 1,000 cruzados for the impression of the "*Bran Haymanot*" (ib. 389-95).
1656. Patriarch Mendez dies (ib. 421-3).
- 12, v. The Dutch conquer Colombo.
1658. The Dutch drive the Portuguese completely out of Ceylon.
1659. Queiroz "taught two years Theology, was Rector of Thana, and is now Rector of the College of Bassein" (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1659).
1660. B. Telles S.J. publishes in Coimbra the "*Historia geral da Ethiopia a Alta . . . composta na mesma Ethiopia pelo P. Manuel de Almeida*".

1662. Queiroz in New St. Paul's College as "praefectus recessus" (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1662).
1663. The Dutch conquer Cochin. The Jesuit archives of Cochin are destroyed (Basto, Preface, 4^o).
1664. Queiroz in New St. Paul's College, Goa, Prefect of the Juniors (MS. Goa, Cat. brevis, 1664); the fire in the College on the 5th December destroys all his manuscripts except the Autobiography of Br. Pedro de Basto (Basto, Preface, 4^o, Beccari, xiii, 446, and Letter, 1681).
1671. Queiroz is nominated Patriarch of Ethiopia by the king of Portugal. He is Praepositus of the Profess House, Goa, and occupied with writing the Life of Br. Basto (Basto, 224-6).
1. x. Letter of Queiroz to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, about his nomination, the impression of the works of Patriarch Mendez, the "Expeditio" and the "Bran Haymanot", and his own works: ". . . me acompanhou sempre hum grande zelo da redução de Ethiopia . . . Se Deos me dêr vida, tambem levarey ao cabo huma obra polemica, em que tenho trabalhado, e com methodo mais constringente refuto es erros modernos e antigos, entrando tambem os de Ethiopia. . . . Tenho já composta a vida do veneravel irmão Pedro de Basto, e como se tresladar, a remetterey a Portugal . . . E na monção seguinte de janeiro farey por enviar *hum tratado sobre os meynos que se podem e devem tomar, pera a entrada em Ethiopia*, porque consideradas as rezões divinas e interesses politicos me persuado poderá obrar muito na corte de Portugal . . ." (Beccari, xiii, 444-6). The last treatise mentioned is a copy of Appendix III in MS. 11966 in the School of Oriental Studies.
- 1672, 14. i. Letter of Fr. Dionisio de Paço S.J. to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, about Queiroz' nomination (Beccari, xiii, 447-8).
19. i. Letter of Queiroz to Fr. General J. P. Oliva S.J., Goa, about his nomination and his treatise on Abyssinia: ". . . *Sobre o outro [ponto] das disposições presentes de Ethiopia lhe remetto tambem hum papel, em que resumo as dificuldades e os meynos, que se devem e podem tomar pera se abrirem de novo aquellas portas; . . . e . . . me dá licença*

pera viver em huma quinta ou freguesia neste circuito de Goa, aonde possa acabar algumas obras comessadas, em quanto não vejo outros effeitos da disposição divina . . .” (Beccari, xiii, 448–51). Here, too, Queiroz speaks of a copy of Appendix III of MS. 11966.

1673. Queiroz “ was for sixteen years Deputy of the Inquisition of Goa and twice three years Praepositus of the Profess House there ” (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1673).
1674. Queiroz is writing the *Life of Br. Basto* (Basto, 217) and finishes it before Ml. de Faria y Souza publishes 1675 the last volume of his “ *Asia Portuguesa* ”.¹
1675. He sends his *Life of Br. Basto* to Europe (cf. Basto, 402).
1677. He is Parish-priest in Salsette, Goa (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1677).
- 1677–80. Provincial of the Goa Province (MS. Goa, Cat. trien. 1679). He sends Missionaries to Bengal, Nepal, and the North.²
- 1678, 7, x. Letter of Queiroz to the Fr. Provincial of the Augustinians about sending Missionaries to Bengal, Goa ? (MS. Copy, British Museum, *Add. MSS.* 9855, f. 127^v).³
1679. D. Luis de Menezes, Conde da Ericeira, publishes in Lisbon his “ *Historia de Portugal restaurado* ” after the completion of Queiroz’ *Life of Br. Basto* in its first form (Basto, Preface, 5^v) and before its impression (ib. 254).
- 1681, 15, xii. Letter of Queiroz to Fr. Assistant F. de Almada S.J., Cochín, about the impression of the “ *Bran Haymanot* ” and the “ *Expediitio Aethiopica* ”, the necessary revision of his *Life of Br. Basto*, and about his “ *Perfeito Missionario* ” and theological treatises (see below).
- 1684, 18, xii. Date of the Introduction of the “ *Historia da Vida do Ven. Irmão Pedro de Basto* ” in its final form. His “ *Conquista de Ceylão* ” is already begun (Basto, Preface, 5^v, 255, 378).
- 1685, 26, xii. Date of the Imprimatur of the “ *Historia da Vida do V. I. P. de Basto* ” in Goa.
- 1687, 4, iii–1689, 4, xi. Dates of the various printing licences in Lisbon for the same.

¹ “ Depoys desta Obra composta sahirão à luz dous Autores Portuguezes . . . Manoel de Faria & Sousa . . . & o Conde da Ericeyra Dom Luis de Menezes ” (*Basto*, Preface, 5^v). “ Antes desta obra se imprimir, sahirão de novo dous Autores Portuguezes, Manoel de Faria & Sousa . . . & o Conde da Ericeyra ” (ib. 254).

² See Necrologue below.

³ See H. Jonson S.J., *La Mission du Bengal Occidental*, Bruges, 1921, i, 89

- 1, x. Date of the Dedication of the "Conquista de Ceylão", Goa.
- 1688, 6, i. Date of the Imprimatur of the same, Goa.
- 12, iv. Queiroz dies in Goa (see Necrologue below).
1689. *Historia da Vida do Ven. I. P. de Basto*, printed in Lisbon.
1900. P. Courtenay (Pseudonym for Mgr. L. Zaleski) publishes his "Le Christianisme a Ceylan", Lille, for its greatest part an adaptation from Queiroz' *Conquista de Ceylão* (s. Schurhammer, Ceylon, 59).
1913. Fr. Beccari S.J. publishes two letters of Queiroz in his "Rerum Aethiopicarum Scriptores Occidentales inediti", Romae, vol. xiii.
- 1913-14. P. E. Pieris publishes his "Ceylon. The Portuguese Era", Colombo, an adaptation from Queiroz' *Conquista de Ceylão* (s. Schurhammer, Ceylon, 65-6, 73).
1916. P. E. Pieris publishes Queiroz' "Conquista de Ceylão" in Colombo.
1919. The Ceylon Government asks Fr. S. G. Perera, S.J. to prepare an English edition of the same work (s. Schurhammer, Ceylon, 71).

These are the chief dates about Fr. Fernão de Queiroz. His "Conquista de Ceylão" earned him the title of "the greatest Portuguese historian of Ceylon"; his "Historia da vida do Ven. Irm. P. de Basto" is in many of its parts a correction and supplement to the works of Faria y Sousa and D. Luis de Menezes, as Queiroz expressly states,¹ and a very important source of information about the wars between the Portuguese, Dutch, and English in the seventeenth century; and also his Treatise about the Reopening of Abyssinia to the Gospel (Appendix III of MS. 11966 of the School of Oriental Studies) is full of historical interest and deserves to be published. A few words about this latter work may follow.

The title of the Treatise is: *Informação succinta sobre a redução do Imperio Abexino pera Sua Alteza vêr e seus Ministros*. It occupies f. 80^r-94^v, and shows a handwriting different from those of the other

¹ "Faria & Sousa . . . & o Conde da Ericeyra . . . omitirão varios acontecimentos dignos de memoria; e informados por homens & documentos menos calificados nos successos mais modernos, sem quererem, se desvião algũas vezes da verdade . . . Era obrigado aos reformar, pera declarar a verdade . . . Resolvi . . . remeter os [successos] de Ceylão à obra particular daquela conquista, que já tenho disposta, os mays tocalos somente aqui por mayor, & aonde nos Autores ouvêr dissonancia da verdade, não deyxarey de o advertir" (*Basto*, 254-5).

parts of the same volume, and that of Fr. Queiroz. The work tries to show the obstacles which Ethiopia presents to the Reopening of the Mission, the means for overcoming them, and the political and religious importance of conquering Abyssinia for the Gospel. The treatise consists of a short Introduction and ten chapters, namely:—

1. First obstacle: the variety of nations and languages, and that there are at present in India no missionaries left who know them.

2. Second obstacle: the antiquity of the errors of the Abyssinians and the variety of religions in their country: pagans, Mahometans, Jews, schismatics.

3. Third obstacle: the constant interior and exterior wars; the Gallas have already conquered half the country.

4. Fourth obstacle: the absolute power of the Abyssinian Emperor.

5. Fifth obstacle: the inconstancy of the Abyssinians in their faith (here Queiroz defends the Abyssinians).

6. Means to overcome these obstacles: armed intervention in favour of the friends of the Portuguese in Abyssinia, if friendly negotiations are of no avail.

7. Importance of this step and its facility: the past and present ambitions of the Turcs in those places.

8. Projects for expelling the Turcs and forcing the entrance into Abyssinia by sending a fleet to Massowa and Archico and fortifying the latter place.

9. Conclusions to be derived from this treatise.

10. A Reply to those who think otherwise.

The author of the treatise says that 300 men will be enough to force Abyssinia, a small number in comparison to the 500,000 employed by Portugal for the "Conquista de India" (90°), adding that these 300 will soon be joined by the descendants of the Portuguese, who entered Abyssinia 1541 with Dom Christovão da Gama, "highly esteemed in Abyssinia, . . . according to those, who come from there, more than 10,000, . . . dispersed over various parts of the kingdom by the Emperor" (85°).

The name of the author is not given. But a perusal of his Manuscript shows him well read—he even quotes the "Gazeta" of Amsterdam of 1669! (88°)—and well acquainted with the history of Portuguese India and its neighbours, and especially with Abyssinia. With regard to this latter country he corrects Telles' "History of Abyssinia" (80°), and adds that he read the work of Fr. Ml. de Almeida in the original, when it came to India (85°), speaks of the tears of Sela Christôs

(85°), and the persecution of Fasiladas (82) and adds, that he talked often about the country with the Patriarch Affonso Mendez, whose " Bran Haymanot " he mentions (80°), and other former Missionaries of Abyssinia after their arrival in India (84°), and also with the Conde de S. Vicente, the Viceroy João Nunes da Cunha (1666-8) about sending an embassy to the Emperor of Abyssinia (87°, 89), and concludes :—

" Nem isto são fervores novos, em quem de novo se vê encarregado da salvação de hum Imperio ; porque o serem conhecidos ha bem de annos excitou o desejo do Patriarcha defuncto para sollicitar esta eleição " (94°).

In this latter passage the author betrays himself. The late Patriarch is D. Affonso Mendez, and his successor, whose election as Patriarch he solicited, is Fr. Fernão de Queiroz, who writes about his election, 1672 :—

" Bem hé verdade, que os padres desta provincia se persuadirão ha bem de annos, que o senhor Patriarcha Dom Affonso Mendez me tinha proposto não só aos superiores de Roma e de Portugal, mas tambem a Sua Majestade pera este lugar, e posto que tive por couza certissima ser falsa esta noticia, ao menos no que tocava a el Rey, pello que sabia das maximas, por que este prelado se governava, ainda que numqua ignorey o amor que me tinha e o conceito, que tinha formado de meu pouco cabedal e do zelo, que me acompanhava do bem daquella christandade, posso affirmar a Vossa Padernidade . . . , que outros tantos annos ha, sou o alvo de seus tiros." (Beccari, xiii, 449).

The author, therefore, is Fernão de Queiroz, and as his Manuscript mentions the " Gazeta " of Amsterdam of 1669 (88°), and says, that the name of the actual Emperor of Abyssinia is John, who reigned from 1667-82 (86°), the treatise was written between 1669 and 1682.

So far we are led by the Manuscript itself.

In his *Life of Br. Basto, Queiroz*, speaking of the Abyssinian Mission, develops ideas similar to those of our treatise, the persecution of Fasiladas, the Patriarch D. Affonso Mendez, the History of Fr. Telles, whose three chief errors he corrects here too, the History of Fr. Ml. de Almeida, " who died here in Goa," and concludes :—

" E se Portugal, por serviço de Deos and por utilidade propria, aplicar os meynos convenientes á recuperação do perdido, com muyto menor risco do que alguns Ministros seus ajuizarão, & com pouco dispendio poderá conseguir hũa das mayores empresas de sua piedade

& utilidade, como por bem fundadas rezoens se pode vir a entender, que por alheas deste lugar, se reservão para melhor tempo & ocasião " (224).

Here Queiroz alludes to his treatise on Abyssinia, of which he clearly speaks in his letter of 9th October, 1671, to Fr. General, where he says he is going to send in January, 1672, "*a treatise about the means, which can and must be taken to get an entrance into Ethiopia,*" destined for the Court of Portugal, where he is convinced that a consideration of the religious and political motives will make an impression (Beccari, xiii, 446), and in his letter, which accompanied the Manuscript, dated Goa, 14th January, 1672, in which he says: "*I am sending a paper about the present disposition of Ethiopia, in which I give briefly the obstacles and the means, which must and can be taken in order to open those gates again*" (Beccari, xiii, 450).

Let us hope that it will soon be possible to publish the important document of the famous author of the "*Conquista de Ceylão*". In the meantime we give two unpublished documents as Appendix to our present study, Fr. Queiroz' letter of 1681 and his Necrologue, written shortly after his death.

I

*Fr. Fernão de Queiroz S.J. to Fr. Assistant Francisco de Almada S.J.,
Cochin, 15th December, 1681 (Original)*

Por via de Alepo tenho escrito a V.R., dando-me a mim e aos mais os parabens, por termos a V.R. nesse lugar,¹ de que tanto depende o bom governo destas Provincias,² ainda que muito receey a jornada para Roma no coração do inverno.³ Faça Deos, que V.R. logre nella a saude que todos seus servos lhe desejamos, e que seja isto disposição, para os mais lugares, que cabem á pessoa de V.R. ; e porque escrevo mais largo a nosso Reverendo Padre⁴ em hũa 2a. via reformada, e tambem toco nella os pontos mais essenciaes do governo, remettendo-me ás ultimas informações que mandey, só tratarey nesta de algũas couzas particulares.

Muitos annos ha que estão em Roma dous tomos manuscriptos do Santo Patriarcha *Dom Affonso Mendez*, cujo primeiro titulo hé: "*Branaymanot*," ou "*Speculum Fidei*" sobre os erros de Ethiopia,

¹ Fr. Francisco de Almada S.J. became, 1681, Assistant for the Portuguese Provinces in Rome.

² The Goa and the Malabar Province.

³ The journey of the Assistant from Portugal to Rome.

⁴ Fr. General John Paul Oliva S.J.

em tudo accomodado á disposição daquella gente, que só admitte argumentos da Escritura e dos Padres, e á grande erudição, continuo estudo, e prodigiosa memoria deste Prelado, porque só a Clave dos nomes dos Santos Padres corruptos naquella lingua pedia hũa advertencia de hum anjo. Foi tambem remettido a Lisboa outro Livro seu intitulado: "*Expedição Ethiopica*," e para a impressão deste está dinheiro em S. Antão¹ na mão dos Procuradores da India, que o Padre Patriarcha mandou em sua vida. A obra mayor foi dedicada á Sacra Congregação de Propaganda Fide, cuidando como Prelado pobre, que lh'a mandasse imprimir; porque bem conhecia, que não era obra para o uso de todos, mas propria para aquella missão, e para doutos e coriosos. O Eminentissimo Presidente lhe escreveo, que se tinha encomendado ao Padre Nuno da Cunha,² mandasse fazer hum resumo della, para se dar aos missionarios, e que depois se trataria da obra. Não pareceo isto conveniente ao Padre Assistente Nuno da Cunha, porque depois de lhe tirarem a sustancia, não se lembrarião do original. E confesso a V.R., que formey então conceito destas repostas, que nem huns, nem outro o tinham lido; porque pouco se pode cortar, que não seja da erudição e da sustancia, ou do modo sustancial, com que aquella gente se deue doutrinar.

Primeiro me escreveo o Padre Adrião Pedro, que não avia mais dinheiro, do que o de Lisboa; e se os Padres Provinciaes se não aproveitarão d'elle em tantos annos, pudéra estar augmentado, porque a causa e a pobreza parece que tudo cohonestavão. Depois me escreveo, que o Padre Assistente Francisco Lopes³ tomára muito a peito esta impressão, mas por falta de dinheiro ficára a obra impatada. O Padre Nuno da Cunha dizia, que se queria concertar com hum impressor de Leão⁴ de França; mas como acabou o governo, acabou o intento; e as impressões de Leão são hoje muito erradas. Por quem V.R. hé, que se compadeça da memoria de hum tão illustre varão, e daquella christandade, pois Deos não põe tempo em mudar tempo; e quando isto se não possa effeituvar em Roma, nem esses senhores se disponhão a fazer esta esmola, convinha fazer diligencia com algum impressor estrangeiro, para que tomasse esta obra por sua conta, dando mais ou menos volumes ao Author. Porque se isto se encommendar aos Padres Flamengos ou Francezes, pelo que tem de coriosos em materia de

¹ The College S. Antão Novo in Lisbon, at present the Hospital S. José.

² Fr. Nuno da Cunha S.J. was Assistant for Portugal, 1648-9.

³ Fr. Francisco Lopez S.J. was Assistant, 1678-81.

⁴ Lyons.

Controversias, ajudarão muito a impressão desta obra ; que se fôr esquecendo mais com os annos, virá de todo a prescrever. Nem V.R. espere que algum Superior da India lh'o recomende, pelo que tenho de experiencia, nem pareça que o faço pelo que me toca, mas por zelo do bem commun e pelo particular affecto que devo á memoria do Padre Dom Affonso Mendez.

Já V.R. terá noticia, que mandey a Portugal hũa obra da *Vida do Veneravel Irmão Pedro de Basto* ; porque vendo o descuido dos Padres do Malavar aqui e em Cochim, fiz tirar oitenta testemunhos, e ajudando-me de varias certidões, e da obra, que elle mesmo ditou, que por mercé [223^v] de Deos escapou da ruina de Cochim,¹ e no meu cubiculo do incendio do Collegio de S. Paulo,² de dispôr na melhor forma que alcansey. Recomendava ao Padre Procurador de Portugal, que se o tempo aconselhasse, paçasse a obra á Roma, pera lá se imprimir, porque me não temia de doutos e eruditos. Mas o Padre Sebastião de Lima a deu para se ler no refeitório de S. Roque,³ contra o que lhe recomendára. E ainda neste anno me escreverão, que em se chegando a ler o Quinto Imperio,⁴ a mandára recolher o Padre Luis Alvares.⁵ Hia a obra de cá approvada, e tambem me quizerão dizer, que o Padre Bento Ferreira⁶ a mandára de novo rever em Portugal. Daqui resultou mandar nosso Reverendo Padre que fosse revisto, e fazendo o Padre Adrião Pedro diligencia pelo parecer de Roma, somente lhe responderão, conforme me escreveo, que naquella forma não estava para se imprimir. Fez diligencia em Portugal, e achou, que repararão em quatro cousas : no Quinto Imperio, nas revelações contra Castella, no muito numero de visões, e nas muitas historias da India que relatava. O mesmo me escreveo o Padre Francisco Lopes, dizendo que fôra hum dos Revisores. Com esta noticia escrevy a nosso Reverendo Padre, dando rezão de todos estes quatro pontos, e sobre as muitas historias da India dizia, que por parecer de muitos as incluirei naquella obra, por não ter sahido Author algum, que falasse nestas couzas modernas ; e porque se não podia formar pleno juizo, sem noticia dellas, de duas proposições do Irmão

¹ When the Dutch conquered Cochim, 1663.

² S. Paulo e Novo in Goa. The fire broke out after midnight in the morning of 5th December, 1664 (*Basto*, Preface, 4^v).

³ The Profess House S. Roque in Lisbon.

⁴ About the Fifth Empire see *Basto*, 416-450.

⁵ Fr. Luis Alvarez S.J. was Provincial of the Portuguese Province, 1675-8 (F. Rodrigues, "A Companhia de Jesus em Portugal e nas Missões," in *Revista de Historia*, Porto 10 [1921], 168).

⁶ Fr. Bento Ferreira S.J. was Provincial of the Goa Province, 1674-7 (*ib.* 171).

Basto,¹ em que diz, que depois de tomada do Morro de Chaul,² nenhũa couza de momento succedêra na India, que Deos lhe não revelasse. Mas supposto ter já sahido Manoel de Faria e Souza³ e agora o Conde da Ericeira,⁴ e ambos mal informados das cousas de India, já seria necessario reformar que eu dizia. E como tinha outras curiosidades, tudo poderia sahir junto, em remetter-me a minha obra. E este foi hum dos intentos, com que outra vez a mandey pedir.⁵

Agora me escreveo o Padre Adrião Pedro, que tivêra ordem de Roma, para mandar os pareceres dos Revisores, e falando ao Padre Pantalião Carvalho,⁶ lhe dissêra que tal couza não sabia. Falando porem com o Padre Luis Alvares, respondêra, que logo então os mandára á Roma; e que por não aver tempo para mais, me fazia somente este aviso. Já na outra carta falava neste particular a V.R., a que tomo por juiz nesta causa. Se os pareceres dos Padres não vierem muito conformes, com quem delles me hey de conformar? E se presumy das minhas rezões em contrario, que merecião ser ouvidas em Roma, como os hey de ter por meus juizes, em quanto Roma depois de me ouvir não discidio esta causa? Mandando-me dizer o que devo cortar, accrescentar, ou mudar; e o al, sem andar toda a vida fazendo novas perguntas, ou arriscar-me a trabalhar outra vez debalde, sendo hum religioso pobre, a quem a Religião não soccorreo para isto com hũa folha de papel, nem com hum pardao para pagar ao amanuense. Não tenho determinação de bulir mais nesta obra athé Roma não determinar o que devo fazer. E pois V.R. está nesse lugar e sabe o pouco que hoje se favorece este zelo, encarecidamente pesso, seja V.R. servido acabar com nosso Reverendo Padre, que ponderadas as minhas rezões, me ordene o que devo obrar. Porque estou muito prompto para a fazer vindo a resolução por esta via.⁷

Sendo Preposito desta Casa Professa, fui testamenteiro da Senhora Dona Francisca Cabral, e sobre lhe deixar cinco mil xerafins para

¹ About these visions see *Basto*, 256 and 406.

² 1594 (see *Basto*, 256, and D. do Couto, *Decadas da Asia*, xi, c. 32).

³ Ml. de Faria y Sousa, *Asia Portuguesa*, Lisboa, 1666-75.

⁴ D. Luiz de Meneses, *Historia de Portugal restaurado*, Lisboa, 1679.

⁵ The MS. was sent back to India.

⁶ Fr. Pantalião Carvalho S.J., Provincial of Portugal, 1678-81 (Rodrigues, loc. cit., 168).

⁷ "Antes de começar a referir o que Deos mostrou a seu servo Pedro de Basto sobre os successos de Portugal, cabia relatar aqui algũas visões tocantes à Monarchia de Hespanha . . . Mas pode tanto o respeyto aos Senhores Reys Catholicos de Hespanha, que depoy de nove annos de consultas e repostas da India & de Europa me vim a desenganar, seria esta remora poderosa pera impedir a impressão desta obra, se pelas insinuaçoens de Roma não desistisse desta relação" (*Basto*, 402).

diversas disposições. Por crescerem oito ou nove mil, depois de alguns trinta e quatro mil de legados, fiz diversas esmolos, e ainda a casa ficou com seis ou sete mil com approvação do Provedor Mór dos Defuntos. Daqui tirey tambem oitocentos xerafins, que a titulo de obra pia forão remettidos a Lisboa em diamantes para a impressão da obra sobredita, e fizerão lá mil e secenta xerafins. A minha tenção era imprimir esta obra e tirar da impressão o que bastasse para outra, e o que sobejasse, ser para esta Casa Professa. Mas como soubêrão, que se não imprimira, dando já este intento por acabado, com novas interpretações do meu, escreverão [224r] ao Padre Adrião Pedro, que o dinheiro era da Casa Professa; do que o Padre me fez aviso, para saber que eu o mandára, como testamenteiro, e com o beneplacito do Padre Provincial Bento Ferreira, e que eu o ratificára sendo Provincial. E posto que avia outro testamenteiro secular, tudo me cometteo a mym, e não estou agora certo, se era já morto neste tempo. Deixando porem intentos secundarios, o primeiro ainda está im pé. Porque nem eu disisto de imprimir a obra, nem de Roma se me tem mandado o contrario. Pelo que estimára, que V.R. fizesse com nosso Reverendo Padre, que ordenassa [sic] aos Padres Procuradores da India em Lisboa, que conservassem este dinheiro para o mesmo intento. E se se julgar que pode andar a ganhos, se dé sobre penhores de ouro e prata, para que me não fação na India em cada monção hũa demanda; pois hé presente a V.R. que não tenho donde me venha outro. E este foi hum dos inconvenientes destas demoras, porque como neste tempo, em que estou vago, vou continuando com outras obras, da primeira impressão determinava tirar o com que pudesse acudir a outras; e agora fiquei de todo desarmado, ao menos em quanto Roma me não deferir. E se parecer a nosso Reverendo Padre, que se large este dinheiro em Lisboa á Provincia, pondo cá outro tanto a ganhos, para daqui tirar algum soccorro, com que possa acudir aos gastos dos amannenses, sem nunca entrar pelo proprio, isto era o que mais me servia. Mas obrarey nesta materia o que Sua Reverencia determinar.

Tenho pedido a nosso Reverendo Padre, que me mande impetrar licença para ler livros prohibidos, particularmente o Alcorão, porque me não fio na, que me pode dar o Tribunal do Santo Officio. E porque as occupações de Sua Paternidade poderão dar pouco lugar a estas miudesas, pesso a V.R., que seja servido aver-me esta concessão, para que não seja sempre necessario allegar em fé alhea na obra em que trabalho,¹ para armar de todo hum missionario contra Atheos, Ethnicos,

¹ The *Perfeito Missionario* (see *Necrologue*).

Mahometanos, Judaeos et Haereticos. Porque tenho advertido que não podem levar livrarias, e que, não hindo feitos nestas materias, não podem pregar com proveito¹; e por meus peccados todas estas dezaventuras se achão nesta Asia. Pelo que torno muito a pedir a V.R. que me faça este favor.

Quando por aqui passou o Padre João de Britto,² levado de sua curiosidade quiz saber os princípios, por que eu defendia o ponto da liberdade divina; e depois me disse, que o avia de defender nas conclusões ad gradum.³ Agora me escreveo, que tocára nestes fundamentos a V.R., e que V.R. me fizera graça de approvar a minha especulação. Se eu soubéra mais cedo, que o Padre Francisco de Almada estava em Roma, e não estivéra tão occupado com o que tenho escrito, visto o Padre João de Britto me abrir a porta, ouvéra de mandar este e outros pontos discutidos, como alguns affectos por vezes me tem aconselhado. Mas confessô, que me não resolvey a o fazer por falta de confiança, e por me não arriscar a se julgar, que era mais vaedade do que desejo de apurar a verdade. Mas como a benevolencia de V.R. me deu já estas alças, quando chegar a compôr estas *questões*, não as mandarey ao prelo, sem primeiro saber, o que V.R. e os letrados de Roma julgão sobre ellas, e particularmente sobre a *questão da subsistencia*, origem da ruina da Igreja Oriental, para que não torne hum Faciladaz⁴ a escrever ao seu Patriarcha: "Nos bem entendemos

¹ Queiroz was of the opinion that it was absolutely necessary for a missionary to know the language and beliefs of the people with whom he had to deal. About acquiring the language he writes, the many languages spoken in Abyssinia were one of the greatest obstacles for the conversion of its inhabitants: "Está hũa das mayores dificultades, que tem a conversão dos Abexins. Porque nenhum missionario estrangeiro as pode aprender todas e falar em todas. Nem o vulgo se pode doutrinar bem mais que com a propria de seu uso, como persuade facilmente a razão, e tem mostrado a experiencia em todas as outras missões. Porque quem não vê, quanto desproporcionada couza seria doutrinar o vulgo Português em Francêz ou em Latim?" (Appendix III MS. 11966, School of Oriental Studies).

² Fr. João de Britto S.J., the future martyr, arrived in Goa 5th September, 1673, and left it April, 1674, for Malabar (*Historia do nascimento, vida e martyrio do Ven. Padre João de Britto da Companhia de Jesus*, composta por seu irmão Fernão Pereyra de Britto, Coimbra, 1722, 30-1, and H. Doering S.J., Vom Edelknaben zum Märtyrer, Der selige Johannes de Britto S.J., Freiburg, i, B. 1920, 31-5).

³ In Goa Britto finished his theological studies. "In cinque soli mesi . . . percorse tutte e tre le parti della Somma di S. Thomaso, e si offerì senza eccezione a difenderle eziandio in pubblico e solenne esperimento. Fu stabilito che ne desse un esame privato, e fecelo con tal soddisfazione e meraviglia del suo sapere, che i quattro lettori deputati ad esaminarlo giudicarono concordemente, non aver lui bisogno di farla per più anni da scolare, mentre in pochi mesi avea acquistato tanto da poter essere maestro" (G. Boero S.J., *Vita del Beato Giovanni de Britto*, Roma, 1853, 32).

⁴ Fasildas reigned 1632-67 (G. K. Rein, *Abessinien*, Berlin, 1918, i, 74).

como da humanidade de Christo e da Pessoa do Verbo se pode constituir hum Christo; mas não entendemos estas vozes subsistencias". Nem se persuada o Padre Balthazar Telles, que lhe satisfaz com dizer, que mentia, e que nem todos o dizião assim. Porque se não diz isto a hũa cabeça coroada, ainda que tenha côres pretas, e dizia o elle, de quem dependia tudo. E como a Igreja athé agora não defenio, que fosse realidade com Arriaga,¹ ou modo com Soarez,² ou negação com Escoto³; depois de lidos os Concilios e consultados os Padres e o Symbolo de Santo Athanasio, tenho assentado, que o conceito da subsistencia, ou em mayor rigor, da sisteneia, se deve explicar de outro modo. E dando-me Deos vida, a seu tempo ouvirey os pareceres da Curia sobre esta e sobre outras materias.

[224^r] Tambem tinha escrito a nosso Reverendo Padre, que convinha impetrar hua escomunhão, para que a ninguem se mostrasse o corpo de *S. Francisco Xavier*. E referindo isto ao Padre Primaz,⁴ Su Illustrissima o approvou muito dizendo, que serviria de mayor veneração. E depois que se fechou e deixou de se mostrar no seu dia, não sey que ouvesse pessoa algũa, que o reprovasse. Porque ainda que se consolavão com o ver, não deixavão de alcansar, que era pouco respeito. Se a falta da resposta nasceo de esquecimento, não fará V.R. piqueno serviço ao Santo em fazer vir esta prohibição.⁵ Tenho enfadado a V.R. com muitas petições, mas são pensões de quem está nesse lugar, e posto que tive em Roma conhecidos, sempre tive por mais conveniente não escrever mais que a nosso Reverendo Padre e aos Reverendos Padres Assistentes. Bem alcanço, que as novas demandas, em que me metterão, terão diminuido muito meu credito para com V.R., mas como V.R. por experiencia conhecer, que couza

¹ Fr. Rodrigo de Arriaga S.J. (1592-1667) taught Philosophy in Valladolid and theology in Salamanca and Prague.

² Fr. Francisco Soarez, S.J. (1548-1617), Professor of Theology in Rome, Alcalá, Salamanca, and Coimbra, "Doctor Eximius," the greatest of the Jesuit theologians.

³ Duns Scotus O.F.M., "Doctor Subtilis," the great English theologian, died 1308 in Cologne.

⁴ Archbishop of Goa and Primas of India was D. Frei Antonio Brandão O. Cist., 1675-8. His successor was D. Manuel de Sousa Menezes, 1681-4 (C. C. de Nazareth, *Mitras Lusitanas no Oriente*, Lisboa, 1894, 184, 188).

⁵ Fr. Gaspar Affonso S.J., who was Provincial of Goa 1685-8, wrote 20th January, 1686, to Fr. General, that he had forbidden under pain of excommunication the opening of the tomb of St. Francis Xavier. The Vicar-General of the Society of Jesus, D. Maria de Marini S.J., in his answer 8th February, 1687, approves of this measure and orders several keys to be made for the coffin of the Saint (MS. Goa, 2). This order was executed, as Fr. Francisco de Sousa wrote to Fr. General 26th January, 1708 (*Monumenta Xaveriana*, Matriti, 1912, ii, 778).

hé a India, achará que nestes longes crescem os brios, e que a mayor culpa de quem governa hé persuadirem-se, que os conhece. Avendo couza de gosto e serviço de V.R. será para mym o mayor favor ver-me occupado. Na benção e Santos Sacrificios de V.R. muito me recomendo.

Goa, e de Dezembro 15 de 1681.

De V.R.

Humilde servo,

Fernão de Queiroz.

Address: Ao Mto. Rev. P. Francisco de Almada da Companhia de
JESUS, Assistente pelas Provincias de Portugal, etc.

Em Roma.

Da India. Unica Via.

Manuscripts of the Soc. of Jesus, Goa, 35, f. 223^r-224^v.

II

Necrologue of Fr. Fernão de Queiroz

[320^r] . . . O P. Fernão de Queiros, nobre descendente dos de seu appellido na fresca Provincia de Entre Douro e Minho, entrou na Companhia em Coimbra no anno de 1631, sendo de idade de 14 annos, e foi tão fervorozo logo no principio, que pedio com grandes instancias, [320^v] vir pera a India, e o alcançou sendo ainda do Recolhimento com muita repugnancia dos Padres da Provincia de Portugal, que já vião o grande homem, que perdião naquelle Irmão. Acabou seus estudos em Goa com grande satisfação, porque era de engenho agudo e felicissimo, a memoria rara e a inclinação tão natural ao estudo, que avia mister divertido, e não estimulado. Leo Theologia por algum tempo, e depois de a ler foi mandado por Rector do Collegio de Tanna, que governou com muito acerto, como tambem o de Baçaim. Foi Preposito da Caza Professa 6 annos, e depois Provincial desta Provincia. Era tão venerado dos Seculares, que as suas rezoluções ainda nos negocios mais arduos [sic] deste Estado se estimavão como oraculos, assim pela grandeza da pessoa, como pella do juizo. Respeitando as suas letras e a sua qualidade o elegio Sua Magestade por Patriarcha de Ethiopia, dignidade a que elle mostrou grande repugnancia. O Tribunal da Inquizição o escolheo pera seu deputado, officio que exercitou muitos annos com grande credito e satisfação.

Compôs sendo ainda moço hũa *Theologia* e *Philosophia*, que não sahio a luz. E depois escreveu a *Vida do Irmão Pedro de Bastos*, que

se imprimio em Lixboa, e outro livro da *Conquista Espiritual et Temporal de Ceylão*, obra não menos util pello interesse que polla religião, que está pera se dar ao prelo.

Porém estas, cousas, que em outros tanto se estimão, foi a menor parte da grandeza deste varão a todas as luses grande. Porque entre os rayos das letras sobresaíão os resplandores das virtudes, que posto não parecessem ser das, que applaude a maravilha, era com tudo nos exercicios ordinarios e comuns perfeitissima a sua vida. As acções, as palavras, os affectos erão tudo hũa bem temperada armonia; sempre o mesmo semblante, a mesma pas, a mesma composição, o mesmo homem. Era igualmente grave com os grandes, que affavel com os pequenos; porém com tal medida, que nem a gravidade o fazia pezado pera com aquelles, nem a affabilidade facil pera com estes. Donde procedia ser igual em huns e outros o respeito, com que estavam em sua presença, e fallavão em sua auzencia. Entre as virtudes grandes deste varão avultou muito o zello das almas e dezejo de ver estas regiõens sogeitas á ffé de Christo, de que procedia sentir tanto a quebra da reputação de nossas armas, e as perdas, que nos derão os hereges Europeos nesta Conquista no discurso de mais de 53 annos, que viveo na India, por saber que á sombra do respeito dellas vinhão os Principes infieis em admitir pregadores da fé em seus reinos, ajudados tambem do interesse e do proveito, que o trato com os Portugueses lhes grangeava. O que tudo enfraqueceo e se diminuiu, tanto que as nações do Norte introduzirão na India novo poder, e não só se fizeram nella respeitadas, mas tambem aspirarão a conquistar e perverter as terras, que nos obedecião, fasendo-nos igual guerra com as armas e com o commercio, com o que poderão divertir da nossa amizade muita parte dos reinos do Oriente e impedir os grandes progressos, que nossa santa ffee hia fazendo em todos elles.

Sendo Provincial desta Provincia abrio a nova missão de *Bengala*, por outro nome de S. Antonio do Rozario, aonde mandou Religiosos nossos, que fizeram muitos serviços a Deos, posto que depois se retirarão por impedimentos, que lhes puzerão os Padres de S. Agostinho com resolução muito alhea da que esperavamos e lhes mereciamos; por motivos menos conforme ao credito de tão graves Religiosos, os quais posto que sejam em grande abono desta Provincia, deixamos em silencio assy porque não hé costume nosso escrever louvores proprios com discreditos alheos, como por me constar se déra deste ponto larga relação á Roma.¹ Tambem tratou muito de veras da conversão dos

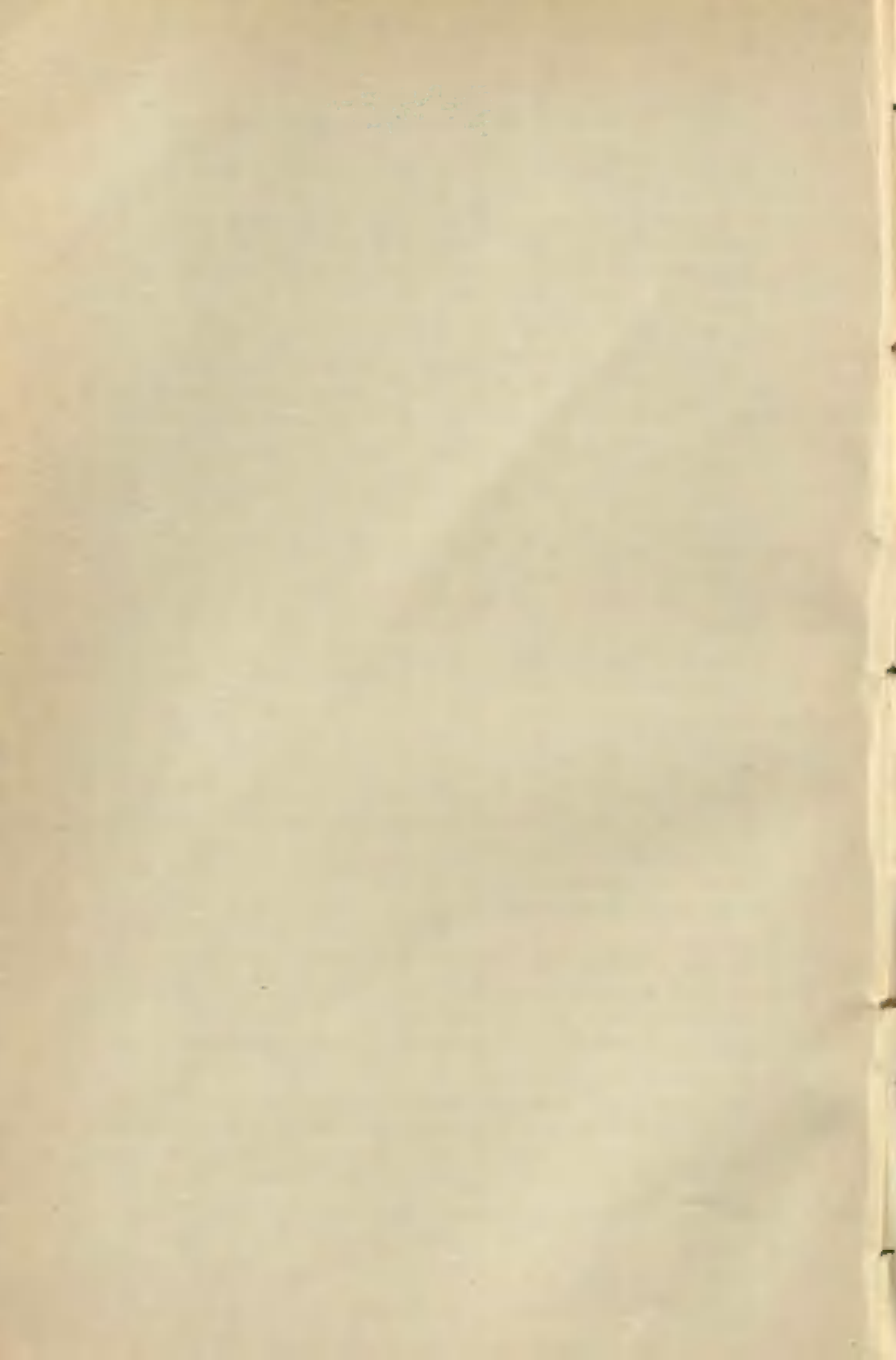
¹ About these differences see H. Jonsson S.J., *La Mission du Bengal Occidental*, Bruges, 1921, i, 89-90.

gentios do Norte,¹ que vivem nas [321^v] nossas terras; e com não menor zelo mandou ao Nepal os Padres Marco Antonio e Pedro Phelippe Faira a descobrir aquella nova missão tantas vezes intentada e nenhũa conseguida.² Agora já velho tinha pera este fim entre mãos hũa obra, que elle intitoulou "*Perfeito Missionairo*", em que confutava os erros de todas as sêitas, obra de muito trabalho, muita erudição e muito proveitoza; e quando tratava de lhe pôr a ultima mão, foi Deos servido chamallo pera sy por meyo de hũa doença, que ao principio não pareceo perigosa, mas como cahia sobre outra, de que não estava ainda convalescido, e sobre tantos e tão continuos trabalhos, bastou pera lhe tirar a vida brevemente e mais de preça do que se cuidava neste Collegio de S. Paulo aos 12 de Abril de 1688 sendo de idade de 71 e da Companhia 57 e de Profissão 39.

Manuscripts of the Soc. of Jesus, Goa 35, f. 320^r-321^r. (Annual Letter for 1687-92, written by Fr. Mathias Correa S.J., probably in Goa 1692 or 1693).

¹ The Bassein Territory and Damão.

² Fr. Marc' Antonio Santucci S.J., missionary in Patna, and Pedro Phelippe Faira S.J., his companion, both Italians. About the visit to Nepal, 1679-80, see Jossou, i, 91.



*THE PALACE OF DARIUS THE GREAT AND THE
APADANA OF ARTAXERXES II IN SUSA*

By J. M. UNVALA

(PLATES III, IV)

THE long dynasty of the Elamite national kings, who ruled over Elam for nearly 1,500 years, was, after a long and unequal struggle, brought to a close by the Assyrians under Assurbanipal in about 640 B.C. The Assyrian rule in Elam collapsed soon after the death of this conqueror in 625 B.C. The Elamite kingdom was thereupon divided into two different monarchies, Perso-Anzanite and Susiano-Babylonian. After the defeat of the last Babylonian king Nabunaid in 539 B.C., Cyrus the Great, the fourth Perso-Anzanite king, became the founder of the great Achæmenian dynasty. After the death of his son and successor Cambyzes and the suppression of the revolt of Gaumata the Magian, Darius the Great, a descendant of the younger branch of the Achæmenides, became the inheritor of the vast empire of Cyrus in 521 B.C. During the early years of his reign he had to subdue many revolts in different provinces of his empire. It seems that the political troubles ended in about 518 B.C., and the great king began the work of rebuilding and embellishing Susa, which he had made the capital of his empire, as well as Persepolis and Hamadan. This work was carried on with great zeal by his son Xerxes, who was a far greater builder than his father. Owing to the free use of huge blocks of stone in the palatial buildings of Persepolis their ruins have for centuries drawn the attention of travellers by their colossal dimensions and gigantic magnificence. But the memories of the palaces of Susa and Hamadan are preserved only in certain allusions in the Bible and in the works of ancient writers. Their traces were nearly wiped out by time, whose ravages the less durable materials, bricks and wood, of which they were constructed, could hardly resist.

The palace of Darius in Susa is mentioned in Daniel VIII as Shushan, the palace situated in the province of Elam. It was in this palace that Xerxes, Ahasuerus of the Book of Esther, married the Jewess in the seventh year of his reign. The ruins of this palace and those of the adjoining apadāna were so prominent in the days of Loftus, that he identified them easily as those of Shushan of the Bible. He carried

on excavations, which had been begun by Sir W. F. Williams, for a season and succeeded in discovering the sites of the palace of Darius and the apadāna of Artaxerxes II. The subsequent and thoroughly scientific excavations of these buildings were carried out by M. Dieulafoy, M. J. de Morgan, and M. R. de Mecquenem of the French Archæological Mission in Persia.

As at Persepolis the palace and the apadāna in Susa were built on an artificial terrace overlooking the plain of the Kerkhah. This terrace was formed by the ruins of an Elamite temple and the encircling necropolis. Thus it is possible that Josephus alludes to the palace of Darius in Susa and to that in Hamadan, when he says that it is built on the tombs of ancient kings.

APADĀNA

Loftus describes the sensational discovery of the Great Hall of Columns at Susa in the xxviii and xxviii chapters of his *Travels and Researches in Chaldaea and Susiana* (London, 1857), of which he gives a plan on p. 366. He succeeded in determining the positions of twenty-one columns out of the thirty-six forming the inner phalanx, on which the edifice of the audience-hall rested. The bases of the third and the fourth columns from the left in the first and the second rows from the north were inscribed with trilingual cuneiform inscriptions of Artaxerxes II Mnemon, which ran as follows: " (Thus) says Artaxerxes, the great king, the king of kings, the king of the lands, the king of this earth, son of king Darius (II), of Darius son of king Artaxerxes (I), of Artaxerxes son of king Xerxes, of Xerxes son of king Darius (I), of Darius son of Hystaspes the Achæmenide. This apadāna my forefather Darius (I) had built. Later on under (the reign of) Artaxerxes (I) my grandfather, fire burnt it down. According to the will of Ahuramazda, of Anāhita and of Mithra I rebuilt this apadāna. May Ahuramazda, Anāhita and Mithra protect me from all opponents, and may neither destroy nor injure this, which I have built." (F. H. Weissbach, *Die Keilinschriften der Achaemeniden*, Leipzig, 1911, pp. 122 seq.) There were two rows of six columns each to the east and to the west of this hall pertaining to the porticos, which were separated from it most probably by walls. The bases of the thirty-six columns of the hall itself are massive square blocks of limestone hewn in such a way as to form apparently a pile of four blocks each smaller than the other, laid over one another with their axis in a straight line perpendicular with the axis of the columns

which they supported. These blocks are 2 m. 44 \times 2 m. 44, and their height is 1 m. 50; this dimension varies sometimes by one or two centimetres. But the bases of the third and the fourth columns in the first and the second rows from the south were of two pieces, the lower one square and the upper one round and bell-shaped. The former is visible ten centimetres above the ground, but the latter has completely disappeared. All these bases are placed at an equal distance from one another, viz. 8 m. 25, from axis to axis. In the middle of the space enclosed by these bases there is another base, perhaps of a statue of the Great King, curiously composed of two blocks of limestone, one 1 m. 5 \times 2 m. 40, the other 1 m. 30 \times 2 m. 40, placed side by side at their broader sides. These blocks may have perhaps appertained to the apadāna of Darius the Great.

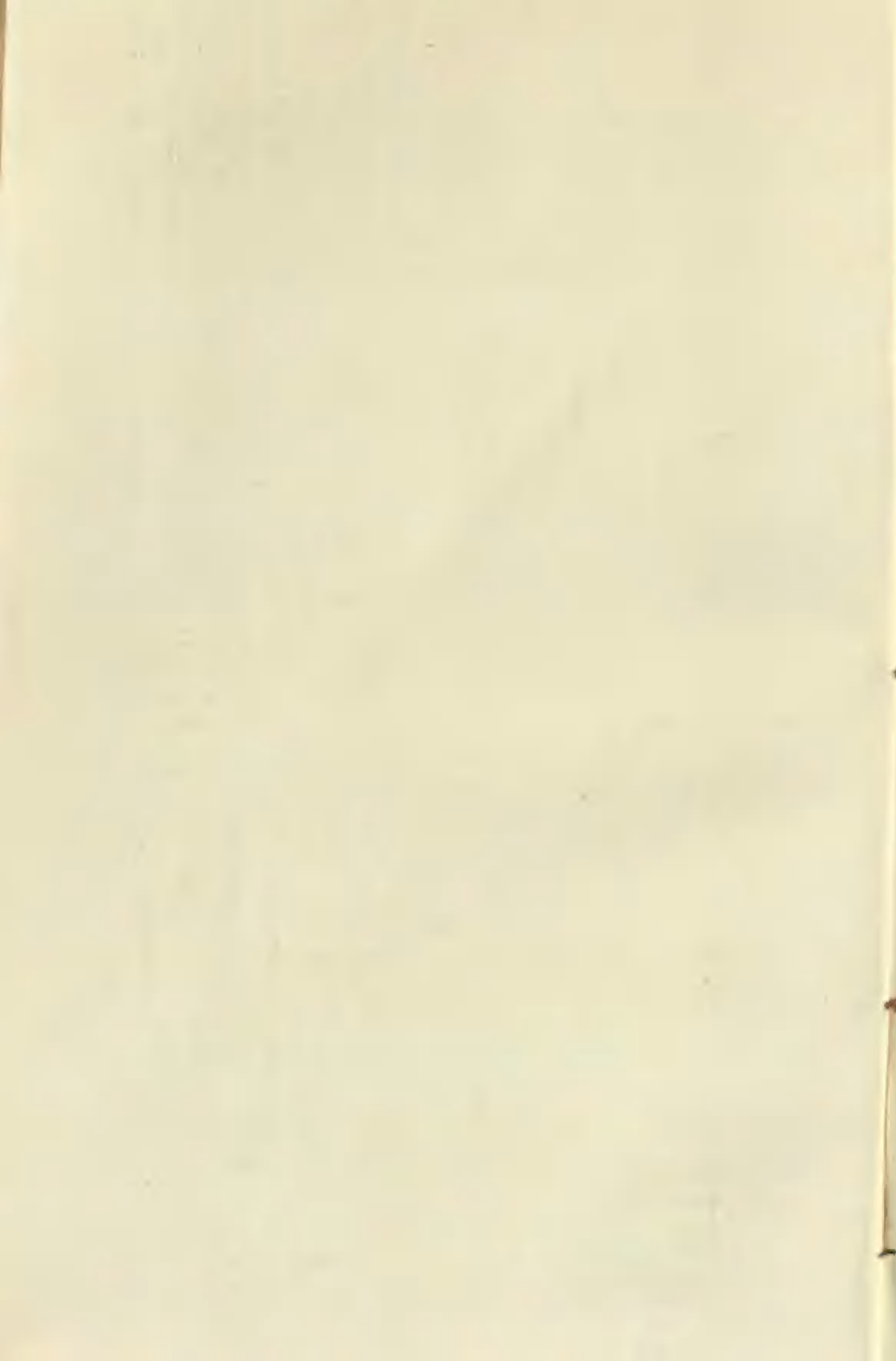
There were two rows of six columns each, one to the east and the other to the west of the apadāna, pertaining to the two porticos, at a distance of 19 m. 70 from the apadāna itself and separated from it most probably by walls. The bases of the columns supporting these porticos were at a distance of 8 m. 25 from one another. Those of the inner phalanx were square, while those of the outer ones were bell-shaped. The shafts were fluted and had double-bull capitals. These columns supported wooden beams, on which a flat terrace-like roof was laid.

PALACE

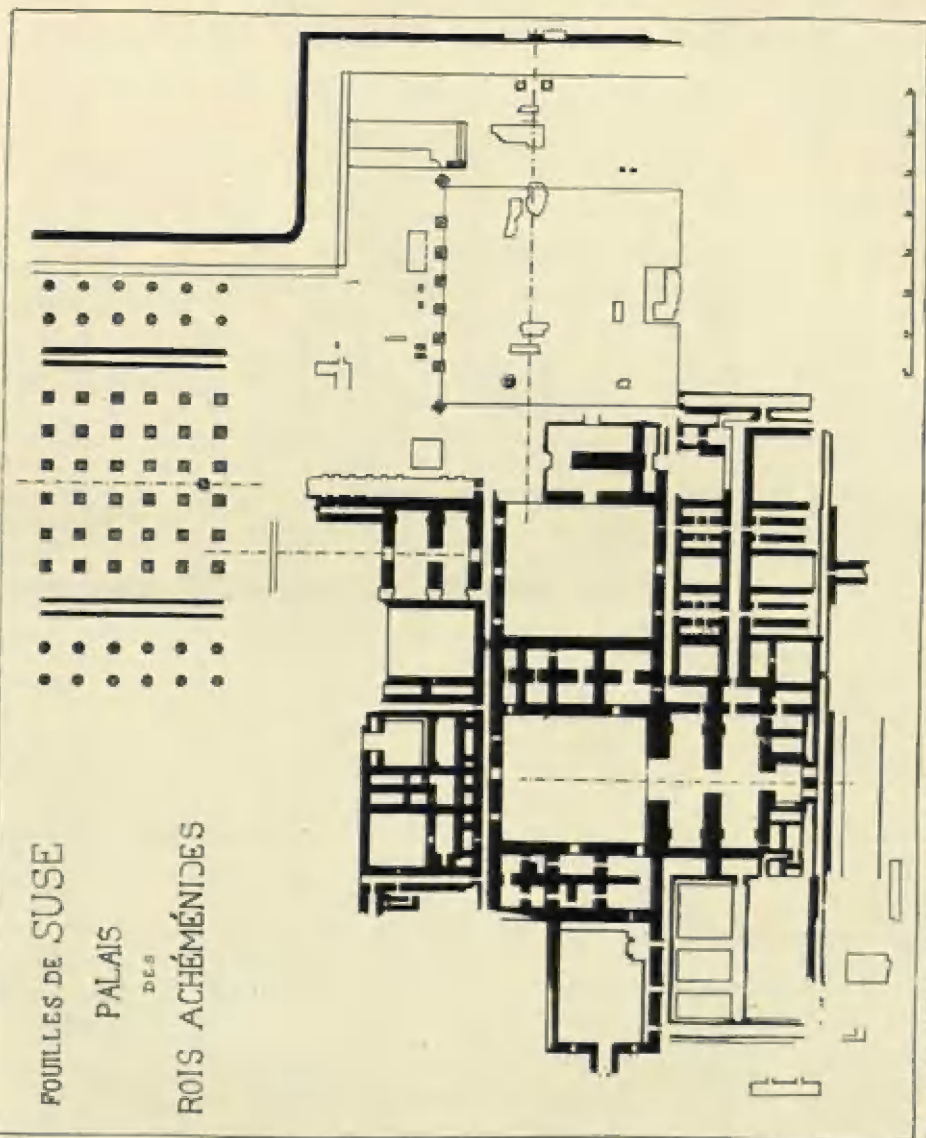
To the south of this hall of columns was situated the palace of Darius, whose main entrance must most probably have been situated to the east. It was protected by guards, whose quarters were situated to the north. Immediately to the west there was a big paved court, with a porch at its north end, whose traces are still visible. The waiting-room for the common people and the servants' quarters were to the north, north-west, and west. Further to the west there was another court, followed by a set of royal private apartments, which were separated by corridors. Then there was another court and another set of private apartments. The main grand hall was to the west at the further end of the palace. The *gynécée* or the harem was situated to the north of these two latter courts and sets of apartments; to their south there were two big halls, perhaps for the reception of the nobility. There are traces of further constructions to the south. The apadāna and the palace were protected by a wall of sun-dried bricks, nine metres broad, supported and protected

from moisture by an inner layer of gravel, whose breadth is generally nine metres under the royal buildings and sixty centimetres to one metre under the buildings close to the biggest court. This wall is well preserved only on the east, and few traces of it are visible on the west, while they are wholly absent on the north and the south. It was decorated to the east of the apadāna by the famous friezes of archers, which M. Dieulafoy wrongly supposed to have appertained to its façade. He was also of opinion that friezes of lions formed the decoration of big pylons built to the south of the apadāna. But no remains of these were found, perhaps on account of former excavations, during whose course they may have been removed unobserved. It is now supposed that no pylons existed at Susa, but that there was a wall three metres high, which had two gates leading to the apadāna. The friezes of archers are formed of a number of baked bricks, decorated with low reliefs, some of them are glazed and polychrome. Finally, it must be said that the supposition of M. Dieulafoy, which consists in separating the porticos of the edifice of Artaxerxes from the main building of the palace, very plausible from an architectural standpoint, could not wholly be confirmed. There are no traces of the two rows of six columns, which are supposed to have formed a portico to the north, as at Persepolis; on this side the apadāna was left open, and offered a magnificent view of the mountains. But we may suppose that the porticos to the east and the west were separated from the main building by walls, thick enough to contain a staircase leading to the roof, which required yearly repairs, particularly after torrential rains.





FOUILLES DE SUSE
PALAIS
DES
ROIS ACHÉMÉNIDES



Drawn by M. de Mesquien, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, Persia.

POISON-DETECTING BIRDS

By JARL CHARPENTIER

THE *Arthaśāstra* of Kauṭilya¹ in the chapter of the first book dealing with the measures for safety within the royal harem has the following passage (ed. Jolly and Schmidt, vol. i, p. 25, 13 seq.) :—

*śukaḥ śārikā bhr̥ṅgarājo vā sarpaviśaśaṅkāyāṃ krośati |
krauñco viśābhyāse mādhyati | glāyati jīvañjivakaḥ | mriyate mattakok-
ilāḥ | cakorasyākṣiṇī virajyete ||*

"The parrot, the maina, and the Malabar bird shriek when suspicious of snake poison; the curlew becomes quite tipsy² in the neighbourhood of poison; the pheasant swoons; the amorous cuckoo dies; the eyes of the *cakora* partridge change their natural colour (i.e. become red)."³

Kāmandaki has, of course, copied this as most other passages of the Kauṭīliya, cf. *Nītisāra*, vii, 11-13a-b :—

*bhr̥ṅgarājāḥ śukaś caiva śārikā ceti pakṣiṇaḥ |
krośanti bhr̥ṣam udvignā viśapannagadarśanāt || 11 ||
cakorasya virajyete nayane viśadarśanāt |
suvyaktam mādhyati krauñco mriyate mattakokilāḥ || 12 ||
jīvañjīvasya ca glānir jāyate viśadarśanāt |*

"The Malabar bird, likewise the parrot, and the maina, these birds shriek in high excitement upon seeing poison or snakes; the eyes of the *cakora* partridge change their natural colour⁴ at the sight of poison; the curlew becomes most obviously drunk and the amorous cuckoo dies; finally the pheasant falls into a swoon at the sight of poison."

Suśruta in the first *adhyāya* of the *kalpasthāna* deals with the same subject though in details he sometimes diverges from the authorities

¹ In spite of the arguments proffered by the late MM. Gāṇapati Shastri it seems clear to me that the form *Kauṭilya* is of no value (cf. Jolly, *Zachr. f. Indologie*, v, 216, seq.; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. xvii). Dr. J. J. Meyer, *Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, p. xxiii, has made no plausible contribution towards the solution of this problem.

² Dr. Meyer's translation, "wird toll," is not quite to the point; cf. the commentary on Kāmandaki (cf. *infra*): *mādhyati vikālābharati*.

³ Cf. also *Ocean of Story*, i, 110; Jolly, *Journal of Indian History*, 1925, p. 113.

⁴ Comm.: *virajyete svabhāvarajyagāt*.

on *nītiśāstra*. The passage that would interest us here is the following¹ :—

cakoraśyāḥśivairāgyaṃ jāyate kṣipram eva tu ² ||
duṣṭānnaṃ viśasaṃśṛṣṭaṃ mriyante jīva-jīvakāḥ |
kokilāḥ ³ *svaravaikṛtyaṃ krauñcas tu madam ŷechati* ||
hr̥ṣyen mayūra udvignaḥ krośataḥ śukaśārīke |
haṃsaḥ kṣvedati ⁴ *cātyartham bhṛṅgarājaśca kūjati* ||

“ And suddenly the eyes of the *cakora* partridge change their colour. Pheasants die from bad food mixed with poison ; the cuckoo alters his voice, and the curlew becomes drunk. The peacock becomes highly excited, the parrot and the maina shriek ; the goose cackles beyond measure, and the Malabar bird keeps cooing.”

A somewhat similar passage is found in Medhātithi's commentary on the *Manusmṛti*, vii, 217, where it is said that the *kokila* dies at the mere sight of poison, the *jīvaka* becomes withered by merely looking at poison, and the eyes of the *cakora* become destroyed.⁵

Kauṭilya, Suśruta, and Medhātithi thus testify to the belief in the powers of certain birds to make known, by various signs, the presence of snakes and poison. Unfortunately such a tradition cannot be proved to go back to any very remote age ; for, uncertain as is the date of Kauṭilya and Suśruta⁶ alike, they cannot well in their present shape date from an earlier period than the second or third centuries A.D., and Medhātithi most probably belongs to the eighth century of our era.⁷ But we here meet with a popular belief which may well be of very old standing, though it has perhaps not found its way into Brahmanical literature until rather lately. As snakes have always been of far greater importance in India than throughout the Western world, such ideas, no doubt, are innate in that country and have not been borrowed from elsewhere which may as well be remarked already here.

¹ Vol. ii, p. 246, 2 seq., in the edition of Sri Madhusudana Gupta (Calcutta, 1836), the only one available to me here. The text is partly in a shocking condition.

² The lines immediately preceding deal with the signs exhibited by a fire tainted with poisoned food.

³ Text : *ko kulah*.

⁴ Text : *kṣvedati*.

⁵ Thus the translation of Gangānāth Jhā, *Manusmṛti*, iii (1924), 419, which I have had to use as the text of Medhātithi is not available to me here. The words “ becomes withered ” are probably a not very good rendering of *glāyati* : “ become destroyed ” is, of course, entirely wrong.

⁶ Cf. Winternitz, *Gesch. d. ind. Lit.*, iii, 545, seq. ; Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. 507.

⁷ Cf. Winternitz, loc. cit., iii, 494.

As far as I have been able to find out this piece of folk-lore has not been made the subject of any investigation by scholars. I am therefore bringing together here the few scattered notes upon poison-detecting birds that I have been able to gather from various works, and which may be of some slight interest. There is scarcely any need to remark that I in no way aim at completeness; no doubt, a prolonged and strenuous sifting of sources which are partly or wholly inaccessible to me—e.g. the Arabian ones—would yield much more and weightier material.

That the parrot and the maina shriek when in the neighbourhood of poison is apparently the common belief of Kāuṭilya and Sūśruta. Unfortunately, I have not been able to trace this belief in any other old or modern Hindu source; but it is a curious fact that Aldrovandi¹ in his *Ornithologia*, vol. i, p. 649, tells us that the parrot notices if poison is brought into the house where it is kept (*psittacus agnoscit si quis venenum in domum importet*). It is scarcely doubtful that we have here the Indian tradition brought to Europe through the writings of the Arabian physicians and naturalists of the Middle Ages.

The *cakora* (*Perdix rufa*) at the sight of snakes and poison, changes the colour of its eyes; the eyes become reddened which according to Hindu opinion is a sign of anger.² That such is the case here is distinctly stated by Kullūka in his commentary on Manusmṛti, vii, 217:—

tatrātmabhūtaiḥ kālajñair ahāryaiḥ paricārakaiḥ |
*superikṣitam annādyam adyān mantrair viśāpahaiḥ ||*³

Comm.: *tatrāntaḥpure ātmatulyair bhojanakālaavedibhir abhedyaiḥ sūpakārādibhiḥ kṛtaṃ suṣṭhu ca parikṣitam cakorādīdarśanena | sa viṣam annam dṛṣtvā cakorākṣiṇī rakte bhavata iti | viśāpahair mantrair japitam annam adyāt ||* Kullūka apparently gives it as a well-known fact that at the sight of poison the eyes of the *cakora* become red; and he gives his statement in the form of a quotation.

In the *Sanatkumāracarita*⁴ v. 744, there is a description of the preparations for the king's meal in the following words:—

vārataruṇihī sāravijjanti | niva-bhōyaṇī vejja < vara > - | mantatantavāihī pahuttihi ||

¹ Ulysses Aldrovandi (1522–1605), professor at Bologna and a famous naturalist, the author of a series of bulky folios on natural history.

² Cf. *Sāhityadarpaṇa*, 233; Lüders, *Sitz. ber. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1916, p. 728.

³ With this verse cf. *Yājñavalkya*, i, 326; *Viṣṇu*, iii, 85; 87–8.

⁴ *Sanatkumāracarita*, ein Abschnitt aus Haribhadra's Nemināthacarita . . . herausgegeben, von H. Jacobi (*Abh. d. Bayer. Akad. d. Wiss., phil.-hist. kl.*, xxxi, 2, 1921).

bhunjaya-jāṇi āgayai | bhūya-deva-āhuihī huntihī ||
turiu cakora-panjarihī | samcārijjantehī ||
vāyasa-piṇḍihī taru-sihara-phalangi khijjantehī ||

"Courtesans prepare the king's dishes, physicians and various incantators gather together; the table-servants present themselves, offerings are made to demons and gods; the cages of the *cakoras* are speedily carried about, the crows eat their rice-lumps on the . . . of the tree-tops."¹

In the *Pārśvanāthacarita* of the late lamented Professor Bloomfield, p. 196, there is an additional note giving the story of Surendradatta and his faithless queen Nayanāvali from the *Samarādityasaṃkṣepa*: the queen tries to poison her husband, and "in order to elude the eyes of the poison-detecting *cakora* birds, she sets unpoisoned food before him, but gives him a poisonous magic pill with his rinsing-water." I owe the full reference to the kindness of Dr. Barnett, the book not being available to me here.

In this connection the epithet "*cakora*-eyed, with the eyes of a *cakora*" should perhaps be remembered. It means nothing to our present subject of investigation when in the *Mrechakatikā*, act i, v, 3, King Śūdraka is styled *cakoranetra*, or when the nurse in *Raghuvamśa*, vi, 59, addresses the princess Indumatī with the epithet *cakorākṣi*. But it is somewhat different when in the same poem, vii, 25, we read the following:—

nīlambagurvī guruṇā prayuktā vadhūr vidhātṛpratimena tena |
cakāra sā mattacakoranetrā lajjāvatī lājavīsargam agnau ||

The eyes of the young bride, Umā, are red from excitement and shame (*lajjā*), perhaps also from the smoke of the sacrificial fire, like those of the excited *cakora*. And an allusion to the same subject seems to be found also in the *Bāḷacarita*—ascribed to "Bhāsa"²—act iv, v, i:—

etā mattacakoraśāvanayanāḥ prodbhinnakamrastanāḥ kāntāḥ pras-
phuritādharoṣṭharucayo visrastakeśasrajaḥ | sambhṛāntā galitottariyava-
sanās trāsākulavyāhṛtās trastā mām anuyānti pannagapatim dṛṣṭvaiva
gopāṅganāḥ ||

¹ Jacobi, loc. cit., p. 98 n. 1, correctly suggests *khajjantehī*; *phalangi* (a loc. sing.) is unhappily of unknown meaning.

² As regards the "Bhāsa" problem, I am nowadays wholly on the side of Dr. Barnett. Neither the arguments of Professor Thomas, *JRAS.*, 1928, p. 877, seq., nor even less those of Professor Keith, *History of Sanskrit Literature*, p. xii, seq., seem to me to carry any conviction.

That the *cakora* is a detector of poison and an inveterate enemy of the snakes is a tradition which has found its way into Western literature, and which seems still to be alive in modern India. Thus Aldrovandi¹ assures us that tame partridges cry out loudly if poison be prepared in the house where they are kept. And in Bochart's *Hierozoicon*, ed. Vecsey (1690), ii, 426, there is a very curious piece of information which must, as far as I can see, go back to the same tradition; it runs as follows: "tradunt Arabes, quosdam Indiae reges, *Machmudi* jmp.² altera inter dona obtulisse avem, *palumbi specie*, cuius oculi admoto cibo venenato, flent, et lacrymæ in lapidem obdurescunt, qui cum contritus super latiora ponitur vulnera, ea ipso claudit momento."

The well-known Carmelite missionary Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo,³ in his *Viaggio alle Indie Orientali* (1786), p. 178,⁴ tells us that "l'aspide o il *Nallapamba*⁵ è mangiato dal Cervo, dal Cinghiale, dall uccello *Vechambel*,⁶ dall uccello *Cumbôtta*, in lingua Sanscrit chiamato *Ciagara*, e *paparrão*⁷ em Portuguez." And he adds that these animals eat only the body of the cobra and not the head; he has also informed himself that the flesh of this snake is an ingredient of the *Materia medica* of the Malabar. And in a quite modern work⁸ we hear about the *Vêlans* (a title assumed by certain Kusavans, and also by Paraiyans in Travancore) that they are experts of magic and sorcery; and amongst the incantations used by them against the evil eye is the following one: "... even as the great *Vāsuki* vanishes at the sight of the *Chakora*; even as the poison vanishes from his head; so may the potency of the evil eye with thy aid vanish."⁹ And in another work¹⁰

¹ *Ornithologia* (quoted by A. de Gubernatis, *Zoological Mythology*, ii, 228).

² The person in question must, as far as I can understand, be Sultan Mahmūd of Ghazni.

³ On him cf. Windisch, *Grundriss der indo-ar. Phil.*, i, 1 B, p. 20, seq., where, however, the dates of his birth and death are missing. These dates are 1748 and 1806.

⁴ In the French edition *Voyage aux Indes Orientales*, i (1808), 475, seq.

⁵ *Nalla pambu*, the Tamil name of the cobra.

⁶ This is apparently the hornbill, cf. the quotation from Paulinus in the *Rocznik Orientalistyczny*, ii, 61.

⁷ This name—only known from the passage quoted above—is left without an explanation by Dalgado, *Glossario Luso-Asiático*, ii, 167. For it is scarcely an explanation when Dalgado suggests that the name was given "por papar cobras, se é verdade". The name may well be a native one.

⁸ Thurston, *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, vii, 352, seq.

⁹ Identically the same passage is found in Anantha Krishna Iyer, *Cochin Castes and Tribes*, i, 166.

¹⁰ *Ethnographical Notes in S. India*, p. 280.

Mr. Thurston tells us that the flesh of quails and partridges is thought to possess medical properties, i.e. to be used as an antidote.

The *cakora* is said to be a very pugnacious bird, which, when kept tame, wants to fight indiscriminately all sorts of domestic animals.¹ But it seems scarcely probable that it would try to fight poisonous snakes, and that in such a way it would have acquired its fame of being their inveterate enemy. The idea that the *cakora* should be able to detect the presence of poison—even if that be hidden—is more probably connected with another popular tradition concerning this bird.

The *cakora* is said to subsist on moonbeams. Such a belief is attested by passages in Sanskrit literature, e.g. *Ocean of Story*, ii, 235; *Brahmavaivartapur.* i, 10; Bhartṛhari, *Śṛṅgāraśat.* 71; *Gītāgov.* i, 23, 10, 2, etc.,² and is still alive in India; cf. e.g. Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, ii, 257; iii, 48, 142, 373. It seems to be an admissible suggestion that a bird which lives from the very purest of food—the *sudhā* or *amṛta* contained in the moon—would by this diet not only be immune against poison but also automatically react towards venom and venomous animals. It cannot, of course, be pretended that such an explanation is absolutely certain, but it still seems to be fairly probable.³ In this connection we may also remark that the Afghans and Persians seem to believe that this bird can eat fire.⁴ Whether this idea is a misinterpretation of the Indian tradition or not I cannot decide, but it certainly seems remarkable that we should find also outside India an idea that the *cakora* subsists on a somewhat unusual diet.

Other birds besides those enumerated by Kautilya and Suśruta are said to be the enemies of snakes or to possess antidotal qualities.

¹ Cf. Jerdon, *Birds of India*, ii, 566.

² Cf. also Tawney, *Kathāsarit-Sāgara*, ii, 243.

³ Other traditions concerning the partridge in India have got nothing to do with the topic dealt with here. On omens in general from the *cakora*, cf. Hultzsch, *Vasantarāja's Śākuna*, p. 59 seq. It is generally believed that when a partridge appears on one's right side that portends evil, cf. *Ocean of Story*, ed. Penzer, ix, 76 (this idea would underlie the old story of India and Gṛtsamada if the *Brhaddevatā*, 4, 18, were right (cf. A. Kuhn, *Ind. Stud.*, i, 118)); Temple, *Legends of the Panjab*, ii, 395; when it calls in the night it is a good omen, cf. Temple, loc. cit., i, 161; again, when it cries at the start of a journey this is an entirely bad omen, cf. Temple, loc. cit., i, 269, 271. As for the etymology of the word *cakora*, nothing definite seems to have been ascertained; the word seems to be widespread outside India; cf. Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*,² p. 194 seq. Yule suggested that it should be found in one passage of Marco Polo, cf. his *Marco Polo*,² i, 287.

⁴ Cf. Yule-Burnell, loc. cit., p. 194.

That the Brahminy kite (*Haliastur indus*),¹ which is looked upon as a manifestation of Garuḍa, should be considered an enemy of snakes is nothing curious; I have dealt to some extent with this bird in another work.² Thurston³ tells us that if only the shadow of a Brahminy kite should fall upon a cobra the snake becomes stupefied; and a person who has a Garuḍa mark or mole on his body possesses absolute power over cobras be they ever so furious.

I can find no clear indication that tame fowls have been thought by the Hindus to possess the above-mentioned qualities. It is fairly well known that chickens are sometimes cut up and applied to snake-bites, with the idea that their bodies would absorb the venom; and in one passage⁴ I remember having read about the liver of a cock being used as an antidote. But it is doubtful how much importance we ought to ascribe to such beliefs. It is, however, quite certain that in the West the cock and hen were thought to furnish antidotes against snake-poison⁵; and there is another curious testimony to the same belief. The idea of the poison-damsel, who is nourished from childhood by poison (be it snake-venom, aconitine, or something else) until she is so soaked with it that she kills everyone that comes into contact with her, is well-known.⁶ Now Rhases (Abu Bekr ar-Rāzī, d. 932) and Avicenna (d. 1037) tell us⁷ that the spittle of the poison-damsel is especially dangerous to tame fowls, and that hens do not come near it. Avicenna seems to refer to the physician Rufus of Ephesus (c. A.D. 100), but this is scarcely correct, and as the idea of the poison-damsel did almost certainly originate in India it is possible that the belief about the hens testified to by the famous Perso-Arabian physicians is also of Hindu origin.

We have seen above⁸ that at least one author, Paulinus a S. Bartholomæo, thought that the *cakora* eats snakes; but this is most probably a misunderstanding. Otherwise there is not known to me any Hindu testimony to the idea that certain birds eat poison or even

¹ Cf. Yule-Burnell, loc. cit., p. 112.

² Cf. *Die Suparnaege*, p. 345 seq.

³ *Ethnographic Notes in S. India*, p. 282.

⁴ Manucci, *Storia do Mogor*, transl. by Irvine, iii, 196.

⁵ Cf. Aldrovandi, *Historia Serpentum et Draconum* (1640), p. 43.

⁶ On this idea cf. especially the admirable work by W. Hertz, "Die Sage vom Giftmädchen" (*Abh. d. Bayerischen Akad. d. Wiss., phil. hist. Kl. xx*, 2, 1897), as well as Penzer, *Ocean of Story*, ii, 275-313, and J. J. Modi, *Folk-Lore*, xxxviii, 324 seq. Mr. Penzer has chiefly simplified the materials of Hertz and made little additions of his own.

⁷ Cf. Hertz, loc. cit., p. 146 seq.

⁸ Cf. p. 237.

wholly subsist on poisonous matters. Such a bird, according to Pliny,¹ is the quail, and according to Galenus² the starling is another. Mithradates the Great, who, with Mahmūd Bigarha of Gujerāt (1458–1511),³ was perhaps the most famous of poison-eaters, had concocted an antidote, which chiefly consisted of the blood of Pontic ducks; for these birds fed entirely on poison.⁴

Before winding up these short and cursory remarks, I have to add a few words on the peacock, which is mentioned in the quotation from Suśruta given above; Kautilya, as is well known, just before the lines quoted by me, has the sentence *māṛjāramayūranakulapṛṣatotsargaḥ sarpān bhakṣayati*.⁵ I have dealt shortly with the peacock as a *bhujagāśana* and generally as an enemy of snakes in two other passages⁶ and have little to add to what has been brought together there.

Mr. Penzer⁷ tells us that the feathers of the peacock become ruffled at the approach of poison, but he has, unfortunately, forgotten to quote a source for this statement. But the general idea apparently is that the peacock becomes much excited, dances and emits shrill shrieks at the sight of snakes and in the neighbourhood of poison. Such ideas have apparently spread westwards—partly at least through acquaintance with the writings of the Arabs—for we find them again in the zoological literature of the Renaissance. Aldrovandi, *Ornithologia*, ii, 17, gives the following information concerning the peacock: “. . . non agnoscant tantum venenosi medicamenti apparatus, verum ad locum etiam, ubi eiusmodi insidiæ machinantur, procurrant, clamitent, alasque quatiant,⁸ et medicamina e vasis dispergant, immo quod amplius est, si defossa sint terra, eruant atque eo modo, imminentes insidias manifestent”; and, further, loc. cit., ii, 18: “Pavo, si auctori, quisquis ille est, de natura rerum credimus, serpentes terret et animalia omnia venenata non pollit tantum, sed haec ipsa etiam

¹ *Nat. Hist.*, x, 33, 69; 92, 197.

² *Opera*, ed. Kühn, xi, 601; xiv, 227.

³ Cf. Hertz, *Die Sage vom Giftmädchen*, p. 156 seq., with literature; Sir Denison Ross, *C.H.L.*, iii, 315.

⁴ Cf. Hertz, loc. cit., p. 134, with n. 3.

⁵ Dr. J. J. Meyer, *Das altind. Buch vom Welt- und Staatsleben*, p. 684, has apparently totally misunderstood my remark on this passage in the *Festschrift E. Kuhs*, p. 283, as a perusal of my words there can leave no doubt whatsoever what I mean by saying that the text is “unfortunately corrupted”.

⁶ Cf. *Die Suparnassage*, p. 379 seq.; *Festschrift E. Kuhs*, p. 283 seq.

⁷ *Ocean of Story*, i, 110 n.

⁸ It almost seems as if the above-mentioned statement of Mr. Penzer originated in a passage like this one.

audita eius voce sponte fugiunt nec prope morari audent."¹ And, finally, loc. cit., ii, 26: "*Rasis et Avicenna eos, qui sibi a venenatis animalibus metuunt, Pavones et Mustelas*" *iubent alere, quod illi clamore suo ea fugent, hoc eadem devorent.*" It is unknown to me whether any such ideas were already current during classical antiquity. However, Pliny³ speaks of a traditional friendship between the peacock and the pigeon. This may mean nothing more than that such tame birds were often kept together; but it has at least been interpreted as meaning that the peacock protects his friend from serpents and other venomous creatures.⁴

Peacock's feathers are believed to contain a powerful antidote whether smoked in a pipe or otherwise used.⁵ Prince Salim, later on the Great Mogul Jahāngīr, at one time busied himself with extracting from peacocks' feathers "copper" which was then to be used as an antidote.⁶ Another use of peacocks' feathers as a charm is recorded, e.g. by Frazer, *The Golden Bough*, v, 2, p. 167.

Finally I must add a few words to clear a misunderstanding; and though these final remarks do not refer to poison-detecting birds, they do, however, refer to similar animals, viz. deer and antelopes.

In the *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 283, I discussed the passage of the Kauṭīliya quoted above according to which the letting loose of cats, peacocks, mongooses, and spotted antelopes (*prṣata*) "*sarpān bhakṣayati*", and suggested that all these animals really were thought to eat serpents.⁷ Dr. J. J. Meyer⁸ objects to this, and shows that *bhaks-* in several passages of the Kauṭīliya does not mean "eat", but simply "annihilate", and that consequently we cannot conclude

¹ The very same words are given, with a few insignificant additions, in the *Historia Serpentum et Draconum*, p. 25 seq.

² The *mustela*, of course, is the mongoose, the *nakula*. Its enmity with the serpent is mentioned already in the *AV.*, vi, 139, 5; in viii, 7, 23, the tradition is mentioned that the mongoose fortifies himself by the use of a certain drug. cf. *Mil. Pāṇha*, p. 394: *nakulo uragam upagacchanta bhesajjena kāyam paribhāvetvā uragam upagacchati*.

³ *Nat. Hist.*, x, 48.

⁴ Cf. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology*, ii, 324, n. 2.

⁵ Cf. Crooke, *Popular Rel. of N. India*, ii, 250; Enthoven, *Bombay Folk-lore*, p. 136.

⁶ Cf. V. Smith, *Akbar the Great Mogul*, p. 314.

⁷ In a note on the same page I also suggested that the meat of peacocks and antelopes was really considered an antidote, and that this was perhaps the reason why Aśoka last of all gave up eating it. The plausibility of such a suggestion is somewhat enhanced by the fact that the meat of certain birds—and, according to Dioscorides—the marrow of deer, is really thought to annihilate poison.

⁸ Loc. cit., p. 684.

from this passage that there ever existed a belief in India according to which the spotted antelope eats serpents.

I admit the validity of the argument concerning the use of *bhaks*-by Kautilya ; and I also admit that in consequence of this our passage cannot prove the existence of such a belief as I am not able to adduce another passage from an Indian writer pointing in the same direction. But still the argument is a little beside the point. For my chief reason was this : the common tradition of classical antiquity is that deer are the most bitter enemies of serpents ; in one way or other—there is a discussion about this between the naturalists of those times—they draw them out of their holes and either tread them to death or eat them. And it is even said that the deer does this as a cure against intestinal worms, and that in consequence of eating serpents it gets very thirsty.¹ Whether there is any trace of reality underlying such a belief I cannot decide. But it seemed and still seems probable to me that it is much more likely to have originated in India with its innumerable snakes than in Europe where snakes, as far as I am aware, have never in historical times been any real danger. It does not appear improbable that Theophrastus, a disciple of Aristotle, could have got hold of an Indian idea and transplanted it to the West. However, I am fully prepared to say that at the present stage of our knowledge it cannot be proved that such an idea originated in India ; and if Dr. Meyer or any other scholar would like to suggest that it rose in the West, and from there was carried eastwards to India, I should feel constrained to admit that I could offer no proof to the contrary, though greatly doubting the probability of such a theory.

¹ Classical testimonies are collected by Aldrovandi, *De Quadrupedibus bisulcis*, p. 800 seq., and *Historia Serpentum et Draconum*, p. 25 seq. The oldest classical authors to mention such a belief seem to be Theophrastus and Lucretius, *De rerum natura*, vi, 765 seq. Other authors are Plutarchus, Pliny, and Aelianus, as well as Lucanus *Pharsalia*, vi, 673. Cf. further Lauchert, *Geschichte des Physiologus*, p. 27, and Thorndike, *A History of Magic and Experimental Science*, i, 84.

ENGLISH WORDS IN PANJABI

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

CONCLUSION

NOTE.—Northern or Western Panjabi is the dialect spoken to the north and west of Amritsar. It is distinct from Lāhndī, which used to be called Western Panjabi. Southern or Eastern Panjabi is spoken south and east of Amritsar.

† is prefixed to a word to show that it has another form which does not illustrate the rule under consideration.

A GLANCE at the following pages will show apparent confusion in methods of word-formation. We must remember, however, the different influences which have been brought to bear.

(i) Some, especially older words, are fully naturalized; others, probably more recent, are only making their way.

(ii) Some have been taken from newspapers and handed on to illiterate speakers; they remain subject to the influence of those who try to preserve what they believe to be English pronunciation. This accounts for much diversity of treatment.

(iii) *istū*, stew, and *astām*, stamp, show us that some have come through the U.P. to which many servants in the Panjab belong and in which English institutions were established earlier than further north and west.

(iv) Tax and ticket which both become *ṭigaṭ* and *ṭikas*, remind us that borrowed words are often altered to make them resemble other Panjabi words whether former loan words or not.

Pj. *æ*, when it represents Eng. [e] or [ɛ], is shorter than when it has any other origin. Thus *æ* in *hædd*, head, is shorter than *æ* in *gæb*, gap, *karnæl*, colonel, or *lālān*, lantern; so in *janṭarmæn*, gentleman, the first *æ* is shorter than the second. An exception to the general rule is *laṣān* (*æ* long), lieutenant. Other interesting words in this connexion are *‘arīkæn*, hurricane; *‘acīsæn*, Hutchison; *pāṭīsæn* (also *patāsn*), Paterson: these have the longer *æ*. *‘acīsan* and *pāṭīsan* are also heard.

STRESS

The stress is generally on the same syllable as in English, but in the following words a change has been made. The stress mark is placed *after* the stressed vowel.

agency, <i>ajá'nsi</i> .	general, <i>jarnæ'l</i> .
agent, <i>ajá'nt</i> .	
Africa, <i>afri'kā</i> , <i>pharī'kā</i> .	hotel, <i>'o'tal</i> .
America, <i>amrī'kā</i> .	
April, <i>apræ'l</i> .	lecturer, <i>lĕkcarā'r</i> .
assistant, <i>aštá'nt</i> .	licence, <i>lasa'ns</i> .
August, <i>aga'st</i> .	
	M.A., <i>ĕ'mmĕ</i> .
B.A., <i>bī'yĕ</i> .	manager, † <i>manē'jar</i> .
banyan (vest), <i>baŋæ'n</i> , <i>banyā'n</i> .	monitor, <i>manī'tar</i> , <i>mnī'tar</i> .
barrister, <i>balī'star</i> .	
bearing, <i>bara'ng</i> .	necktie, <i>naktā'ī</i> .
bulldog, <i>bulḍḍ'g</i> .	
	papa, <i>pā'pā</i> .
calendar, <i>kala'ndar</i> .	passenger, <i>psa'njar</i> , <i>pasa'njar</i> .
canister, <i>kna'star</i> , <i>kana'star</i> .	platoon, <i>pa'l'tan</i> .
cement, <i>sī'mīl't</i> , <i>sī'mīnt</i> , <i>sī'rmaṭ</i> .	police, <i>puls</i> , <i>pu'las</i> .
chocolate, † <i>cal'le't</i> .	pudding, <i>phuṭī'n</i> , <i>puṭī'n</i> .
colonel, <i>karnæ'l</i> .	putty, <i>phuṭī'n</i> , <i>puṭī'n</i> , and <i>paṭī'n</i> .
cigarette, <i>sī'grat</i> .	
croquette, <i>ku'rkaṭ</i> .	register, <i>raji'star</i> ; so <i>raji'strī</i> , registered.
dead-house, <i>ḍēḍ'aw's</i> .	report, † <i>ra'paṭ</i> , † <i>ra'baṭ</i> ; so <i>ra'pfi</i> , <i>ra'bfi</i> , <i>ra'ṭbī</i> , reporter.
decree, <i>ḍi'grī</i> .	
	second, <i>ski'nt</i> , <i>saki'nt</i> .
engineer, <i>anjī'nyar</i> .	secretary, <i>ska'ttar</i> , <i>saka'ttar</i> .
entrance, <i>enṭra'ns</i> .	
F.A., <i>ĕ'ffĕ</i> .	warrant, <i>vara'nt</i> .
furlong, <i>farlḍ'g</i> .	

In addition to the above there are words with a double stress. Such are bicycle, *bā'iska'l*; commissioner, *kamī'sna'r*; ḍā'gdā'r, doctor; quarantine, *ku'rāfi'n*.

TRANSPOSITION

There are several instances of the transposition of *r* so that a stop + *r* + vowel becomes stop + vowel + *r*.

breeches, <i>birjas</i> .	croquette, <i>kurkaṭ</i> .
brake, † <i>birk</i> .	February, <i>farvarī</i> , <i>pharbarī</i> .
brush, <i>burs</i> .	gross, <i>guras</i> .
cream, <i>kirm</i> .	trump, <i>turap</i> .
cricket, <i>kirkaṭ</i> .	trumpet, <i>turam</i> .

l is transposed in *paṭṭan*, platoon; *falālən*, flannel; *ka'laf*, club; *pilsan*, pencil, is an alteration of *pinsal*, and *raṭbī*, reporter, of *rabī*.

STRESSED VOWELS

The symbols between square brackets are phonetic.

English [a] appears twenty-three times as *ā*, in two words it is *ǎ*, *plastar*, plaster; *kaṣṭraṭ*, castor oil. There is also the alternative form *klārḱ* for *klārḱ*, clerk.

[æ] The theoretical pronunciation of this vowel is *ē*, but the examples show that actually this is rare.

ā occurs ten times: *bārāk*, barracks; † *bāliṣṭar*, barrister; *brāṇḍī*, brandy; *jākaṭ*, jacket; *jām*, jam; *lālṭan*, lantern; *mācas*, matches; *rāsn*, ration; *aṣṭām*, stamp; *ṭāpiū*, tapioca.

æ eight times: † *æḱ*, act; *baṭ*, bat; *kæc*, catch; *fāṣan*, fashion; *lanḍo*, landau; † *mānjar*, manager; *mān*, man; *gæb*, gap.

ǎ five times: *bāmbū*, bamboo; *bāṅḱ*, bank; *kāmpū*, camp; *lāmp*, lamp; *mākrūnī*, macaroni.

ī twice: † *ikaṭ*, act; *ṭikas*, tax.

e twice: *pletfārm*, platform; *mēm*, ma'am.

[ɒ] twenty-one times becomes *ā*, occasionally it is *ǎ*, *bāmb*, bomb; *āṣār*, officer; *bākās*, box. We may add perhaps *āktūbar*, October, † *cāḱleṭ*, chocolate, and *āpreṣan*, operation, in which the *ā* is unstressed.

[ɑ] when initial or medial is *æ* or *āi*; when final, *āi* or *āi*: exceptions are *rāṣāl*, rifle; † *mīl*, mile; *jawelā*, July; *ṭem* (or *ṭəm*), time.

Even [aiə] becomes *æ*, e.g. *fær*, fire; *ḍārī*, diary; *ḍāmāl*, diamond; via, is *vīā* or *vāyā*; bioscope > *bāiskop*.

[ʌ] twenty-four times remains *ǎ*, but we have *ū* three times: *turap*, trump; *turam*, trumpet; *burs*, brush; also *kaṣṭampanī*, company; † *kānṣṭebāl*, constable; *sāṭāpiṇ*, stuffing. In *gawernmṇṭ*, government, the vowel is influenced by the *v*.

[**au**] is represented by *aw* seven times, sometimes pronounced [**ō**]; twice by *o*: *kamṇoḍar*, compounder; and *ṇoḍar*, powder; flour is *ṇawar*.

English short [**e**] or [**ɛ**] appears in various forms. *ē* or *ī* is the commonest; this *ē* is very low, practically [**ɛ**], and may as a rule be equally well written *æ*: next in frequency is *i*, then *ʌ* and lastly *ē*.

e, *æ*, sixteen times: *sakan*, second; *sūpr̥iṇṭēṇḍaṇṭ*, superintendent; *sēṇṭar*, centre; *ḍarēkṭar*, director; *ḍēḍ*, dead; *ēffē*, F.A.; *jāṇṭalmān*, gentleman; *hēḍ*, head; † *inspēkṭar*, inspector; *lēkoarār*, lecturer; *spēl*, spelling; *ṭānis*, tennis; *ēmṇē*, M.A.; *rasæ's*, recess; *rezīḍaṇṭ*, resident; *prezīḍaṇṭ*, president.

i thirteen times: *bīḷṭ*, belt; *brinc*, bench; *cik*, cheque; *ḍipṭī*, deputy; † *iṇṇaṇ*, engine; † *inspiṭṭar*, inspector; *miss*, mess; *mimbar*, member; *pilsaṇ*, pencil; *piṇsān*, pension; *pippalminṭ*, peppermint; *siṣaṇ*, session; *śiddḍ*, shed.

ā twelve times: *bānc*, bench; *dasambar*, December; *saṭambar*, September; *navambar*, November; *farvarī*, February; *janraḷ*, general; *lamnēt*, lemonade; † *laṭṭaṇṭ*, lieutenant; *samlīnā*, semolina; *santrī*, sentry; † *anjan*, engine; † *anjīnyar*, etc., engineer.

æ: occurs in † *laṭṭæṇ*, lieutenant.

ē six times: *brēs*, breast; *ḍarēs*, dress; *ḍarēsar*, dresser; *ḍarēssī*, dressing; *kēḷṭī*, kettle; *prēs*, press.

[**ɜ**] or [**ə**] > *ār*, six times; *jarman*, German (and *jarmanī*, Germany); *yark*, jerk; *sarvaṇṭī*, adjectival formation from servant; *varmseḷī*, vermicelli, *karnāl*, colonel.

ār, once: † *tharḍ*, third (*r* here is fricative cerebral).

ā, twice: *fāṣṭ*, first; † *ṭhāḍḍ*, third.

ā, once: *gāḍar*, girder.

ār, once: *tārpīn*, turpentine.

æ, once: *næs*, nurse.

[**ei**], twenty times *e*.

ā, twice: *glās*, *gilās*, grace; *vāskaṭ*, *bāskaṭ*, waistcoat.

æ, twice: *gaṭas*, gaiters; *cæn*, chain.

ai, once: *mai*, May.

i, once: *birk*, brake.

[**ea**] occurs in bearer, *bæ'rā*; and in phaeton, *fiṭan*.

[**i**] *i*, twenty-seven times.

ī, seven times: *kamīśan*, commission; *ḍisī*, distant; *ḍis*, dish; *mīl* *r* *mīl*, mill; *pīn*, pin; *fīn*, tin; *slīpaṭ*, slipper; *phuṭīn*, *puṭīn*, pudding.

e, three times: *kameṭī*, committee; *gegām*, gingham; † *dalel*, drill.

ā, once: *saṅgaḷ*, signal.

æ, once: † *æncē*, inch.

ū occurs in *kuškī*, whisky and *ṭul*, twill, where it stands for "wi" or "whi" (unstressed in *biskut*, biscuit, *kunæn*, *kuṛæn*, quinine).

ū stands for "wi" in *ṭul*, twill.

[i] appears seven times as ī.

Once as ī: *kīrm*, cream.

Twice as æ: *kunæn*, *kuṛæn*, quinine; *fanæl*, *phanæl*, *pharnæl*, phenyle. In these words it is based on a pronunciation [-am], [-aɪ].

[œ] seventeen times o.

Three times ū: *makrūnī*, macaroni; *aktūbar*, October; *tāpū* tapioca.

Twice ū: *uvarkot*, overcoat; *pultas*, poultice.

ae once: 'awḷdar, holder.

[æ] becomes æ: *bæḷ*, boil; *æḷ*, oil (in castor oil).

[ə]: (i) words without the letter "r", becomes ā: *bāl*, ball; *cāk*, chalk; 'āḷṭ, halt; *kalāth*, *kilāth*, cloth; 'āl, hall; *mālṭā*, Malta; *sās*, sauce. Exception, *agast*, August.

(ii) Words with "r": five times ā: *kāk*, *kāg*, cork; *kānflawr*, cornflour; *drāz*, drawer, drawers; *āḍar*, order; *kuāṭar*, quarter.

ār twice: *farmā*, *pharmā*, forme: *ardalī*, orderly (note the different treatment in "order" above).

[ə], twice ū: † *futt*, *phutt*, foot; *bulḍḍg*, bulldog.

Once ū: *būḷī*, bull-terrier.

Once ī: † *fitt*, foot.

[u] occurs ten times as ū, and once as ī: *bigal*, bugle.

UNSTRESSED VOWELS

Final [ə] unstressed spelt with "r" becomes -ār twenty-eight times.

-ār, twice: *lēkcarār*, lecturer; *ḍāḡḍār*, doctor.

-ā, twice: *ḍāḷḷā*, dollar; *bæ'rā*, bearer.

-aṭ, three times: † *rabat*, rubber; *silpat*, *slīpat*, slipper; † *slīpat*, sleeper.

-ar, once: † *rabar*, rubber.

With these should be connected -o in *moṭo kāṭ*, motor-car. Cf. also *gaṭas*, gaiters; *ardalī*, orderly; *pippalmiṭ*, peppermint; *anjnār*, etc., engineer; *pleṭiār*, plate-layer.

When not spelt with "r" it becomes -ā, as *amrikā*, America; *māltā*, Malta.

A closely related question is that of all vowels which in English spelling require the letter "r". There are approximately fifty words in which such vowels are found. Of these thirty have the *r* sound in Panjabi, and twenty have not.

Examples: *rapoṭ*, report; *kāg*, *kāk*, cork; *gāḍ*, railway guard; *nās*, nurse; *sārjan*, sergeant; *karnāl*, colonel; *mārc*, March.

Unstressed Vowels nearly always become -ā or disappear. [-ɪ] > -ī; [-ɪ-] > -ī- or -ī- (-ū- in *biskut*, biscuit). Occasionally a "spelling" pronunciation is heard, as constable > cons-table < *kanṣṭebal*.

CONSONANTS

b > *f*, in *kalaf*, club; *p* in *ṭap*, tub; and is inserted in *bamb*, bomb. *ch* > *j* in *birjas*, breeches.

Representation of English *d* and *t*. I have dealt with this in a special article in *Bull. S.O.S.*, Vol. IV, Pt. II. The following words were given there in which *t* and *d* have become dental.

t: *dāgdār*, doctor; *agast*, August; *stambar*, September; *aktūbar*, October; *kellī*, kettle; *kanastar*, canister; *tos*, toast; *trel*, tray; *santrī*, sentry; *hāthīcok*, artichoke; *turap*, trump; *turam*, trumpet; *tārpīn*, turpentine.

d: *dasambar*, December; *ardalī*, orderly; *drāz*, drawer, drawers; *darjan*, dozen. To these should be added *tārkol*, tar coal; *plastar*, plaster; † *bāragmāstrī*, barrack-master's office; † *rajistrī*, registered; *rāved*, round; *dalel*, military drill; *dres*, dress; *dressī*, dressing.

d is changed to *ṭ* in *kāt*, card; *lāt*, lord; *lamneṭ*, *lamleṭ*, lemonade; *māmleṭ*, marmalade; *pareṭ*, parade; *phufīn*, *puṭīn*, pudding; *skīnṭ* *sakīnṭ*, second (part of minute), and to *l* in *ḍamal*, diamond; to *nṭ*, in *inṭarminṭam*, intermediate.

d is omitted in *sakan*, second class in train; *sikan*, second course in meal; *kamāniar*, commander.

d is inserted in *ṭaṇḍal*, tunnel.

f > *p* in *cīpkoṭ*, chief court; † *sāṭīṭak*, certificate; *jāmpapp*, jam-puff; *saṭāping*, stuffing; *ṭīpan*, tiffin.

f always tends to become *ph* in the Southern dialect.

English *h* occurs (only initially) in about fifteen words. It always gives rise to the low-rising tone. See vocabulary in last article.

j > *j* except in *yark*, jerk (used in cricket).

k usually remains *k*, but $> g$ in † *bārag*, barrack; † *kāg*, cork; *digrī*, degree; † *dāgdār*, doctor; *raṅgrūt*, recruit; *ṭigaṭ*, tax or ticket.

kt $> tt$ in † *inspiṭṭar*, inspector.

k is omitted in *ṭāpiū*, tapioca. See "qu".

l, see also *n*, *r*.

l immediately preceded by a *cs.* becomes *-āl*, as *bāibal*, Bible; *rafal*, rifle.

l $> l̥$ in *saṅgaḷ*, signal. It is added in *trel*, tray.

l and *n* are interchanged in *lokal* or *nokal*, local (used of trains); *noṭ* or *lot*, note (money).

The word "number" is usually *nambar* when standing alone for "number", but *lambar* when meaning village headman who is called *lambardār* or simply *lambar*.

l is omitted in *pleṭiār*, plate-layer, and inserted in *pippalmint*, peppermint.

l is interchanged with *r* in *ḍaril*, *dalel*, military drill; *jāntalmān*, *jāntarmān*, gentleman; *rūl*, *lūl*, (wooden) ruler; *fær*, *fæl*, fire.

l and *n* are transposed in *falālān*, flannel.

m is omitted in *papp*, pump; *turap*, trump.

n, see also *l*.

n is omitted in *kampodar*, compounder; *kānphrās*, conference; † *antrās*, entrance; † *laues*, allowance; *frāshīn*, French beans; *kurāṭīn*, quarantine.

n̄ is inserted in *raṅgrūt*, recruit; omitted in *dresī*, dressing; and changed to *g* in *gegām*, gingham.

n $> l̥$ or *l* in † *similī*, cement; *lālṭān*, lantern; *ḍāmal*, diamond; † *pilsan*, pension.

n $> n̄$ in *cimnī*, chimney; † *baṇān*, banyan; *iṇān*, engine; † *lān*, line.

n $> r$ in † *kuṛān*, quinine.

p is omitted in *stambar*, September; *aṣṭām*, stamp.

p $> f$ in *ṭamṭis*, timepiece, and *b* in *gāb*, gap, † *rabat*, report.

qu = *kwo*, rejects the "w" sound in *kurāṭīn*, quarantine; *kunān*, *kuṛān*, quinine; *koram*, quorum; but retains it in *kuekar oṭ*, Quaker Oats; *kuāṭar*, quarter.

r; see also *l* and the vowels [ɜ], [ə], and [ɔ], and Unstressed Vowels.

r is inserted in *brinc*, bench; † *sirmaṭ*, cement; *ṭamāṭar*, tomato; *paṭeṭar cāp*, potato chop; *darjan*, dozen.

r $> l$ in *balīṣṭar*, etc., barrister; *gilās*, *glās*, grace (banking).

s is omitted in *ṭūl*, stool; † *tesan*, station.

s > *ś* in *aśṭām*, stamp; *baśiṣṭar*, barrister; *māṣṭar*, master; *iṣṭū*, stew; † *phaṣṭklās*, first class; *huṣkī*, whiskey; † *aṣṭant*, assistant.

śh always tends to become *s* in the Southern dialect; in the Northern this occurs in three words: † *burs*, brush; *ḍīs*, dish; *rāsn*, rations.

s + *cs.* does not present much difficulty; school, Scotch, Scotland, slate, sleeper, slipper, speech, spell, station, study, stuffing, *can* be pronounced without an extra vowel. When the vowel is introduced it is usually between the *s* and the *cs.*: *iṣṭū*, stew; *aśṭām*, stamp, come from the UP.

t: see above *t* and *d*.

t is omitted in *sārjan*, sergeant; *tos*, toast.

It becomes *d* in *dāgdār*, doctor, and *s* in *kaṭlas*, cutlet.

The forms *ḍīsī*, distant; *laṣṭaen*, lieutenant, should be noted.

[θ] > *th*: *kalāth*, cloth; *tharmāmēṭar*, thermometer; *tharḍ*, third (also *ṭhaḍḍ*); *thrū*, through.

[ḍ] > *d*; *fāḍar*, father.

v becomes Pj. *v*: *sival*, civil; *ḍaravār*, driver; *uvarakoṭ*, overcoat; *navambar*, November; *sarvanḍī*, servant; *vārmseḷī*, vermicelli; *vīā*, *vāyā*, via; *vīpī*, V.P.; *nāval*, novel.

v > *b* in *grebbī*, gravy. In *gawrmnṭ*, government *avar* > *awr*.

w becomes *b* in S.P. *bāskaṭ*, waistcoat; *baraṇṭ*, warrant; *biskī*, whiskey. For *cs.* + *w*, see under [ɾ] and *qu*.

ADDENDA TO LAST ARTICLE

gawrmnṭ, government. *sāgū*, sago. *prāivēṭ*, private.
jarnālī śarak (not *r*), general road, i.e. Grand Trunk Road.

CORRIGENDA TO LAST ARTICLE

For *kārṇflawr*, cornflour, read *kānflawr*; for *baskaṭ*, waistcoat, read *bāskaṭ*; for *pleṭī'ar*, plate-layer, read *ple'ṭīar*; for *ḍaravār*, driver, read *ḍaravār*; for *ærland*, Ireland, read *ærland*.

z remains in the words for baptise, braces, drawers, president and resident.

z > *s* in *birjas*, breeches; *fīs*, fees; *gaṭas*, gaiters; *mācis*, matches.

z is omitted in *ēḍkuāṭar*, headquarters.

In S.Pj. *z* > *j*.

FURTHER LIGHT ON THE ARCHAIC MARATHI **जा** GENITIVE

By W. DODERET

THIS form of the genitive occurs in the Nāgāv^a inscription, set forth at pp. 37-42 of Vol. V, Part I, of the School of Oriental Studies *Bulletin*. Its origin is discussed at pp. 551-2 of Vol. IV, Part III, of the School *Bulletin*. On a reference to India, to ascertain whether any other instances of the **जा** genitive had been noticed, Mr. B. A. Bhide, writing in No. 2 of the Mahārāṣṭra Sāhitya Patrikā of June, 1928, quotes verse 364 of the sixteenth chapter of his copy of the Sākhare edition of the Jñāneśvarī as follows :—

ज्वराजिनि चाटोपे । रोगो भलतैसें जव्हे ।
चावळती संकल्पे । जाण ते तैसे ॥

“Know that owing to their imagination they babble in the same manner as a sick man owing to the violence of his fever chatters nonsense.” Maḍ^agāv^akar^a has ज्वराजिनि. ज्वराजिनि is the Instrumental of the archaic **जा** genitive. This is important confirmation of the use of the **जा** genitive as an alternative form of the more common **चा** genitive. Further Mr. Bhide points out that there are words in the language current to-day, which are spelt indifferently with **च** or **ज**. He gives the following examples :—कुचका, कुजका “rotten”; खाजकुरली, खाचकुरली “cowhage”; चोचले, चोजले “breasts”; वोचके, वोजके “a loose pack”; जाचला, जाजला “teased”, “tormented”; टचिभर, टजिभर “of the measure of a span between thumb and forefinger”; मेचके, मेजके “flexure of a joint”. To these may be added मेचणे, मेजणे “to measure” and others if the Dictionary be searched. Further Mr. Bhide quotes verse 241 of chapter xvi of Rāj^avāḍe’s edition of the Jñāneśvarī, आणि मन सर्पाची सुष्टी । डोळे नाराजांची सुष्टी । बोले ते वृष्टी । रंगळांची ॥ “And his mind is the creation of a snake, his eyes the discharge of arrows, when he speaks it is a downpour of live coals.” The Sanskrit word for “arrow” is नाराच. Mr. Bhide adds that even at this date we say त्याजपासून for त्याच्यापासून “from him”; तिजकडे for तिच्याकडे “towards her”, etc. Mr. Bhide does not enter into the question of the derivation of the **जा** and **चा**

genitives, but would lead one to infer that he regards the unvoiced and the voiced forms as mere linguistic variants. It is a moot question whether this tendency to interchange in the body of words would sufficiently account for the variation in a case ending. Moreover it would leave wholly out of account the clear evidence we possess from the other allied Indo-Aryan vernaculars that abraded forms of **कृत्य** and **कार्य**, used as postpositions, became the forerunners of the present genitive suffixes. The evolution varies according to the particular language under consideration, and in the end the descendant of one form ousts the others. Thus in Gujarātī *kero* < *kārya* and *co* < *kṛtya* gave place to *no* < *tano*, while in Marāṭhī *cā* < *kṛtya* prevailed over *jā* < *kārya*. There is no reason to think that the evolutionary process was different in Marāṭhī from that in the sister languages and hence no reason to doubt that *cā* and *jā* are referable to different origins and are not merely, as Mr. Bhide seems inclined to believe, variations of the unvoiced and voiced palatal.

SOME REMARKS ON SVETADVIPA

By KASTEN RÖNNOW, Ph.D. (Upsala)

SVETADVIPA, "The White Island," is the name of an island, situated in the far North, inhabited by Nārāyaṇa and by pious White Men, who worship him. The description of their worship, which can be read in that part of the Śāntiparvan, the twelfth of the Mahābhārata books, devoted to Nārāyaṇa, is distinguishable to an obvious degree from the stories of other cults found in the Brahminical literature, and has led researchers of both earlier and more recent date to try certain more or less successful interpretations. The attempt at solving the problem of Śvetadvīpa, which has, during more recent times, attracted the greatest attention, is that of Garbe. In his work, *Indien und das Christentum*,¹ he has examined critically the previous studies on this subject, which have been presented by Lassen,² Weber,³ Sir George Grierson,⁴ and Kennedy,⁵ and finally gives his own opinion. That this opinion cannot be considered a satisfactory one has for years been my opinion, and this now becomes still more evident. Dr. Barnett⁶ rightly emphasizes the impossibility of a simple geographical localization of the place. The last contribution which is by Clark⁷ chiefly contains a very noticeable investigation concerning the position of Śvetadvīpa, as seen from the Hindu geographo-cosmographical point of view. The final conclusion of the author—with which I fully agree⁸—is that the points of contact with Christianity emphasized by Garbe and others, must be rejected. The problem, however, should present other sides besides those already touched upon, and upon them I shall try to throw some light in the following pages.

The point in common to Garbe and to the investigators he quotes is this: In the stories of Śvetadvīpa (*Mbh.*, 12, 338 (B 336), 1 seq.), they find information, even if veiled, of Christian influence on the

¹ (1914), pp. 192–200.

² *Ind. Alt.*, ii², 1118 seq.

³ Cf. Garbe, *Bhagavadgītā Uebers. Einl.*, p. 30.

⁴ *ERE.*, ii, p. 549a; *IA.*, 1908.

⁵ *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 481 seq.

⁶ *Hindu Gods and Heroes*, p. 84.

⁷ *JAOS.*, 1919, p. 209 seq.

⁸ The chief part of the present paper was already finished when his article came into my hands.

Hindu life of piety. The prototype of the White Island, with its population of pious men constantly worshipping their god with prayer and rapturous praise, and which lies to the north of Meru in Kāśīroḍa, according to them was a Christian community, lying north or north-west of Northern India (there is no unanimous opinion as to any closer localization), and the Brahmins—who visit the place according to the Mahābhārata stories—should have received impressions there, which have not been without influence on the origin of the Pāñcarātra—or Bhāgavata—religion.¹ We immediately think of the Nestorians, and with good reason, for we have trustworthy evidence, dating from the sixth century A.D., of their appearance in these districts. Regarding the expedition itself—beside Nārada, in the great epic the notorious messenger and go-between of the gods, three Brahmins, Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, journey to Śvetadvīpa—one must bear in mind the existence of Brahmins in Bactria, where they could easily have obtained some knowledge of the Nestorian religion.² We know now that the story, earlier considered as a pure legend, of the visit of the Apostle Thomas to India rests on a tradition which is probably historically correct,³ and one would be pleased to find the connexion between Christians and Hindus clearly indicated by such a tradition, corroborated from purely Hindu sources. In this respect we are not quite without available material, but it is derived chiefly from a later age than that of the great epic. The question is whether it may be considered possible, on tenable grounds, to move the date of that mutual intercourse back to a time so remote? The question is this: Can we depend on the history of Śvetadvīpa?

Any unprejudiced person trying to investigate the problem of Śvetadvīpa must first of all find out to what extent the description of the island can be interpreted from a purely Hindu standpoint. It appears to me that the researches carried out to the present date fail in this respect,⁴ as an uncritical position has been taken up in favour of—in some cases against—the asserted connection with the West. It is true that the texts do not give us much, and what we are

¹ While in this respect Weber, Lassen, and Kennedy look upon communication with "the White Men" as being of great importance in regard to Hindu piety, Garbe (*loc. cit.*, p. 199) expresses himself with more reserve: the Hindus should simply have found outside Hinduism proofs of *bhakti* leading to communion with God.

² Cf. Kennedy, *JRAS.*, 1907, pp. 447 seq.; 957 seq.

³ Cf. Charpentier, *Kyrkohistorisk Årsskrift*, 1927, p. 21 seq.

⁴ Exceptions to this are Senart in his remarkable work, *Essai sur la Légende du Buddha*, and Clark, *loc. cit.*

able to learn is partly of an extremely peculiar kind; but the abstruse details must not be overlooked as has almost universally been the case.¹ However, so much can already be said that a conscientious regard to them makes the Christian hypothesis strictly impossible. How could the members of a Nestorian community be characterized by the following words which concern the White Men:—
*chatrākṛtīśīrṣā meghaughaninādāḥ samamuṣkacatuṣkā rājīvacchada-
 pādāḥ |*

*ṣaṣṭyā dantair yuktāḥ śuklair aṣṭābhir daṁṣṭrābhir ye jīhvābhir ye
 viśvavaktraṇ lehiyante sūryapraḥkhyam |*

"Their heads are formed like sunshades, their voices are like a mass of thunder-clouds, they all have four testicles, and their feet are like lotus-leaves. They are furnished with sixty teeth and eight eye-teeth, and with their tongues they lick the whole face which is like the sun."²

These distinguishing marks belong to the lakṣaṇas of the god and the islanders, and these in their turn characterize a Mahāpuruṣa; this circumstance should give a hint as to the direction in which researches ought to be carried out. I shall go more closely into these matters later on.

In his paper in *JAOS.*, 1919, p. 209 seq., called "Śvetadvīpa and Śākadvīpa", Clark, as mentioned above, has rejected the hypothesis advanced by Garbe and others, and has instead urged the purely Indian origin of the descriptions of Śvetadvīpa. He lays stress on the fact that by the Hindus the districts in the North, round the Himālaya, have been considered from times of yore highly sacred and as places of abode for divine beings, who there in a wonderland like Paradise live

¹ Senart deals with these details explicitly. But he does not succeed in giving any plausible explanation of the Śvetadvīpa episode. Sir George Grierson's method is scarcely quite plausible, *IA.*, 1908, p. 374. He picks out three characteristics of the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa which suit his purpose. "Amongst other wonders their complexions are white, they are clean from every sin, and blast the eyes of sinners who look upon them." Cf. also *JRAS.*, 1907, p. 315 seq.

² The text in some places is not clear, and is therefore translated hypothetically. Cf. e.g. *Digha N.*, 3, 2, 11, 19: Buddha pops out his tongue and covers his ears, nostrils, and forehead with it. Such a marvellous tongue belongs to his thirty-two lakṣaṇas, which are treated of there. But even the White Men's characteristics are lakṣaṇas, cf. below. The equipment of the Mahā-puruṣas is similar. Deussen's translation ("mit ihren Zungen den Sonnenstrahlen gleich nach allen Seiten züngelnd") consequently is incorrect. Regarding *rājīvacchadapādāḥ* it is fairly indubitable that the known webbed skin (*jāla-pāda* or *-bhuj*) is referred to, which distinguishes a Mahāpuruṣa. Its origin is obscure. For my own part I believe that most likely in this lakṣaṇa we have a residue of *Viṣṇu* as *haṇṣa*, i.e. the sunbird. For another theory cf. von Le Coq, *Buddhistische Spätantike*, vol. v, p. 10.

continually, and where neither old age, illness, nor earthly wants are to be found. And he has also given instances of these ideas from Hindu literature. He is, as far as I understand, evidently correct in his criticism and in his opinion that the legend of Śvetadvīpa, in its present form, has been built upon the foundation of descriptions of the Paradise of Nārāyaṇa, situated in the Milky Sea, and of the life carried on there. Afterwards the pronounced tendency of the Nārāyaṇīya of exalting *bhakti* at the expense of other means of salvation caused considerable modifications. This, together with a theory concerning the situation of Śākadvīpa and Śvetadvīpa according to mythical geography, forms the main contents of Clark's paper. One may suggest, with some probability, that the Christian hypothesis has thus been incontrovertibly confuted. In the following I shall only underline the purely Hindu elements in the story of Śvetadvīpa and lay stress upon some points in it which connect it still more firmly with the Hindu life of piety and conception of the universe.

As regards the situation of Śvetadvīpa Clark has correctly pointed out that it is placed to the North of Meru because of the extraordinary holiness of this region. Those countries are described in a fabulous manner, as being like Paradise and inhabited by divine beings. This feature is common to the Brahminical, Jain, and Buddhist cosmography. The conception of a Paradise in the north is derived from Vedic times, for *Aṭ. Br.*, viii, 14. 23, speaks of the Uttarakurus, the well-known legendary race north of the Himālaya, and of the impossibility of penetrating into their country, which belongs to the gods. The reason is that Atyarāti Jānamtapi raises the question of conquering it. In later literature (the great epic) there occur, together with repeated intimations of its impossibility (see e.g. *Mbh.*, iii, 90, 163; v, 111, 18 seq.), at least three actual attempts to penetrate into it, which, however, were all duly unsuccessful. One can even speak of a distinct *motif*, viz. the unsuccessful attempt to penetrate into the country of the gods, and this for the reason that, according to my opinion, we may well believe that the stories of the expedition to the country of the gods has wandered from India towards the West and reappears in the romance of Alexander the Great.

During the *digvijaya* of the Pāṇḍavas Arjuna, who had got the north as his share, subjugated Śvetapārvata, inhabited by the Kimpurusas, Hāṭaka, inhabited by the Guhyakas, and the district of Mānasa, where the Gandharvas live, *Mbh.*, ii, 28, 1 seq. From

Harivārṣa he wished to push forward to the Uttarakurus, but the guardians of the boundary prevented him from entering, pointing out the dangers awaiting a man who forces his way into the territory of the gods. Arjuna was then obliged to return. loc. cit., v. 7 seq.

*uttaram harivarsam tu sa samāsādyā pāṇḍavaḥ |
iyeṣa jetum taṁ deśam pākāśāsananaṇḍanaḥ || 7 ||
tata enam mahāvīryā mahākāyā mahābālāḥ |
dvārapālāḥ samāsādyā hr̥ṣṭā vacanam abruvan || 8 ||
pārtha nedaṁ tvayā śakyam puram jetum kathamcana |
upāvartasva kalyāṇa paryāptam idam acyuta || 9 ||
idam puram yaḥ praviśed dhruvam na sa bhaven naraḥ |
prīyāmahe tvayā vīra paryāpto vijayas tava || 10 ||
na cūtra kiṁcij jetavyam arjunātra pradṛśyate |
uttarāḥ kuravo hy ete nātra yuddham pravartate || 11 ||
praviṣṭo 'pi hi kaunteya neha drakṣyasi kiṁcana |
na hi mānuṣadehena śakyam atrābhivikṣitum || 12 ||*

i.e. "The Pāṇḍava, the son of Indra, arriving at the country of North Harivārṣa, proceeded to conquer this country. Then valiant door-keepers of huge bodies and endowed with great strength met him and said with contentment: 'O son of Pṛthā, this stronghold can never be conquered by thee. Return hence, O excellent one, thy work is accomplished, O Acyuta. The one who entereth this firm stronghold certainly is not a human being. We are satisfied with thee, O hero, thy conquests are (now) finished. And nothing is seen here that can be conquered, O Arjuna. The Uttarakurus live here and there cannot be war among them. Even if thou goest forth, thou wilt not be able to behold anything, for one with a human body can see nothing here.'"

There is no doubt that the unsuccessful expedition of Ekata, Dvita, and Trita to Śvetadvīpa is another proof of the occurrence of this subject. Certainly the story of their journey is wholly and solely characterized by and made to suit the tendency pervading the Nārāyaṇīya, viz. the glorification of *lhakti*; but apart from that, enough remains for us to recognize another version of the journey to Paradise. It is according to my opinion unnecessary to waste any words on the question whether Śvetadvīpa really is the Paradise of Nārāyaṇa.¹ The goal of the journey undertaken by the three ṛṣi's is, according to the description quoted here, to behold the god, for

¹ Cf. p. 271 seq. below.

which they considered themselves apt on account of the extraordinary penance they had practised. But they proved unsuccessful and were exhorted to leave immediately. They were not holy enough, had not attained already during their human life the necessary condition, which characterizes the blessed in their existence as divine beings (cf. *jīvanmukti*). They are, in other words, human beings who are not yet possessed of the power of association with the Highest God. The story is intended to inculcate the fact that only *yoga* leavened by *bhakti* makes this possible, not that penance upon which those ascetics depended; nor is sacrifice, by which Brhaspati sought to obtain the sight of the god, of any avail. There is certainly a great difference between entering the divine world by means of penance and sacrifice, and Arjuna's warlike attempt to force his way into it. However, this world is in both cases situated in the north. Neither Arjuna nor the three ascetics could distinguish anything there; the guardians of the boundary who met the former say: "... one possessed of a human body can see nothing here"; the latter are certainly successful, owing to renewed *tapas*, in seeing the White Men, but not the god himself, and a voice informs them that this is not possible (*Mbh.*, xii, 338 (B 336), 54 seq.). There is also this conclusive similarity: to Arjuna as well as to the ascetics, at the close of their respective visits, a kind of compensation is offered, consisting in a favourable promise to be fulfilled in the future. As we shall see, this feature is met with in the romance of Alexander. The guardians of the boundary ask Arjuna to tell them if he has any other wish, upon which he answers that he desires the dignity of a *chakravartin* for Yudhiṣṭhira. The three ascetics, on the other hand, receive in compensation the power of completing a great task, viz. in the future to become the helpmates of the gods (*Mbh.*, xii, 338 (336), 56 seq.) in their great fight against the demons, and a later passage (xii, 341 (339), 86) in prophetic style promises the descendants of Ekata and Dvita to take part, metamorphosized into apes, in the war between Rāma and Rāvana.

Bhīma's invasion of the North furnishes us with another example of the same motif. According to *Mbh.*, iii, 143, the Pāṇḍavas, driven by their longing for Arjuna, set off to Mount Gandhamādana. On arriving there they for some time stay together; a wind from the north-east wafts to Draupadi a golden lotus, having the most enchanting fragrance, and she begs Bhīma to get her more of the same *saugandhika* lotuses. Bhīma wanders through marvellous regions

towards Gandhamādana till he comes to a banyan grove, where Hanumat meets him. The latter prevents him from proceeding any further by declaring that here begins the region of the gods. Even one of the ways leading to heaven started from this place. Hanumat here plays the same part as the frontier guardians meeting Arjuna. He and Bhīma, however, become good friends after it has become known that they are brothers (both are sons of Vāyu), and finally Hanumat promises his brother the fulfilment of a wish. Like Arjuna, Bhīma desires success for the Pāṇḍavas in their fight against the foe. So far the story follows the usual course, but in spite of Hanumat's farewell speech, containing the significant words: "Return to thine own place!" Bhīma proceeds further into the country of the gods. It is therefore possible that this further penetration is a later addition. That the text has been interpolated in various places I shall show presently. By and by Bhīma reaches the lake belonging to Kuvera, where the ardently desired lotus flowers bloom, and begins to gather them, taking no notice of the warnings given by the Rākṣasas, who watch over them. When they attack him he kills them. Yudhiṣṭhira, who with the other Pāṇḍavas arrives at the place, upon seeing him in the midst of the defeated demons, makes an admonitory speech. Meanwhile, by permission of Kuvera, they all stay there for some time. When Yudhiṣṭhira plans a further journey to the god's own dwelling-place, a divine voice is heard which utters: "You will not be able to penetrate into this inaccessible place. Return this very day from this country of Kuvera to the place from whence you came, the hermitage of Nara and Nārāyaṇa." To this they obey. The appearance, outside the promised land, of a warning voice without any corporeal form occurs also in the history of Ekata, Dvita, and Trita, as well as in the romance of Alexander. The three ascetics were admonished to return without a moment's delay to the place from which they had come, for they would never be able to see the god (*Mbh.*, xii, 338 (336), 53 seq.). To Alexander I shall return presently.

We may now point out that the adventure of Bhīma was immediately repeated. There are duplicates of it. The Pāṇḍavas return to the peaceful dwelling of the hermits, that of Nara and Nārāyaṇa, i.e. Badarī; that of Vṛṣaparvan, which they visit afterwards; and finally that of Arṣṭisena. The latter preaches to his guests a not unjustifiable sermon on the dangers of going beyond Kailāsa which is, however, quite wasted. Bhīma's adventure is repeated in about the same form as before, that is to say, a wind brings flowers,

Draupadi's desire for the forbidden regions awakens anew and she turns to Bhīma with the prayer that he will gain them admittance. Thus he starts off again to the struggle with the guardians of the boundary. These are killed, the Pāṇḍavas arrive and behold, as before, their redoubtable brother standing amidst the beaten demons; once more Yudhiṣṭhira addresses an admonitory speech to him. At this very moment, however, Kuvera himself appears on the scene and gives the Pāṇḍavas express permission to stay in his kingdom. We thus see that this variant has another conclusion than the usual one.

As regards the interesting question as to why Ekata, Dvita, and Trita also made the journey to Śvetadvīpa, I must unfortunately admit that I cannot explain it satisfactorily. The following is only a mild suggestion. Trita is, of course, an old Vedic god, probably at the beginning ruling over the waters; however, he survived in the minds of the Hindus chiefly as the hero of a legend of which fragments are already to be found in the Rīgveda, and in which it is related how he himself and his brothers went to a distant region to fetch a certain precious thing, guarded by a dragon, presumably a means for regaining health or youth. The brothers were unsuccessful, but Trita himself was victorious, whereupon the former, envious of him, left him in a well on the way home, from which, owing to divine interposition, he was later on rescued. This legend offers the earliest evidence of the so-called saga of the three brothers.¹ In the epos most of the points mentioned above are forgotten, the three brothers are ascetics of primeval times who perform sacrifices for pious kings, receiving cattle in return as *dakṣiṇā's*; on these occasions Trita is the most conspicuous one. On one occasion, when they are on their way home from such a sacrifice, his brothers, intending to seize his possessions, leave him in a cavern at the Sarasvatī into which he had fallen. Trita is saved, and he punishes his brothers by turning them into wolves; their descendants were to become leopards, bears, and apes (*Mbh.*, ix, 36). Perhaps the most important proof of the epical legend of Trita is found in the Nārāyaṇīya, and this shows—which seems to me to be of importance—that its author knew this legend. For, under such circumstances, it scarcely was by chance that these very ascetics were chosen for travellers to Śvetadvīpa; on the contrary this must be seen in connection with the legend which the author of this section had in mind. Besides, we can prove that the version he knew

¹ Cf. my work, *Trita Āpṛya, eine vedische Gottheit*, i (1927), p. xxv seq.

does not agree entirely with the one appearing in *Mbh.*, ix, 36, but tallies rather with an entirely different traditional line. According to *Mbh.*, ix, 36, Trita frightened by a wolf falls into a hole, whereas *RV.*, i, 105, as well as Sāyana's introduction to this hymn, says that Trita was pushed into the well by his brothers.¹ *Mbh.*, xii, 343 (341), 46, agrees with this: "Trita, pushed into the well, O Prśnigarbha, Trita pushed in by Ekata and Dvita, mayest thou save!" Another parallel is furnished by the fate of the brothers. *Mbh.* ix, 36, makes Trita change them into wolves, and their descendants into leopards, bears, and apes; according to *JB.*, i, 184, one of them becomes a bear, the other one an ape; there is no mention whatsoever of wolves here. *Mbh.*, xii, 341 (339), 86, states that Ekata and Dvita on account of the way they mishandled Trita should be reborn as apes. This clearly comes nearer to the Brāhmaṇa versions than *Mbh.*, ix, 36. On the contrary, the history of Trita related there agrees so completely with the version of the *Bṛhad-devatā*, that it might almost be said, as a whole, to be built upon it. But I shall not go further into this subject.² The detailed epical narrative of Trita and his brothers (in ix, 36) in all probability has thus preserved an old, otherwise unmentioned feature when representing the murder attempted by the latter ones as originating in their jealousy of the younger brother's superiority and greater success in acquiring the sacrificial cows. In the *RV.* we get to know still more concerning the original circumstances: the cows had not been obtained by sacrifice, but were taken from a dragon, Viśvarūpa; see *RV.*, x, 8, 7 seq.; x, 99, 6; 48, 2; ii, 11, 19; cf. i, 187, 1. It is therefore in war against him that Trita particularly distinguishes himself. We have remarked above that the saga of the three brothers brings home a point in their history, which is lacking in the Hindu literature, but which we can still approve of owing to the logic of circumstances, namely, that it is even in an attempt to captivate a certain booty

¹ According to *JB.*, i, 184 (Oertel, *JAOS.*, 18, 1897, p. 19 f.), Trita steps down into the well of his own accord, to give his brothers water; they drink, and then cover the opening of the well with a wheel.

² *Bṛhadd.*, 3, 139, and *Mbh.*, ix, 36, agree chiefly on the following points: (a) According to *Bṛh.* the Sālāvṛkṣantāh push Trita into the well not his brothers. The "sons of the she-wolf" evidently owe their origin to the wolf, mentioned in *RV.*, i, 105, 18, and whose rôle is obscure. Thus fratricide (at least in name) is avoided. The epic has borne this in mind: the wolf frightens Trita and he falls in; (b) *Bṛhadd.*: Brhaspati listens to his prayer; thus also ix, 36; (c) *Bṛh.*: Trita presses Soma in the well, thereby summoning the gods to his aid; the same thing occurs in ix, 36.

from this dragon that the brothers fail while Trita, on the contrary, is successful. Further, it may be suggested with a fair amount of probability that the information given in *RV.* that the booty consisted of cows is misleading. I have proved in another passage¹ how this idea arose, and also what other idea it may have supplanted. Judging by *RV.*, x, 18, 7, the father at the starting-time of the expedition is still alive. Trita endeavours to fulfil his *dhṛti*, his wish, which, if we may trust the saga of the three brothers, was to find a means for restoring his father's health or youth. As far as I can see, Trita's possession of such a means is, moreover, connected with the fact that as a water-god he disposes of *amṛta*. With this, however, I am not concerned here.

Whatever the booty to be taken, it is certain that the demon-dragon, owner of wondrous things, eagerly coveted by weak mortals, must be looked for in a far distant region. The imagination of the common people easily ascribes miraculous things to the remote unknown. Thus the Paṇis, the demoniacal guardians of wealth *par préférence*, hide their treasure beyond the Rasā, i.e. outside the world inhabited by mortal men. But where did the Vedic Hindus as well as those of later times find the regions, cherished in their imagination, if not in the North, in the mountainous districts? There, according to the epic, dwell the gods and half-gods in a paradise, where many supernatural conditions exist, and which stretches into heaven itself. The unsophisticated minds of the people never abstained from populating the Himālaya and the adjacent regions with these super-natural beings. From the strict Brahminical point of view as preserved in, e.g. the *Rigveda*, these beings, originating in the popular religion, are above all demons, against whom Indra wars, and it is noticeable that his chief enemy is a serpent-being, an *Ahi*, a dragon, viz. *Vṛtra*. For, undoubtedly serpent gods were worshipped in these districts, as they are even to-day. Now I believe and have tried to prove that Trita's opponent, *Viśvarūpa*, was such a serpent god, holding sway in the mountains. This opinion is strengthened by his being identical with the *Aži Dahāka*, against whom *Ōraētaona-Feridūn* fought; and by this the origin of the saga can pretty certainly be located to the mountainous districts between India and Irān. Therefore, according to the legend, the journey to his "kingdom" has been both long and toilsome and has led into a region situated outside the world of mortal

¹ Loc. cit., p. 100 seq.

men. The three brothers who undertook it must have won well-founded renown as daring pilgrims into the unknown. In this way I should like to explain why the author of the *Nārāyaṇīya* makes them and no others to start off to *Śvetadvīpa*.

The obvious divergence between the saga of *Trita* and the story of *Śvetadvīpa*, however, is this, that in the former two of three fail, while in the latter all of them are unsuccessful. Now it is scarcely probable that the author of the story has himself totally revised the tale of their adventures in order to render it more suitable to his object which was to show the reason for the total failure of all three. For, under such circumstances his story would hardly have had a convincing effect. To those who took an interest in it a certain confusion must in such a case have arisen as they would not have been able to understand why the otherwise victorious *Trita* must here share the fate of his elders. We may assume instead that there really has existed another version of the legend, no longer preserved, according to which all three started for the wonderland in the North, but in which all three failed and became known because of their failure. Our author took advantage of this version, then extant, and altered it so that it could be used as an example of religious perverseness and its sad consequences. Perhaps it is now possible to explain how the idea of the total failure might have arisen. Connected with the journey to the distant wonderland in the North and, in epic times, still more popular than the pilgrimage of the brothers were certain variations of another motif of which an account has been given above: the unsuccessful penetration into the land of the gods, exemplified by *Arjuna's* attempt to enter the land of the *Uttarakurus*. Leaving open whether this explanation is really correct, I still venture to think that the history of *Ekata*, *Dvita*, and *Trita* has been influenced by this motif and duly altered already before its appearance in the *Nārāyaṇīya*.

Already during Vedic times the imagination, as mentioned above, played with the idea of the country of the gods in the North and the possibility of penetrating into it. This conception, therefore, was originally a Hindu one, and when it crops up in the later literature one has no reason for considering it as a foreign loan, e.g. from the Babylonians or the Greeks.¹ The subject appears in a specially striking

¹ As regards the former alternative one immediately thinks of the epos of *Gilgamesh*. But he only intended to meet and confer with *Utnapištim*, not to rob him of his kingdom. It obviously has quite another tendency.

manner in the romance of Alexander: he also, another Arjuna, during his *digvijaya* attempts the daring conquest. However, the comparison with the Hindu material first of all requires a few words as to what the Greek sources have to tell us of Alexander's expedition to Paradise.

The narrative concerning this appears in *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, in the later letters to Olympias. These are filled with all kinds of fantasies; Alexander and his people march through extraordinary countries, inhabited by fabulous people, and among them experience one adventure after another. To put it otherwise: an abundant amount of the stuff of which popular stories are composed has been incorporated with the romance of the expedition of Alexander; and among this and in a very suitable environment, we meet with Alexander's attempt to reach the well of life and the land of the blessed. It has been proved¹ that in the description of this adventure two different stories have been patched together, the journey to the well originally being in no way connected with the journey to Paradise; and that afterwards the two episodes merged into one, when at the same time the well was placed in Paradise—of course, those two stories were bound to attract each other. If for the moment we put aside the well of life and the circumstances connected with it, the following remains to be considered.² The statements differ very widely as to *how* Alexander reached Paradise. In the Hellenic-Semitic literature the Ganges was regarded as the river of Paradise, Pison (cf. *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, ed. Müller, iii, 7), and, consequently, Paradise itself was localized in India. When Alexander departs in search of Paradise he therefore marches up the Ganges and so reaches his goal. This pilgrimage up a river is found at least in some of the Oriental versions, though in the Talmud and the Hebraic romance of Alexander (Friedlaender, loc. cit., pp. 47 and 301) it has later on been contaminated with the pilgrimage to the well of life. It stands out foremost in a Latin text called: *Alexandri Magni iter ad Paradisum*, which is undoubtedly founded upon an old Jewish (or Christian) Haggada, and which in its present condition comes down from the twelfth century (Friedlaender, p. 40). The Jewish narrators identified the Brahmins living on the Brahmin's Isle in the Ganges (*Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, ed. Müller, iii, 7) partly with the descendants of Seth

¹ Friedlaender, *Die Chadirlegende und der Alexander-roman* (1913), p. 19 seq.; Hartman in Browne, *A volume of Oriental Studies* (1922), p. 179.

² Cf. Friedlaender, loc. cit., p. 30 seq.; 247 seq.

and partly with the Rechabites; and already in early times they were looked upon as the blessed ones in Paradise.¹ According to Friedlaender the journey to Paradise has, however, been influenced by another motif, viz., Alexander's journey to the world's end which he undertook in order to acquire knowledge.² Where this is the case Alexander fares over the ocean surrounding the earth or marches through the land of darkness and thus reaches the land, or isle, of the blessed. Here, of course, we again find traits of the Babylonian cosmography.

Alexander's idea is to conquer Paradise. But a thorough humiliation awaits him. Not only is he prevented from entering, but birdlike beings with human faces³ preach him a sermon, in which they strongly emphasize the impropriety of his enterprise and admonish him to return. In *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* (Friedlaender, p. 11) one of them says: "The country which thou enterest, O Alexander, belongs to God alone. Turn back miserable (creature) for the land of the blessed (μακάρων χώραν, C; μ. γῆν, B; μ. νήσους, L) thou canst not enter. Return, therefore, O mortal, go back again to the land given thee and do not bring tribulation upon thyself." From the continuation it is evident (cf. also the Armenian version, Friedlaender, p. 12, a. 4) that it is a divine voice speaking through the birds, these being simply the medium it makes use of. I shall return presently to the importance of this circumstance. The bird, however, has still one more thing to say to him, which may well be considered a joyful message: Alexander, after his return from the unsuccessful journey to Paradise, will conquer Poros.⁴ It is evident that the appearance of the birds really belongs to the saga of Paradise, and not to the interwoven episode of the well, because they and their message are still incorporated in versions in which this episode is lacking, e.g. in Josippon's Hebraic

¹ Wesselowaky, *Из истории романа и повести*, i (1886), p. 280 seq.; Friedlaender, *Jewish Quarterly Review*, N.S. i, p. 252 seq.; Gaster, *JRAS.*, 1897, pp. 488, 497; Hopkins, *JAOS.*, 26, p. 20 seq.; Budge, *Life and Exploits of Alexander the Great*, ii, p. 129.

² Still it seems to me doubtful if such a motif has ever really existed; cf. below.

³ In the Arabic versions as well as in the Ethiopian they are angels.

⁴ Cf. Ausfeld, *Der Griechische Alexanderroman* (1907), p. 84. According to Josippon (Friedlaender, p. 22a) a bird says: "O Alexander! Return, for thou canst not enter the land of the worshippers of God! Thou hast no power to enter into the house of God and his servants. For thou canst not penetrate into these islands where the saints of God and the descendants of his servant Abraham dwell." Another bird gives him the intelligence of the approaching victory over Poros. The Armenian version agrees in the main with Josippon (Ausfeld, loc. cit., p. 84).

and in the Armenian version.¹ In all the sources Alexander trembles or shakes before the birds and obeys their message.

I consider the birds through whom God speaks as belonging to the original elements of the real story of the journey to Paradise. Their part is not so much to declare to Alexander that he has now reached the end of the world and must now return² as to guard the land of the blessed. This is corroborated by those versions, chiefly Arabic ones, in which the birds are replaced by angels (here Paradise is also called the "Land of the Angels"). Ibn Hischām, e.g., relates that after Alexander had traversed the darkness he came to a country where the ground was white as snow. There he came upon a solitary white house in the door of which a white man was standing. The latter addresses an admonitory speech to him and exhorts him to

¹ The Syrian version is well acquainted with the Saga of Paradise, but probably not with the episode of the well (Friedlaender, p. 51). The Syrian version, which according to Nöldeke, in *Denkschrift. d. Kgl. Ak. d. Wiss. Wien. Ph. H. Kl.*, 38, 1890, is a copy of a Pahlavi translation of *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, made by an East Syrian in the ninth century, contains an episode which in some way must be related to the journey to Paradise. After Alexander has heard the message of the birds, he returns (I follow Ryssel's translation in *Archiv. f. d. Stud. d. neueren Sprachen u. Litteraturen*, Bd. 90 (1893), p. 365). He arrives by another road to a mountain upon the top of which stood a temple. He enters it. It is exceedingly splendid and adorned with golden statues, etc. Upon a golden couch lies an immense human figure and a glory like that of the lightning radiates from him. Alexander makes a sacrifice and then wants to leave. When he stands in the portal of the temple, "erscholl sogleich eine schreckliche Stimme wie der Schall des Donners und wie das Gebräuse des Aufruhrs und der Brandung des Meeres; und als das Sturmgebräuse stille wurde, hörte ich wiederum eine Stimme aus dem Tempel heraus, und so sprach sie zu mir: 'König Alexander! Ruhe aus und lass ab von deiner Mühsal, und nicht wirst du in den Tempel der Götter eingehen und ihre Mysterien enthüllen können. Denn der, den du auf dieser Lagerstatt gesehen hast, das bin ich, Dionysos; und ich sage, dass es dir verliehen ist, in diesem Kriege, zu dem du dich gerüstet hast, zu siegen und in unsere Heimat zur Ruhe einzugehen, und man wird dich in unsere Zahl hinzurechnen!' " Alexander afterwards has his Hindu guides put to death, because they had led him "auf solchen Wegen und in solchen Gegenden"; the adventure evidently belonged to his military expedition in India. Dionysos also was said to have dwelt in India. In the description of Alexander's meeting with Dionysos the prohibition against entering the temple and unveiling the mysteries as well as the prophecy concerning his coming victory (i.e. over Poros) probably have been borrowed from the journey to Paradise.

² Cf. Friedlaender, p. 24: Alexander obeys because his wish (viz. to reach the end of the world) has been fulfilled; I should feel more inclined to say because he had to do so. Friedlaender himself in another place (p. 39) admits that one can discern a form of the legend, according to which the return of the expedition was by no means voluntary; Alexander's desire to conquer Paradise was checked. It is quite certain that this form, which runs through both the version of *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* and the Armenian one, and which is also modified by influences from the accounts of Alexander's journey to the world's end, may be considered the original one.

return. The other details belonging specially to the Mohammedan saga-cycle I shall leave out.¹ In the Ethiopian versions (Budge, *Life and Exploits*, ii, p. 245 seq.), the sermon of the angel, on account of Alexander's presumption, is still more vigorous. Without going any further it is quite obvious that the angel is a guardian of the land of the blessed.

Parallels to the appearance of the birds of Paradise found in Hindu literature have already been dealt with above. Arjuna and Bhīma, as well as Ekata, Dvita, and Trita are prevented from entering or paying a visit to the land of the gods. Arjuna, who wishes to conquer it, is met by the guardians of the boundary, who, exactly like the birds in the romance of Alexander, remind him that he has now made sufficient conquests and that any further advance is impossible. I have pointed out that Arjuna was granted some kind of compensation, viz. the acquisition of supremacy by the Pāṇḍavas, headed by Yudhiṣṭhira. In the same way the birds inform Alexander that he will conquer Poros. Arjuna who evidently does not want to return empty-handed demands a tribute exactly in the same way as in certain Oriental versions (Friedlaender, p. 41) Alexander makes the following request to the inhabitants of Paradise: "Give me something." In both cases this is clearly a condition for their return. But this may perhaps be only a fortuitous coincidence. Bhīma is prevented by Hanumat from going further, and afterwards he and his brothers hear a divine voice commanding them to leave the country of the gods. We now come to the three ascetics. A divine voice proclaims to them: (a) The god is beheld by the white men; (b) they, on the contrary, are to depart immediately; (c) the god can only be seen by those who love him, i.e. the saints; (d) they will be allowed (in compensation as is clearly the meaning) to help the gods in the completion of their work. If we now think it probable that the Nārāyaṇīya contains a revised version of the story of Trita, then the message of the voice given here must originally have agreed in its essentials with the message given to Arjuna, Bhīma, and Alexander—there can be no doubt about that. The question is whether even a special point in this saga, which is missing in the rest of the Hindu versions, has not its analogy in the history of Alexander. The ascetics (xii, 338 (336)) before their arrival at Śvetadvīpa had practised severe self-discipline on the shore of the

¹ Cf. Friedlaender, pp. 200 seq., 171, 178, 208.

Milky Ocean, in order to be able to behold Nārāyaṇa ; however they did not know how this could be accomplished. They then heard a voice which indicated that they should proceed to the land north of the ocean, to Śvetadvīpa. Through the voice the god himself is speaking ; for, in spite of being mentioned in the third person, he reveals himself at the end of his speech : “ . . . there shall my real nature (i.e. the god's) be manifested.” In *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, at the end of chap. xli, we hear that after Alexander had returned to his people from his journey to the blessed ones he is met by men-like birds who tell him : “ He who returns upon the right road will see marvellous things.” Friedlaender (p. 16a 1), however, quite correctly emphasizes that these marvels can scarcely refer to the experiences described in the next chapter, these being too insignificant, but possibly to Paradise. This view is confirmed by the fact that the right way, as mentioned in chap. xli, is understood as leading to Paradise. For Alexander caused an inscription to be set up with these words : “ Those who wish to enter the land of the blest must choose the right way.” Friedlaender supposes that in the description of the message of the birds we have to do with a fragment of another story about Alexander. I consider this as probable because, in other cases, the appearance of the birds occurs in connexion with Paradise, and I think that even these words of the birds originally did so ; but torn out of their connexion and placed at the end of the chapter, their meaning has been changed and made to allude to the adventure of the return journey in the next chapter. If we approve of this then the agreement with the story in the Mahābhārata may be expressed thus : *in both cases there is a divine voice which tells the pilgrims the way they must follow in order to reach the promised land.*

Leaving it open whether this is more than a plausible suggestion I wish to draw attention to another point where, to me, the connexion appears still more evident. When the ṛṣis arrived at Śvetadvīpa they could see nothing at all because they were dazzled by a great lustre (xii, 338 (336), 33), like that of a thousand suns (40). It proceeds from the godhead itself [38 ; cf. 345 (343), 35 ; 57 (with reference to Brhad Ār. Up. 4, 3, 6) ; 346, 5]. In these northern regions neither sun nor moon shed their light, Rām. iv, 43 ; the light dispersed there is, consequently, of another kind and quite impossible for an ordinary human being to endure. The guardians of the boundary repeatedly impressed upon Arjuna, that he would not be able to see anything among the Uttarakurus. The Buddhist Paradise is radiant with light,

which emanates from the Buddhas and Bodhisattvas. It is said about a person born in the paradise of Amitābha that he cannot behold Amitābha until after a time because his mind is not sufficiently clear.¹ This mutual interrelation between spiritual clear-sightedness and *yoga* I shall touch upon later on. As regards the story of Alexander it must be emphasized that when Alexander drew near to the land of the blessed he saw a light without any sun, moon, or stars (*Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, chap. xl, Friedlaender, p. 11). Similar information is given by Josippon (loc. cit., p. 21) and by Ibn Hishām (loc. cit., p. 200): beyond the land of darkness (or the mount of darkness) Alexander is met by a dazzling radiance which, however, is not the light of the sun. Naturally the conception that Paradise is illuminated by a supernatural light, eventually emanating from the godhead itself, is universally prevalent. But its strong accentuation here and the stress laid upon its not being ordinary sunlight makes it seem probable that it has accompanied the motif in its migration from the East.

The view that the romance of Alexander's journey to Paradise and to the well of life has been directly influenced by the epic of Gilgamesh (which has been urged first of all by Lidzbarski, *Zeitschr. f. Assyriol.*, vii (1892), p. 109, and by Meissner, *Alexander and Gilgamesh*, 1894, *passim*) has been rejected with every right by Friedlaender, loc. cit., p. 35 seq. However, Friedlaender mostly dwells upon the episode of the well of life. As regards the journey to Paradise he considers it to have arisen secondarily from the excursion to the end of the world, the latter story being thus modified that Alexander is reminded in a humiliating manner of his human powerlessness and is forced to return. On account of its religious colouring this idea has specially attracted Jews and Christians, and with them Paradise has been substituted for the world's end (loc. cit., p. 39 seq.; cf. p. 23 seq.). In *Pseudo-Kallisthenes* these themes have become contaminated with each other. To me, again, the motif of the journey to Paradise seems to be the primary one. Paradise is situated either in India (cf. above), or, in accordance with the Babylonian cosmography, at the end of the world. Alexander desires to invade it clearly not with the sole intention to obtain knowledge, but driven by his longing to go still further after he had subjugated the world of men. He presumptuously believes that he can defy the supernatural.² To me it seems wrong to accept Friedlaender's idea

¹ *Amitāyur-Dhāra-Sūtra*, SBE., 49, p. 192. Cf. Haas, *Amida Buddha*, p. 113.

² When he tries to fly up to heaven he again meets a bird-like being that reproaches him for aspiring after the heavenly world.

(loc. cit., p. 23 seq., 38) that there are two motifs, viz. the journey to the world's end and the one to Paradise in which Alexander is respectively extolled and disparaged. Alexander is, in reality, nowhere extolled for his bold enterprise. On the other side no real distinction is made between the world's end and Paradise: when Alexander has pushed forward to the former, he learns that the blessed dwell there, which only enhances the impropriety of his enterprise. The birds which turn him back, are, as I have emphasized above, no "signs" found at the world's end (Friedlaender, pp. 24, 38). Friedlaender believes that they are alluded to in *Pseudo-Kallisthenes*, § 34 (p. 15), where it is said: "Alexander understood from these signs that even there was the end of the world." But by this was probably meant the stones, which, in appearance quite common ones, were collected outside Paradise and which afterwards turned out to be gold and precious stones (§§ 28, 30).

* * * * *

The ascetics were at the beginning dazzled by the strong radiance and could see nothing. They then practised rigorous penance, *tapas*, for hundreds of years and through this became able to behold the White Men but not the god himself, xii, 338 (336), 34 seq. He could only be seen by his *bhaktas*, i.e. the White Men, and not by means of *tapas*, but only by *bhakti* and *yoga*. By means of this comparison we are led, as I have already pointed out, to a point characteristic of the Nārāyaṇīya theology. In opposition to the orthodox Brahminical conception, represented by the ṛṣis, the Bhāgavatas asserted that the transcendent world could only be won by means of *bhakti* culminating in *samādhi*.¹ The worshipping *japa* of the White Men is spiritual, i.e. it takes place in a condition of *yoga*; at the same time they emit radiant light. The god finds pleasure in this (xii, 338 (336), 36 seq.). When they are spoken of as *śubhasāropetāḥ*, Nilakaṇṭha not unbecomingly explains this by the words: *kuṭho yoga prabhāvajāḥ sāro balaṁ tenopetāḥ*. A concession to a timehonoured belief, as it is expressed e.g. in xii, 297 (295), 12 seq., and xiv, 15, 14 seq. (cf., too, Dhaumya's and Gālava's description of the North, where only those who knew the Veda and had practised much *tapas* could win an entrance, iii, 90; 163 and v, 111 respectively), is made in xii, 345 (343), 22: "The holy god, adored by the world, may be seen through asceticism";

¹ Cf. Barnett, *Bhagavadgītā*, p. 66 seq.

and in 342 (340), 46, the gods, led by Brahmā, attain their goal by learning from Puruṣa how their own existence and that of the world can be secured, viz. by practising that most terrible asceticism, the Mahāniyama. But it is expressively stated that Nārada was happier than all those who practised *tapas* because his power of vision originated in the favour of the god himself, 341 (339), 13 seq.; 107 seq. The difficulty of seeing the god can be estimated by the circumstance that neither the gods nor the Dānavas know his manifest form (Bhag. 10, 14; 11, 52); nay, indeed (according to 12, 346 (344)), not even Brahmā; cf., however, 342 (340), 91 seq. The privilege of beholding the god is reserved for those who are devoted to him, such as Nārada, Arjuna, and Vyāsa (cf. 342 (340), 25). Arjuna is admonished to worship by means of *yoga* (xii, 8, 9); and he tells us that he wishes to learn through contemplation the form in which the god reveals himself, 10, 14. However, in order to do this there is required a "divine eye", which the god endows him with (11, 8), for a mortal eye would not be able to endure the divine brilliancy. The beholding of the god in the Bhagavad-gītā is therefore a phenomenon of *yoga*, and even the revelation of Nārāyaṇa to Nārada can be explained in the same way. The three devotees beheld the White Men, but not until after they had prepared themselves by continuous spiritual exercises. Moreover, stress is laid upon the fact that those men are images of the lord of the island, furnished with those same peculiar characteristics (cf. above) which belong to him. These *lakṣaṇas*, which but slightly agree with the immaterial nature of the white, radiant beings, must be considered as residues of the popular Vishnuite conception of the god. It would take us too long here to investigate the problem of the *lakṣaṇas*, which is certainly very complicated.¹ We may, however, imagine that Śvetadvīpa, in its quality of Paradise, has had a history and that this paradise has not always been looked upon in the same light as is now the case in the Nārāyaṇīya. The island is certainly an earthly region even if situated at a fantastic distance, in regions which fancy has peopled with supernatural beings. If it be looked at from this point of view an abundant amount of material for comparison is found in the Indian cosmography. The description of the inhabitants of the more distant parts of Jambūdvīpa and of the ring-continent is pretty much the same.² They enjoy greater happiness and live longer than ordinary

¹ Cf. below, p. 284.

² Cf. Kiefel, *Kosmographie*, pp. 92 seq., 114, 128; Pargiter, *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 282, 389; Wilson, *Viṣṇu Purāṇa*, p. 172 seq.

mortals and are just and pious. A large wishing-tree, which gives its name to the continent in question, provides them with numerous good things, youth, etc. They worship Viṣṇu in the form of one of his Avatārs. Most extensively described are the conditions among the Uttarakurus¹; and these have also supplied the model to which other and later descriptions of Paradise have been framed.² The step from these abodes of bliss to the real heavens where the god resides with his devotees is, of course, fairly short. The more concrete and graphic features in the description of Śvetadvīpa (except the somewhat misplaced depiction of the *lakṣaṇa* equipment) are missing, but we possess other notices about the island, which give it a less sublime stamp.³ It is therefore evident that in the Nārāyaṇya we only possess the last and most spiritualized stage of the Śvetadvīpa conception. Now, what is the reason of this spiritualization? And in what connexion are we to consider the fact that the place is only perceptible in a vision of *yoga*?

It is to Buddhism that, in my opinion, we first of all ought to turn. The significant part of meditation within this religion, above all within the Hinayāna, is well known. The attainment of *Nirvāṇa* occurs during a stage of the deepest meditation; and when the meditator has not attained such an inward perfection, dependent upon morality and concentration, he must needs stop at a lower goal, viz. in one of the highest of the heavenly spheres; which one again depends upon how far he has carried his contemplation, which stage of *dhyāna* he has reached. The stages of *dhyāna* correspond to the divine heavens belonging to the *Rūpadhātus*, the inhabitants of which possess

¹ Cf. Jacobi, in *ERE.*, ii, p. 698; Pargiter, *Ancient Indian Historical Tradition*, p. 132; *Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa*, p. 345; Kirfel, *Kosmographie*, p. 19.*

² The world described in *Māh.*, xii, 192, 8 seq. belongs to these descriptions of Paradise. No illness is found there, and the food and housing are excellent. The inhabitants live up to a high moral standard. The country which lies on the north side of the Himālaya, in a region which is the holiest and best of all, is thus like heaven. The unhappiness and iniquity upon earth is put in contrast to the glory of this world. Here we again find features characteristic of the land of the Uttarakurus. But there is no similarity to Śvetadvīpa except its situation in the North. In spite of its approaching so closely to the description of Śvetadvīpa (12, 337 (B 335), 8 seq.), it is therefore scarcely correct to suppose, with Sir George Grierson, *I.A.*, 1908, p. 373, that that very island is meant ("evidently the White Continent").

³ Above all in the Kathāsaritaṅgāra 54: Naravāhaṇadatta is taken through the air to the island where he sees and worships Viṣṇu, who is resting upon Śeṣa with Garuḍa and Śrī at his side, together with his *cakra* and other attributes. N. receives Aṃśas from the god; cf., too, loc. cit., 115; *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, 3, 471; 8, 2435 (with a reference, in Stein's note, to *Haracaritaśāntamṛti*, ii).

ethereal bodies.¹ Below these is the region of *Kāmadhātu* distinguished by coarser matter and sensuousness, which includes the lowest of the heavenly worlds, the earth, and the hells; at the top are the *Arūpa* worlds, which can only be characterized by negations, and whose correspondence in the scale of trance is really similar to a kind of lethargy. Even in these worlds, the meditational correspondences of which are the four *āyatana*-stages, there are divine beings; but the fact that in the fourth stage of *dhyāna* Buddha won the highest enlightenment and passed from thence into *Nirvāṇa* seems to prove that they cannot have much real significance.² In the *Aṅgutt. Nik.* v, p. 302, Buddha narrates how as Bodhisattva he passed from stage to stage of meditation by which, with ever increasing clear-sightedness (*nāṇadassanam parisuddhataram*), he came into touch with one class of gods after the other. At first he was only able to see a shining light (*obhāsa*), then he saw forms and colours but was not yet capable of talking with the bearers of these. But at last he in turn succeeded in: (1) talking with them; (2) knowing to which class each one of them belonged; (3) knowing what *karma* had led them hither; and (4) finally knowing everything else about these beings and whether he himself had met them before.³ It is obvious that, as a Bodhisattva, he did not reach *Nirvāṇa*; but the transcendental stage that he reached during his meditation brought him nearer to it. Just as the earthly life of one who is completely released, in reality is nothing but a semblance of life, as he has already reached *Nirvāṇa* and now only waits for death to cast off, for the last time, the form composed of different aggregates (*upādhiśesa-nirvāṇadhātu*, or *jīvanmuktī*; the contrary *nirupādhiśesa-nirvāṇadhātu*), there is something analogous also in a person who is still striving for deliverance; for after his earthly existence he becomes himself a companion of those gods, with whom he has had communion during his meditation. Such a doctrine, founded upon *yoga*, has led to the origin of the terms *nirmāṇakāya* and *sambhogakāya*, which together with *dharmakāya* form the *trikāya*, "the one consisting of three bodies," viz. the Buddha. *Sambhogakāya* indicates even that heavenly form which a Bodhisattva or a Buddha shows to the blessed in one of the heavens, and which is supernaturally resplendent and adorned with the thirty-two *lakṣaṇas*. *Nirmāṇakāya*, again, is the

¹ Cf. with this and the following, Stecherbatsky, *The Conception of Buddhist Nirvāṇa*, p. 10, and *passim*.

² Cf. Beckh, *Buddhismus*, II, p. 68.

³ Cf. also, *loc. cit.*, IV, p. 207, on Anuruddha's visions.

earthly body of such a saviour of the world, and one is reminded of the fervid discussions concerning that body's quality of being substantial or unsubstantial. The Docetic conception regarding this question advanced by a certain sect, the Vetulyakas, was rejected, during the reign of Aśoka, by the council assembled at Pāṭaliputra, in 246 B.C. This shows that men's minds were occupied with this problem at rather an early date. Ancient foreshadowings of it may undoubtedly be found in the older Pāli texts, cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 969.

Indubitably some of the ideas reproduced here may be found also in Brahmanism, which is, of course, quite natural, the starting point of the *yoga* meditation being common to this religion and Buddhism alike. The theophanies of Nārāyaṇa and Kṛṣṇa in the Nārāyaṇīya and the Bhagavadgītā are nothing but the manifestation, in all its radiance and glory, of the god's *sambhogakāya*, otherwise only shown to the inhabitants of heaven. Consequently, Arjuna must have a "divine eye", in order to be able to behold the god. And just as well, Kṛṣṇa fighting the Kauravas and the ascetics Nara and Nārāyaṇa in their hermitage may be said to possess *nirmāṇakāyas*, which they are able to cast off in order to take upon themselves their divine shapes. The latter show themselves to Nārada in Badarī with *lakṣaṇas* etc., and wholly identical with the god in Śvetadvīpa, 12, 345 (343), 34 seq.; 40 seq.; 48 seq.; cf. 346, 4, 23. But on the contrary an Avatārlike Rāma does not change his outward manifestation. Certainly some of the Brahminical gods are credited with the power of changing their form owing to their *māyā*; but this does not mean that a god, who for some considerable time has appeared as a human being, does suddenly throw off this shape to show himself on one occasion or other in the form of a god. It is a question of another matter; the god, for some special purpose, incidentally changes himself into any form he chooses, often an animal one.

The very terms, *sambhogakāya* contra *nirmāṇakāya*, may belong to the later Buddhism; the scheme itself can probably lay claim to a much greater age (cf. above on the Docetic tendency). As regards its shape in the *Mahābhārata* one may ask if the general environment be really such that we must go outside the bounds of Brahmanism to explain it, if, in other words, Buddhistic influence must be accepted. This at least, according to my opinion, is the case of the Nārāyaṇīya. Śvetadvīpa holds the same position as a Buddhist heaven. The importance of meditation for the *bhaktas* I have already discussed;

it dominates very much in the Bhagavadgītā, where it is described as the exalted means for union with the godhead, but the Nārāyaṇya certainly does not lack expressions pointing in that same direction. In xii, 346 (344), 19, we read :—

samāhitamanaskās ca niyatāḥ samyatendriyāḥ |
ekāntabhāvopagatā vāsudevaṁ viśanti te ||

The deliverance attained already upon earth through contemplation is called *Nirvāṇa*, 342 (340), 8 (cf. 337 (335), 14), and the delivered one is united with god :—

mokṣaś coktas tvayā brahman nirvāṇam paramaṁ sukham |
ye tu muktā bhavantiha puṇyapāpavivarjitaḥ ||
te sahasrārcaṣaṁ devam praviśantiha śūśrūṣaḥ ||

The word *iha*, here, means on earth ; in 341 (339), 25 the same word is found referring to the White Island¹ ; deliverance takes place *there*. In the same way the Bodhisattvas in the different heavens strive after the same thing. The released after death are numbered among the White Men and take on the same appearance, 337 (335) 14, *tesāṁ lakṣaṇam etad dhi tacchvetadvīpavāsinām*.

Their condition is characterized comprehensively in 341 (339), 19 as : *anindriyāhārā madbhaktās candravarcaṣaḥ*. Their manifestations are spiritual, homage is rendered to Nārada *manasā*, 340 (339), 2. They are radiant beings ; the whole of Śvetadvīpa shines with a dazzling radiance (cf. above), especially, of course, the god himself ; when he practises asceticism his glory is still more effulgent than that of the island, xii, 345 (343), 57. The heavens of the Buddhists, together with their inhabitants, exhibit the same features. They also distinguish a series of special "light-heavens", characterized by various degrees of radiance. One must call to mind here that this radiance is purely spiritual, and not derived from any of the heavenly bodies. Corresponding to the second stage of *dhyāna* and belonging to *rūpa-dhātu* there are three such heavens, inhabited respectively by : (1) *Paritūbhā* (pāli *Paritūbhā*) *devāḥ*, "gods whose glory is limited" ; (2) *Apramāṇābhā* (p. *Appamāṇābhā*) *devāḥ*, "gods whose glory is unending" ; and (3) *Ābhāsvarā* (p. *Ābhassarā*) *devāḥ*, "gods with radiant light" (? var. *ābhāsura*). The next stage of meditation opens the way into three other heavens, whose inhabitants are specially remarkable for their "purity" or "beauty" ; they are called

¹ Deussen, *Vier Philosophische Texte*, p. 772, translates less correctly : "hienieden."

respectively *Paritta-śubhā* (p. *Paritta-subhā*), *Apramāṇa-śubhā* (p. *Appamāṇasubhā*), and *Śubha-kṛtsnā* (*Subhakiṇṇā*) *devāḥ*.¹ This division into "heavens of light" and "heavens of purity" or "beauty" is, of course, artificial to such a degree that their characteristics can scarcely be distinguished; it is clearly arranged in such a manner as to correspond to the four degrees of meditation. The names of the heavenly inhabitants² in the other degrees are colourless and do not enlighten us as to the imagined exterior of these beings. We may therefore say that the emphasis laid upon the radiance and purity in the *dhyāna* heavens sufficiently show off their essentials. This is seen, too, from the use of the term *Ābhassara*. Several early texts use this name not to denote the gods belonging to the third category in the second stage of *dhyāna* but as a general cognomen of those gods who are above the world of Brahmā (Saṃy. Nik., i, 114), or as the general name of the gods in the second *dhyāna* stage (Ang. Nik., ii, p. 127). Cf. Aung and Mrs. Rhys Davids, *Compendium of Philosophy*, p. 64. From these beings three classes of gods and three heavens have afterwards been formed. *Dīgha* Nik., i, 2, 2, relates that when the world was destroyed there remained only the radiant beings called *Ābhassarā*. Their bodies are ethereal, their nourishment joy (cf. iv, 2, 8, 8); they shine by their own light, move through the air, dwell in radiance and glory, and live very long. From their host a spirit separates itself, which passes into the palace of Brahmā and proclaims: "I am Brahmā!" Brahmā is pre-eminently the representative of the *rūpa* world, so that this world is simply "Brahmā's world". Some of the old schemes for the classification of the gods (e.g. *Dīgha* Nik., xi, 67 seq.) end with Mahā-Brahmā as the Supreme Being; next below come the thirty-three gods with Indra as their

¹ It was pointed out above that the White Men are *śubhasūropetāḥ*. Cf. Buddhaghosa's comment on the word in Mahānidāna Sutta, as rendered by Childers in his *Dictionary*: "Subhakiṇṇa means filled and pervaded by lustre, their bodies radiant with lustre, dense with colour. For the radiance of these angels is not intermittent (or partial) like that of the *Ābhassara*s, but in the course of the five *dhyāna*s men are reborn of limited lustre, of unlimited lustre, or of pervading lustre according as they have exercised the fourth *dhyāna* in the lower, middle or superior degree." Here *-kiṇṇa* quite correctly is taken as the equivalent to the Sanscrit *kīṛṇa*, not to *kṛtsnā*.

² In the first degree there are different categories of Brahma-gods; in the fourth gods who: (1) receive great recompense; (2) who have no consciousness; (3) who make no exertions (? *Arahā*); (4) who are without any sufferings; (5) who have a clear sight; (6) who are beautiful; and (7) who are the highest of all beings. Cf. Koeppen, *Die Religion des Buddha*, ii, p. 260 seq. On the heavens of the commentaries on the Yogasūtras, see Kirtel, loc. cit., p. 142 seq. For other names in Buddhism cf. Peal, *Catena*, p. 90 seq.

leader. When Brahmā visits them he must take upon himself a grosser form, approaching more closely to their more material condition. His chief distinguishing mark on such an occasion is the radiance emanating from him (*Digha Nik.*, xviii, 17); "this is the herald sign of the manifestation of Brahmā when the light ariseth and the glory shineth," we read in xix, 15 (*Dialogues*, ii, p. 264). The series of gods with Brahmā at their head we find already in the Upanishads (*Brhad. Ār. Up.*, 4, 3, 53 seq.; *T.U.*, 2, 8). A very interesting passage is found in *MBh.*, iii, 261, where Durvāsas describes the heavenly worlds to Maudgalya: in a way that reminds one of the later Buddhism, the worlds of Brahmā, in which *karma* still rules, are distinguished from the seat of Para-Brahmā, which is Vishnu's abode. This is an "unfailing region", and thither come those who have practised *yoga*. But already the inhabitants of the former worlds, represented here by *Rbhus*, are immaterial and shining with light. The scheme in Patañjali's *Yogasūtra* (3, 26, Wood's translation, p. 254), which is found again in the Purāṇas, very much reminds us of Buddhism; the highest worlds (Janar-, Tapas-, and Satyaloka) bear Brahmā's name. A Chinese Sūtra (Beal, *Catena*, p. 87) says: "In the Rūpaloka, in consequence of the practice of contemplation, and the absence of all impure desires the Devas attain to the Samādhi, known as the 'brightness of fire' (*agnīdhātusamādhi*) and their bodies become more glorious than the sun and the moon. This excellent glory results from their perfect purity of heart." In connexion with this one must also look at the colour of the heavenly dwellers. According to *Abhidharma-kośa* (Beal, *Catena*, p. 88), the Brahmā gods are white like silver while those belonging to the *Rūpadhātu* are yellow and white. According to another *sūtra* all the eighteen classes of gods, from the Brahma-kāyika up to the Akaṣṭha-sphere, have bodies shining like silver while their palaces are yellow like gold (loc. cit., p. 97). The inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa, as we may remember, are really white (*śvetāḥ*, Nil. *śvetāḥ śuddhasattvapradhānāḥ*). But above all Nārāyaṇa is the white god. He is the special god of the Kṛta-yuga and at that time was white; during the other ages the colours are respectively red (Tretā), yellow (Dvāpara), and black (Kali), *MBh.*, iii, 149. Madhu and Kaiṭabha attack the white Puruṣa, resting on the water, i.e. Nārāyaṇa (12, 349 (347), 66; cf. also 13, 126, 3 seq.; 1, 197, 331 ?); Hopkins, *Epic Myth.*, p. 124; Mrs. Stevenson, *Rites of the Twice-born*, p. 170, note. On white as the colour of meditation see too *Mahāparinibbāṇa-Sutta*, 3, 32.

The most popular heaven in later Buddhism is really that of Amitābha, and it is in the speculation which has accumulated round this that, in a long row of similarities which cannot depend on pure chance, we find the nearest parallels to Śvetadvīpa. Amitābha, whose very name is significant of his radiance, is the Buddha to whom one most constantly attributes the conception of a Paradise of his own, viz. Sukhāvātī, the pure land of the West. He himself lives in a still higher sphere, Akaniṣṭha-bhāvana, which constitutes the highest stratum in the world of forms (*rūpa-dhātu*). But from him has emanated a Bodhisattva, *Avalokiteśvara*,¹ and it has been said that the latter, rather than the fairly unapproachable Amitābha, is the real ruler of Sukhāvātī. The most remarkable feat in Amitābha and his paradise is its boundless glory, and we have every reason to remember that the *dhyāna* heavens are characterized by their immeasurable glory; cf. the name *Apramāṇābha*, "whose glory is boundless." This radiance, however, is a product of meditation, and this coincides with the fact that Amitābha is one of the five *Dhyāni-buddhas*,² thus belonging to the *rūpa-dhātu*. His radiance, consequently, does not proceed from his original nature of being a sun-god or his paradise the sun itself. On the other hand, it is quite true that it is described in a way that makes it quite irreconcilable with the immaterial and wholly spiritualized world of meditation. This is because Amitābha and his paradise soon became a focus for the popular piety, which saw in an all-absorbent belief and devotion to Buddha the only condition necessary for salvation, and which saw in a blessed, Buddha-worshipping existence in Sukhāvātī, a paradise full of all kinds of precious things, jewels, lotus-lakes, etc., even this very salvation. Upon the degree of devotion shown by the pious during their earthly life depends their higher, or lower, condition in paradise.³ While the most perfect have very nearly attained Buddhahood the Bodhisattvas of a lower rank still have to become perfect by hearing the law and worshipping the Buddha. In this connexion we may well remember the very great importance of a person's condition at the moment of death. The conception that this is a moment decisive to one's state in the next existence, and eventually to the entrance into Nirvāṇa, is common to both Buddhism and Brahminism. The idea appears also among the

¹ On the interpretation cf. Zimmer, *Zeitschr. f. Indologie*, 1, 73 seq. (scarcely convincing).

² Cf. Monier-Williams, *Buddhism*, p. 203 seq.

³ Cf. Haas, *Amida Buddha*, p. 113, on those who are born in a "corner of Sukhāvātī".

Bhāgavatas.¹ On the whole the tone of the Nārāyaṇīya very much reminds us of the Sukhāvātī-writings, although, as can be seen plainly enough, the former one is written in a less popular style and more strictly applies itself to the character of the island as being a *dhyanasphere*. Common to both is the idea that devotion and faith alone lead to the *summum bonum*, and that Bhagavān's (this name is common to both) mercy is bestowed upon the faithful, by which means in spite of ethical defects they are able to approach him. As regards Sukhāvātī it is often inculcated that listening to the holy writings about Amitābha and spreading them abroad creates endless merit. Thus already *Milinda-Pañha SBE.*, 25, p. 124; *Saddharma-puṇḍarīka*, xv: "He who writes this book, or causes it to be written, wins eternal merit," etc. The same thing is said in the Nārāyaṇīya, *Mbh.*, xii, 341 (339), 128 seq.; 342, 113 seq.; 345, 2 seq.; 17.

I have endeavoured to point out here some of the coincidences between Śvetadvīpa and the Buddhist heavens. The conception of these is intimately connected with what has within the later Buddhism been called "Buddhology", together with the various forms it takes on in the different schools—a very obscure and complicated question, which I must leave aside entirely. Not the least interesting are the relations to Brahminism, both Vedānta and Sāṃkhya, which can undoubtedly be found, and which have been noticed above. Now it appears to me that the Nārāyaṇīya to some degree offers a Brahminical analogy to the Sukhāvātī literature; however, we must make it quite clear that here one only gets some glimpses of what is more fully developed and made out in Buddhist dress. But the relations between devotion and contemplation are about the same in both directions. Already the older Buddhist scriptures describe how, on important occasions in the Buddha's life, the inhabitants of the divine spheres appear on earth and offer him homage. At his death e.g. the Buddha sends away a disciple from his side, explaining that the latter forms an obstacle to the numberless hosts of gods, who, unseen by others, have assembled round him and now complain that they are unable to see him. This reminds one of

¹ Cf. *Dīgha Nik.*, ii, p. 212, 250; *Ang. Nik.*, ii, p. 129; Franke, *Dīghanibāya* p. 234; Beckh, *Buddhismus*, 2, p. 59 seq.; *Milinda pañha*, *SBE.*, 25, p. 124; *Bhāgavata Pur.*, 11, 15, 18. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 18 seq.; Barth, *Religions de l'Inde*, p. 109; Mrs. Stevenson, *The Rites of the Twice-born* (1920), p. 179. Beal, *Catena*, p. 371, 381. (Cf. also *Mbh.*, xii, 280, 59: Meditating on Viṣṇu as the Supreme Being. Vṛtra breathes his last: *yojayitō tathātmanam paraṃ ātmanam avāptavān*).

an episode in the Nārāyaṇīya. When, in 341 (339), 18 seq., Nārāyaṇa has shown himself to Nārada and spoken with him, he commands him to go immediately: "For these my worshippers shining like the sun and living without organs of sense or food (i.e. like gods) would be able to direct their thoughts whole-heartedly towards me, and I should not like them to be hindered in this." Buddha himself shows (in the *Mahāparinibbāṇasutta*) the four places, which alone should form the goal of pious pilgrimages (the place where he was born, etc.) and stresses that the man whose heart is touched thereby and afterwards finds peace, will after death enter into the heavenly spheres. This instruction is chiefly directed to the Buddhist lay-community and enables us to understand that a form of piety very nearly akin to *bhakti* could thus easily arise. Probably also the circumstances were like that at an early date.¹ Buddhism's *bhakti-mārga* can be followed independently of the intention of the worshipper himself to become a Buddha (*Buddhayāna*) and independently of every philosophical speculation (*prajñāyāna* or *jñānamārga*).² However, meditation is of great importance. In Amitāyur-Dhyāna-Sūtra a large amount of space is taken up by describing the various stages of *śamādhi*, during which are seen in succession Sukhāvatī itself—at first dimly, afterwards with increasing clear-sightedness and more in detail—and afterwards various Bodhisattvas with shining bodies and multifarious *lakṣaṇas*. Here, then, Paradise with its previous things are purely spiritual entities and, in the same way as Śvetadvīpa, belonging to *rūpa-dhātu*. It is in this world that, for the benefit and edification of the Bodhisattvas and Arhats, the Buddhas manifest their *sambhogakāyas*, magical visions, which are distinguished from those *nirmāṇakāyas* that they show on earth only by a higher degree of material refinement and cosmicality (*lokottaratā*). For in reality both are an expression of Buddha's *māyā*, illusion; he has united himself with another higher "body", *dharmakāya*, which is nothing but *Nirvāṇa* or *Śūnyatā*, to use the term of the Mādhyamikas, but also, as such, the Absolute, the *Vastumātra*,³ of the Vijñānavādins and Yogācāras, the Brahma of the Vedānta. *Dharmakāya* in this latter significance is the opposite pole to *nirmāṇakāya*, conceived

¹ Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *Opinions*, p. 206 seq., 289.

² Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *ERE.*, s.v. Mahāyāna, p. 331.

³ Synonymous terms for *dharmakāya* are: *svabhāvakāya*, *buddhakāya*; when realized in trance it is also called *śamādhikāya*; cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 146.

as including the manifold world, which governed by *māyā* is then proceeding from the former by emanation. Such a doctrine has been developed by the Vijñānavādins.¹ Now, that a Brahminical doctrine concerning emanation can be illustrated by copious passages from the Nārāyaṇīya need not be specially explained here. Cf. 12, 341 (339), 42 :—

mattaḥ sarvaṃ sambhavati jagat sthāvarajaṅgamam |
akṣaram ca kṣaram caiva sac cāsac caiva nārada ||

But—and this is the special point of the Bhāgavatas—those who *here* (i.e. in Śvetadvīpa) love me, they will be saved and enter into me, says the god in continuation; while to ordinary mortals the procedure is more circumstantial as they must pass through several stages of emanation (: > the sun > Aniruddha > Pradyumna > Saṅkarṣaṇa > Ātman, 12, 346 (344), 13),² it takes place directly in the case of *bhaktas*, a way which is beloved by Nārāyaṇa; cf. 350 (348), 3. Even as the Buddha vision in the *rūpa* heaven is only an illusion, *māyā*, thus the manifestation of Nārāyaṇa in Śvetadvīpa is of the same kind. The god says to Nārada when he shows himself that his real presence is *na vijñeyam*; *rūpavān iti drśyate* (341 (339), 44 seq.) and he adds :—

icchan muhūrtān naśyeyam īśo'haṃ jagato guruḥ |
māyā hyeṣā mayā sṛṣṭā yan mām paśyasi nārada ||

But on the contrary he is perceptible to mankind in his four revelational forms (*mūrticatuṣṭayam*). These are mentioned in 336 (334), 9 being Nara and Nārāyaṇa, Hari and Kṛṣṇa. The two first mentioned are the ascetics in Badarī who appear time after time in the Nārāyaṇīya. These cannot be regarded as real Avatārs—this opinion is naturally applicable to the sect, whose tenets are codified in the Nārāyaṇīya and in similar writings—as I have already pointed out, but are more likely imaginary copies, and perceptible to the senses, of that Nārāyaṇa who is identical with Brahma or Prakṛti. One observes that at 341 (339) an obvious distinction is made between Nārāyaṇa as *caturmūrtidhara* and his *prādurbhāvēḥ* (106). The latter are Avatārs, here ten in number. It seems strange that among those the Sātvata prince Kṛṣṇa occurs, although just before (101) it is announced that Nārāyaṇa will send a terrible visitation upon the Sātvata princes and upon Dvāraka. This gives an expression to the

¹ Cf. de la Vallée Poussin, *JRAS.*, 1906, p. 974 seq.

² On the Vyūhas and the date of the Vyūha doctrine, cf. Bhandarkar, *Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 13.

Pāñcarātra disapproval of the Kṛṣṇa cult,¹ and also explains why that Kṛṣṇa who is regarded as one of Nārāyaṇa's own *mūrtis* is called Kṛṣṇa Svayambhū.

The ascetics Nara and Nārāyaṇa could don the same *lakṣaṇas* as the god, but there exists a difference of degree : they belong to the manifested (*vyakta*), not to the unmanifested (*avyakta*) as he does. Cf. 345, 48, Nārada is speaking :—

adyāpi cainam paśyāmi yuvām paśyan sanātanau ||
yair lakṣaṇair upetaḥ sa harir avyaktarūpadhṛk |
tair lakṣaṇair upetau hi vyaktarūpadharau yuvām ||
drṣṭau yuvām mayā tatra tasya devasya pārśvataḥ |
ihaiva cāgato'smy adya viśṣṭaḥ paramātmanā ||

Cf. 346 (344), 23 seq. Their relation to the god in Śvetadvīpa thus agrees with that of Avalokita to Amitābha. The foundation in both cases is laid by the scheme of emanation. Undoubtedly from a certain point of view the ascetics are identical with Nārāyaṇa, and if one sees them one sees him, cf. above. Their neighbourhood is indicated as being the place upon which the foundation of the worlds is laid, 336, 15 seq., and Nārada worships Nārāyaṇa, who is practising *tapas* there, as the eternal creator, the supreme immortal being, in whom all things are found (loc. cit., 25 seq.). Whom then can this Nārāyaṇa worship in his turn ? The answer to this is indicated as being a great secret (*avācyaṃ etad vaktavyam ātmaguhyam sanātanam*), 336, 29

yat tat sūkṣmam avijñeyam avyaktam acalaṃ dhruvam |
indriyair indriyārthaiḥ ca sarvabhūtaiḥ ca varjitaṃ ||

That is to say Brahma, from whom all things, including the ascetics, have proceeded. They themselves relate that Nārāyaṇa is their existing *prakṛti*, 341, 47, in Śvetadvīpa, from whom they have emanated, 336, 42 (cf. 32), and who is *avyaktayoni*, 346, 2 ; and in 337, 2 we are told that Nārada will himself depart to Śvetadvīpa to see their *prakṛti*. They practise *tapas*, worship and make offerings in Badarī, but they do this (336, 32 f.) in homage to Prakṛti, the god who is their *ātman*. To him they bring their sacrifices, both divine and ancestral ones. In this respect they resemble the White Men ; and in accordance with the position of our treatise, which is the intermediary between old and new, it is emphasized that the sacrifices are only legitimate if *all* of them are offered to the god. But the penance of the ascetics also has a more altruistic purpose : it is indicated (346, 21),

¹ Cf. Hopkins, *Epic Mythology*, p. 214.

though in an obscure way, that it is performed for the success of the god's future manifestations, i.e. for the extension of truth and for conquering evil. This double aspect characterizes the Bodhisattvas too: on the one side the struggle for personal salvation by the aid of Buddhas and Bodhisattvas (cf. 350, 75); on the other, willingness to endure self-sacrifice and suffering for the sake of one's fellow-creatures. It must, however, be said that in the Nārāyaṇīya one is scarcely reminded of the latter point of view, nor is it of essential importance in the Amitābha religion.

Finally, we should like to draw attention to a few more points of contact with Buddhism. Bhandarkar (*Vaiṣṇavism*, p. 7 seq.) has already pointed out that the Nārāyaṇīya, in common with Buddhism and Jainism, rejects the sacrifice of animals. Vasu Uparicara, the mysterious patron and promulgator of the Bhakti doctrine, is a great sacrificer—it is really at a "horse sacrifice" arranged by him that Ekata, Dvita, and Trita relate their history—but the sacrificial beasts were replaced by cakes, etc. It is asserted that his precipitation into an underground cavern was in consequence of his once advising the sacrifice of a goat. The only peculiarity is that the gods (with Nārāyaṇa at their head) take his part in the matter. They certainly could not prevent the curse uttered by the ascetics from taking effect, but Nārāyaṇa carried nourishment to his devotee, and when this one has "worked out" his punishment in the hole, he sends Garuḍa to fetch him up after which the king enters into Brahmā's world. Garuḍa otherwise is not mentioned in the Nārāyaṇīya. One gains, on the whole, the impression that the sympathies of the author lie mostly with the king, and it is probable that the episode of Vasu's "fall", which scarcely harmonizes with the spirit of the treatise, is a secondary interpolation. *Ahimsā* distinguished the Kṛta age, when all were righteous, and the Bhāgavatas follow a higher *dharma* than do others, by applying themselves to it. On the other hand, they do not reject sacrifice, as sacrifice, but, on the contrary, its necessity is often inculcated. Their conservatism is also expressed in their respect for *tapas*, although *bhakti* is of greater worth. Their struggle for reformation is kept, therefore, within orthodox Brahminical bounds, but apart from this it is undeniable that the struggle appears in a similar form in both Buddhism and Jainism; and the similarity appears to be greater in the Nārāyaṇīya than in the Bhagavad-Gītā, if one takes into consideration that the former teaches *ahimsā*,¹ but

¹ Cf. Patañjali's *Yoga-Sūtra*, II, 30.

not the latter, in other words that the development has tended towards agreement with this non-Brahminical principle. Neither can one avoid associating *bhakti* and *maitrī* (*mettā*) the latter of which must also be considered in connexion with meditation¹ and is a necessary postulate for the attainment of *Nirvāṇa*. Those who in meditation have penetrated through all earthly regions by means of *mettā* pass after death into Brahmā's world, one of the highest spheres (*Ang. Nik.*, ii, p. 129). Belief in and devotion to Amitābha has already been spoken of.

While considering the *lakṣaṇas* of Nārāyaṇa, we are also led on to Buddhism. The connecting link between Nārāyaṇa and Buddha is of course the Mahāpuruṣa conception (cf. Senart, *Légende*, p. 87 seq.). Because of this Buddha, as is the case in the Lalita-Vistara, receives the epithet *nārāyaṇasthāmavān*, "possessing N.'s power," *nārāyaṇa iva durdharṣaḥ*, "unconquerable as N.," indeed he is N. himself, *nārāyaṇātmabhāvaḥ* (Senart, loc. cit., p. 123). Certainly in the epic the identity of Viṣṇu-Nārāyaṇa with Mahāpuruṣa is in general an acknowledged fact, but in no other passage beside our treatise are his *lakṣaṇas* represented in a form so completely in accordance with those forming the equipment of the Buddha-Mahāpuruṣa. Nārāyaṇa's (and the White Men's) signs are all found again among Buddha's thirty-two principal *lakṣaṇas* and eighty minor *lakṣaṇas* (*anuvyañjanas*),² as an investigation shows quite clearly. They characterize on one side the supernatural figure of Nārāyaṇa and on the other that of Buddha, his *sambhogakāya*, shown on extraordinary occasions, and specially in the heavenly spheres, cf. above. The Mahāpuruṣa-conception, as such, is Brahminical not Buddhist, but the *lakṣaṇas* of the inhabitants of Śvetadvīpa, not found in any other Brahminical source but almost identical with those of the Buddhists, are, taken in connexion with the general character of Śvetadvīpa, quite sufficient to lead back again to Buddhism.

¹ Cf. Beckh, *Buddhismus*, pp. 28, 37, 60, 132 seq.

² Cf. Burnouf, *Lotus*, introduction, p. 346; Senart, *Légende*, pp. 88 seq., 124 seq.

SITA FORLORN, A SPECIMEN OF THE KASHMIRI RAMAYANA

Edited and Translated by SIR GEORGE GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.

DIVĀKARA PRAKĀŚA BHATṬA is said to have been alive during the eight years of the reign of the Hindū king Sukhajivana Simha, of Kashmīr, who came to the throne in A.D. 1786, and to have lived in the Gōjawār (Skt. *Gulikāvāṭikā*) quarter of the city of Srinagar. He was the author of a Kāshmīrī version of the Rāmāyaṇa, entitled the *Rāmavatāra-carita*. This is a long epic poem of about 1800 verses in various metres, and is divided into two parts. The first part corresponds to the first six cantos of Vālmiki's poem, and ends with the return of Rāma in triumph to Ayōdhyā after the conquest of Laṅkā. The second part corresponds to the latter half of Vālmiki's seventh (*Uttara-kāṇḍa*) canto, describing Sītā's banishment and the subsequent occurrences down to the death of Rāma. It is entitled the *Lavakusa-yuddha*. The earlier part of Vālmiki's seventh canto, called by Professor Jacobi "the Rāvaṇeīs", is inserted by the Kāshmīrī poet in the earlier half of the poem, in the section where Hanumat visits Laṅkā in search of Sītā. There he meets Nārada, who tells him the history of the place and describes Rāvaṇa's birth and exploits.

Although the whole Kāshmīrī poem thus roughly corresponds to Vālmiki's epic, the two works differ widely in detail. In the first place, in agreement with the *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa*¹ and the Jaina tradition, Sītā is represented as the daughter of Rāvaṇa² and Mandōdarī, although Rāvaṇa was unaware of the fact. According to our poet, when Sītā was born in Rāvaṇa's absence, her horoscope showed that she would kill her father (i.e. Rāvaṇa), and that, if she were allowed to marry, she would become a dweller in the forest, and would come from there to destroy Laṅkā.³ Mandōdarī, on hearing this, tied a stone round the baby's neck and threw her into a river. The baby was washed ashore, and was found by Janaka, as in the ordinary tradition. Mandōdarī never ventured to tell Rāvaṇa of this. When he brought

¹ See *Bulletin S.O.S.*, iv, 13 ff.

² According to our present poet, Rāma seems to have become aware of this; for, when Hanumat returns from his visit to Laṅkā, Rāma anxiously inquires about the attitude of her brothers—Indrajit, etc.—towards him for taking Sītā with him into banishment.

³ The *Adbhuta Rāmāyaṇa* adds that Rāvaṇa was fated to die if ever he should look on his own daughter with lustful eyes, and she should refuse to yield to him.

Sitā to Laṅkā, she recognized her, but was afraid to do more than warn him in general terms.

In the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, Rāma was induced to banish Sitā after his return to Ayōdhyā, owing to scandalous reports that she had lived with Rāvaṇa in Laṅkā. Here the reason is different. The story given is that Sitā had a sister-in-law¹ who hated her with jealous treachery. She persuades Sitā to draw for her a portrait of Rāvaṇa. This she promptly takes to Rāma, saying that she had seen Sitā gazing at it and weeping over it. Without further inquiry, Rāma believes her and is filled with anger. He orders Lakṣmaṇa to take Sitā away, and to abandon her in the forest. Here again, there is a grave variation from the Vālmiki story. In it, at Sitā's request, Lakṣmaṇa takes her on a visit to Vālmiki's hermitage and abandons her there, safe in the saint's keeping. There she has twins—Lava and Kuśa—who are brought up by Vālmiki and taught the Rāmāyaṇa. When they have learnt it, he takes them to Rāma's court, and there they recite the poem.

In the Kāshmīrī poem, Lakṣmaṇa abandons Sitā in the heart of a forest. She wanders forlorn till she stumbles on Vālmiki's hermitage. There she has one son—Lava—to whom Vālmiki becomes attached, and whom he loves to care for in Sitā's temporary absence. One day she goes out, taking the baby with her. Vālmiki, who is not aware of this, jumps to the conclusion that it has been carried off by some wild beast. So he takes a wisp of Kuśa grass and prays over it. The wisp becomes alive as an exact replica of Lava. In this way Sitā gets two sons, the second, from his origin, being named "Kuśa". When they grow up Vālmiki gives each a set of magic arrows that never miss their marks.

In the meantime, at Vasiṣṭha's advice, Rāma arranges for an Aśvamēdha sacrifice, and the sacrificial horse is left to wander, protected by Bharata and Śatrughna at the head of a large army. The horse comes near Vālmiki's hermitage, and Kuśa mounts it and rides it in spite of the protests of the army. The army tries to stop him by force, but in vain. Then Bharata, struck by his resemblance to Rāma, advances in friendly fashion, but Kuśa wounds

¹ This story is not confined to Kashmir. It is also found in the *Rāmāyaṇa* of Candravatī, written in Eastern Bengal. According to it, the sister-in-law was a daughter of Kaikeyī, and was named Kukuā. See Dineschandra Sen's *The Bengali Ramayanas*, pp. 196 ff. The Malay *Rāmāyaṇa*, which in other respects closely follows the Kāshmīrī account, has also the same story. See Ziesenis, *Die Rāma-Sage bei den Malaien, ihre Herkunft und Gestaltung* (Hamburg, 1928), pp. 61, 105.

him with one of his arrows. Bharata, in self-defence, wounds Kuśa. Lava comes up and joins Kuśa, who has revived. After mutual abuse, Lava kills Bharata, and Kuśa Śatrughna. They then attack the army and slay many. The few survivors escape to Ayōdhyā and report to Rāma, who sends out Lakṣmaṇa at the head of another army. It also is defeated by the boys, Lakṣmaṇa being slain. Then Rāma, with his monkey and bear allies, sets out with a huge force. They meet the boys. Rāma, moved instinctively by parental affection, makes friendly advances, but they refuse to trust him, defeat the army, and kill him.

The boys collect the crowns of the slain commanders, and return triumphantly to Sītā. She recognizes Rāma's crown, and hastens lamenting to the scene of the combat. There she is joined by Vālmiki, in answer to whose prayers *amṛta* falls from heaven. All the slain, in consequence, come to life, and return home rejoicing, taking with them Lava and Kuśa.

Rāma returns to seek for Sītā in the hermitage, but she, in a revulsion of feeling, refuses to see him or to listen to his prayers that she should return home with him. Vālmiki intercedes with her, but to no effect. At his advice, Rāma returns to Ayōdhyā to complete the Aśvamēdha sacrifice. All the great saints assemble at it, but complain that the rite cannot be completed without the presence of Sītā. Rāma sends Śatrughna to Vālmiki, who with great difficulty persuades her to attend it. On her arrival, before all the assembled holy men, she proclaims her chastity, and calls upon Mother Earth to bear witness to it. The ground opens, Mother Earth emerges, receives Sītā on to her chariot, and disappears with her into the chasm, which then closes up. The rest of the poem, dealing with the remainder of Rāma's life and his ascent into heaven, closely agrees with the account given in the Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, and need not be repeated.

The following specimen of the poem is taken from the passage describing Sītā's forlorn condition after being abandoned in the forest by Lakṣmaṇa. Quite unsuspecting, she has gone forth with him, and now the time has come for him to leave her. It is ninety verses in length, and corresponds to the brief 48th¹ chapter of Vālmiki's *Uttara Kāṇḍa*. In translating the text, I have not been literal. I have attempted to reproduce the slightly archaic style of the original, and where words are necessary to explain the sense to a Western reader, have not hesitated to introduce them.

¹ Bombay edition.

The metre of the extract is the well-known *Hasaj*, — — — —, — — — —, — — —, but many licenses are permitted. The influence of stress-accent, or even merely the necessity of metre, often affects the quantity of a vowel. Thus, in verse 1169, *sāta sāta* must be scanned as if it were — — — —, and, in 1175, *pyēmūts^a* must be scanned — — — (i.e. — —, see below), while, in 1176, it must be scanned — — — (i.e. — —). In connection with this, it should be mentioned that a conjunct consonant of which the first member is a nasal does not necessarily make the preceding vowel long by position. Thus, in verse 1175, *nēnd^ar* must be scanned as an iambus, — —.

Two short syllables may always be taken as the equivalent of one long syllable. Thus, in 1169, *hyot^anas* (— — —) is to be scanned as if it were — —. Similarly, *dini* (1174) is equivalent to —, the words *kam dini lūj^a* being for — — —, and in *pariyē* (1175) — — — is for — —.

A closed syllable with a long vowel may generally be given additional short instant after the final consonant, if the next word begins with a consonant. Thus, a word ending in *ān* may, in such a case, be scanned — or — — at option, provided it is followed by a consonant. A good example is in verse 1174, *mañēn gōs gāsh kam*, which must be scanned — — — — —. Here, though there is a long vowel in the closed syllable *gōs*, and though the word is followed by a consonant—the *g* of *gāsh*—no short instant is added; but in the word *gāsh* (a similar closed syllable), the metre requires it to be scanned — —, as if the word were *gāshē*. On the other hand, in 1168, we have *dincān ōs^a*. Here, as *ōs^a* begins with a vowel, the syllable *ān* is necessarily long without any additional short instant, and the whole must be scanned as — — — (the final *u-mātrā* at the end of the line not being sounded). Again, in the same line, we have *dapān uārā*. Here, although *uārā* begins with a consonant, *ān* scans merely as one long syllable, and the whole scans — — — —. In 1203 we have *karith yēk-sān dyut^a dōn*, which must be scanned — — — — — (— — for —) —, in which *sān* has to be read as if it were *sāna*. Again, in 1197, *kañēn kyāh cākh sōpān^a* is scanned — — — — —.

The treatment of *mātrā*-vowels is quite arbitrary. They are sounded or not as the metre requires. We have already seen *ōs^a* treated as one long syllable, and this is always the case at the end of a line; but in cases like *Lākh^aman* (1168) or *hyot^anas* (1169) we may scan *Lakh^a* and *hyot^a* either as each consisting of two short syllables, or each as consisting merely of one long one. In the former case we treat

the *mātrā*-vowel as forming a syllable, and in the latter case we ignore it. In 1173, we must scan *tūj^{as} pōr^zān* as — — — — —, in which the *ū-mātrā* counts as forming a syllable, while the *i-mātrā* is not so counted. [It will be observed that, as explained above, the final *ān* is scanned — —.]

A conjunct consonant is sometimes to be read as though the members were separated and a vowel inserted by *svarabhakti*. Thus, in verse 1242, *āsmānay* must be scanned — — — — —, as if the word were *ās^amānay*. Similarly, in 1187, *arth* must be scanned as an iambus (— —).

दपान वारा सुह लखिमन्-जुव रिवान ओसु ।	
पकान पथ-कुन् नजर फीरिष् दिवान ओसु ॥	॥ ११६८ ॥
वदन-सूय गोस प्रस ह्यंतुनस दिलस नार ।	
बुक्कान ओसु सात सात यव यियस आर ॥	॥ ११६९ ॥
वनान मीताय वंनु तस लखिमनस-कुन् ।	
ब्ह वनतम वार आख्खु क्काह म्य सौपेन् ॥	॥ ११७० ॥
लतन्-हन्दु रथ वतन् लार्यम रह क्काह गोम ।	
बुह छस ज्ञानान इह वपदीश मा करुम ज़ोमू ॥	॥ ११७१ ॥
दंपुस लखिमन्-जुवन् साधाह इतिथ ब्यह ।	
जिगर दंदु नेर कंतु छम शेर-प्यंठि र्यह ॥	॥ ११७२ ॥
इह कथ बुज्जिष् वसिष् वुन् लजू ख्यने ब्यह ।	
लूजूस पारिज्ञान यिष् पानस लूजूस र्यह ॥	॥ ११७३ ॥
मजन गोस गाश कम दिनि लजू कजन फेश ।	
दंपुन् तस चावतम गूड च्यावतम चेश ॥	॥ ११७४ ॥
सुह गव् ह्याडिष् अनुन् तस पोन्नु दूरिय ।	
बुक्कुन् प्येमचू ब्यन्दर तस परिय हारिय ॥	॥ ११७५ ॥
तवरि-सूतिन् च्छटिष् बुधि-किनि प्येमचू आसू ।	
पथर प्यथ पोश-थरू जन् वर गमचू आसू ॥	॥ ११७६ ॥
बुक्कुन् जन् शव गमचू ब्रह्मा-जुवञ्चू-कूक् ।	
गनीमथ ज़ोनु तमि तस-निश चलुन् दूरु ॥	॥ ११७७ ॥
थंवुन् पौलोड आवेज्ञान कुलिस-कुन् ।	
ह्यंतुन् ताम तस बुधिस-प्यठ पोन्नु पम्पुन् ॥	॥ ११७८ ॥
तिथय फीरिष् सुह लखिमन् आव् रिवानय ।	
यियथ काह किन् रटिष् मारनि निवानय ॥	॥ ११७९ ॥
वदान बुधि-किनि पथर वंसि वंसि प्यवान ओसु ।	
तिह मा तसन्धन् पयन् रुखसथ ह्यवान ओसु ॥	॥ ११८० ॥
उमादेवी चमा कर्तम खंतुम पाफ ।	
म्य कुम वालिञ्च कूष् आनंतु च्छ कुय ज़ाफ ॥	॥ ११८१ ॥
दया कर्तम छायय स्वथ किन् हंरथ मान ।	
पञ्चा तस यस म्य हिहु इणु आसि संतान ॥	॥ ११८२ ॥
म्य कर् ताकथ च्छ-कुन् बुक्कनस दुवारय ।	
ह्यमथ रुखसथ पयन्-प्यठ वार वारय ॥	॥ ११८३ ॥

1168-9. They tell us that in heavy sorrow did Lakṣmaṇa lead Sītā to the forest, for in his heart there had been formed a chasm full of fire. Again and again looked he back, at each moment hoping that perchance to Rāma pity might have come.

1170-1. They say that Sītā asked him : "What be this that in the end hath me befallen ? Why is it that with the blood of my feet the way is sprinkled ? Full well I know that this hath been devised for me by the sister of my lord." ¹

1172. Quoth Lakṣmaṇa : "Sit here to rest awhile. Whither shall I go from hence ? For burnt is my heart, and as it were flames are pouring o'er my head."

1173. As though smitten by poison, fell she down. Her tender form consumed by flaming heat, swooning she lay.

1174. Dim went the pupils of her eyes, the very stones did she begin to lick. Said she : "First give thou me to drink, if me thou must abandon."

1175. So he went forth and searched, and from a great way brought he water. Unconscious, like an angel or a fairy in her sleep, he found her.

1176. Prone on her face she lay, withered like a flowering shrub that by an axe is severed from its stem.

1177. When he saw her, the fair daughter of the gods, lying corpse-like there, seized he the opportunity for hasting far away.

1178. Upon a near-by tree he hung the jar, so that from it water trickled on her face.

1179. Sorrowing set he out for home, going slow-foot, as they lead a man to death.

1180. Lamenting, again and again falling on his face in his despair, as though bidding to her feet farewell, went he.

1181. "O, Fair as Umā, forgive the sin that I commit. Wounded to the heart am I, for sudden death to thee hath come.

1182. "Grant thou me pardon, whether deep sleep hath fallen on thee, or whether thou hast ceased to breathe. Unworthy of thee am I, who love thee as a son his mother.

1183. "Never again shall I have strength to look towards thee, and slowly, slowly, to thy feet say I farewell.

¹ According to the poet, Rāma's decree of banishment was the result of a false calumny told him by Sītā's enemy, his step-sister.

अथ अति चाविष् अछान् पटू दिथ जलान् आस ।	
शरन् यिन माज्य म्बरन्-छट करान् पास ॥	॥ ११८४ ॥
म्य कर गङ्गु रामचन्द्रनु इकुम बीजुनु ।	
बुह कर तस् वातहा इथ काम्य सोजुनु ॥	॥ ११८५ ॥
नतय त्थलि कोन मार्यामस् व-शमशेर ।	
व-खारी थ्थलि इकुम करुनम् अ मूत्य नेर ॥	॥ ११८६ ॥
नतय माता अ ओसुय कर्मलाने ।	
अर्थ अय इय कुह हाडुनु क्याह कुह माने ॥	॥ ११८७ ॥
वदुन् तिथु गोस चन्द्रम रम्बुनु रव् ।	
नमस्काराह करिथ शहरस् अन्दर् गव् ॥	॥ ११८८ ॥
सपञ्च बेदार सीता पाँ-पपरि-सूय् ।	
गुमी गमाँ-सूतिन् वसत् वन्येमति ॥	॥ ११८९ ॥
बुकुन् लेखिमन् खटाह तस्-निश गमंतु दूह् ।	
गलनि लंजु जन् अलनि लंजु वाव-सूत्य मूक् ॥	॥ ११९० ॥
दंपुन क्याह गोम कमि सर्पन् वलुम् नाज् ।	
प्यनम् मा काव् वज् इति मा ख्यनम् शाल् ॥	॥ ११९१ ॥
वदन-सूतिन् अछान् तस् गाश कम गोस ।	
मुह मा लेखिमन् तमिस् चाविष् जलान् ओसु ॥	॥ ११९२ ॥
रिवान् इठुन् यिवान् जन् पानसंय-कुन् ।	
रुमाह रुज्जिथ नजरि-तल गैव् सौपेणु ॥	॥ ११९३ ॥
वननि लंजु पाणि-पानस-कुन् खन्दर माल् ।	
वदन-सूतिन् खत्येम् मा बुज् अछान् लाल् ॥	॥ ११९४ ॥
तवय् मा कुम् न लेखिमन् द्रैठ यिवन् ।	
बिहिय लंजु पकनि किन् सदहन् थवनि कन् ॥	॥ ११९५ ॥
रुमाह रुज्जिथ मुह मा जोनुन् गरय गोम ।	
म्य चाविष् चूरि करुनस् दूर्य क्याह गोम ॥	॥ ११९६ ॥
वदनि लंजु दादि सर्वन् शाख सौपेनि ।	
वनिन् शतरन् कजन क्याह चाख सौपेनि ॥	॥ ११९७ ॥
वदन-सूत्य जानवारन् आख सहलाव् ।	
वनस-निश मन् डेलुख् जलि वाति पंजाव् ॥	॥ ११९८ ॥

1184. "To hasten home, with bandaged eyes I leave thee. (But thou wilt forgive me), for mothers ever espouse the cause of children who with them refuge seek.

1185. "How was it right for me to yield to Rāma's hest? How was it right for him to send me on this task?

1186. "Why did he not rather slay me with his sword, when basely to me he gave command to go forth with thee?

1187. "Or else, perchance, was this thy fate? Is that the cause, or must some other ground be sought?"

1188. He wept till, as it were (through his dimmed eyes) the lovely sun became a moon,¹ and, with one last reverence paid, to the city he returned.

1189. As the water dripped on Sītā she revived. Wet through were her garments with heat and sweat.

1190. She saw that far from her had Lakṣmaṇa gone. All spent was she, trembling as a branch quivers in the wind.

1191. Cried she: "What hath happened to me? What serpent hath entwined my neck? Ere long the crows will fall on me, and jackals me devour."

1192. Dimmed became her eyes from weeping, as she pondered whether Lakṣmaṇa had abandoned her.

1193. In the far saw she him woebegone and halting, as though homeward bound: for but a moment stayed he, and then he disappeared from view.

1194-5. Fair Sītā bethought herself that perchance her eyes were dimmed with tears, and that hence Lakṣmaṇa she could not see: so, listening for sounds, from her seat she rose to walk.

1196. For a moment waited she, and so made sure that he had home departed. What else had happened, save that he had secretly abandoned her, and left her far away?

1197. In her agony again she wailed—the cypress branches, nay, the very stones (around her) rent. May such be the fate of all our enemies!

1198. The melody of her weeping overwhelmed the (sweet voices of the) birds. Distraught from the forest did they flee and to the Panjāb² haste.

¹ I am not certain of this translation. MSS. differ.

² The writer, of course, is picturing the whole as happening in Kashmir, which lies immediately to the north of the Panjāb.

- गुलौ खलि उकु तसन्दु वयु ज्ञन पयख हाय ।
रटिषु जदौ म्यच्च तन कुन रंढूख जाय ॥ ११९९ ॥
- तनेतनहा स सीता क्वाह कुभूय ज्ञजू ।
कंडौ काठौ-सूतिन यख-सान सौपजू ॥ १२०० ॥
- अखिव्-किनि अंगु अथौ खोरी हंरन खून ।
पवान बुधि-किनि वसिष्ठ चम्पन लंजूस जून ॥ १२०१ ॥
- वननि लंजू कंतु मुह गव यमि नार ज्ञाजूस ।
मुह कंतु गव यमि बूह कर्मनि शाठ लाजूस ॥ १२०२ ॥
- मुह कंतु गव यमि कंरूस अद नार-निशु स्वन ।
मुह कंतु गव यमि करिषु यख-सान दितु हन ॥ १२०३ ॥
- मुह कंतु गव यमि कंरूस उज्ज्वन अवारय ।
मुह कंतु गव यमि वरिषु दिवूनस बूह नारय ॥ १२०४ ॥
- स अख नोजुख वदन विय इकू गरौवार् ।
अयिमू स्त्रीवन वतां-रंछू आवार् ॥ १२०५ ॥
- इह चूरिमू चूरि ज्ञन मन्दोदरिय जाय ।
ज्ञनख राजूस ववस लंगितन स्रटाह आय ॥ १२०६ ॥
- वदनि लंजू अख गयस कंजू वाव लंजू वन ।
वनस-कुन ज्ञजू गयस हंजू अंजू-गर्दन ॥ १२०७ ॥
- वनस-मज्ज इय वनान गंछिनय कनन रोज्ज ।
छाह कोताह ज्ञार वनान यव च्ह कनौ वोज्ज ॥ १२०८ ॥
- खवर कैह छाम न कर् फुटंरुम तमिस मन ।
तवय म्य ताप-सूत्य दंजू नार हन हन ॥ १२०९ ॥
- खवर कैह छाम न तस कमि इह कंरुम वाद ।
कंडौ-सूतिन म्य नील्लेयेम ज्ञज्ञंलि पाद ॥ १२१० ॥
- खवर कैह छाम न कर् म्यूलुम अतीतन ।
तिमौ दंपुहम च्ह न्यशपरतीषु सौपन ॥ १२११ ॥
- खवर कैह छाम न कर् तस-सूत्य कंरुम न्याय ।
तवय वुन इछा स्वर्गच्य हिय पययन हाय ॥ १२१२ ॥
- खवर कैह छाम न कम कौकान म्य आसि इय ।
तिमौ दंपुहम च्ह सौपन यंचू ज्ञदांसिय ॥ १२१३ ॥
- खवर कैह छाम न कस वोवुम तसन्दु सीर ।
तवय दितुनम वरिषु वालिंज्य इछु तीर ॥ १२१४ ॥

1199. When the roses looked upon her (sorrowing) face, soot as it were fell on them : yellow did they turn, and low on the ground they hid themselves.

1200. Utterly alone was Sītā. Lonely indeed was she. Her only companions were thorns and broken sticks.

1201. From her eyes tears, and from her hands and feet blood she dropped : prone did she fall, a veil, as 'twere of moonlight, coming to her eyes.

1202. Cried she : " Where is he gone, who me in fire hath burnt ? Where is he gone, who on Fate's shoal hath cast me ?

1203. " Where is he gone, who brought pure gold from fire ? ¹ Where is he gone, who two in one united ? ²

1204. " Where is he gone, who now hath made me homeless ? Where is he gone, who into fire cast me ? "

1205. Delicate of frame was Sītā, and eke heavy with child : moreover, a woman, desolate and lacking her lord, was she.

1206. In the fourth place, of Mandôdarī was she the daughter, born in stealth (and by her abandoned). Long may Janaka, Sītā's foster-father, live !

1207. She wept. Dumb became her tongue with grief. To a forest came she, and into it she fled, her swan-neck all awry.

1208. Once in the forest, spake she these words—hearken thou to them with both thine ears. Without measure did she lament—and in thine ears let thou her words abide.

1209. " No memory have I that e'er his will I disobeyed, yet with burning heat is each limb of me consumed by fire.

1210. " No memory have I that e'er with him I quarrelled, yet (as a punishment for that) with thorns livid have become my rosy feet.

1211. " No memory have I that e'er at the poor I scoffed, yet even they have said to me, ' Be thou no longer trusted.'

1212. " No memory have I that e'er with him I bandied words, and yet on me—a jasmine of paradise—hath fallen soot.

1213. " No memory have I that e'er did any wish for me this fate, yet have they said of me ' Be thou utterly forlorn.'

1214. " No memory have I that e'er of him a secret I betrayed, and yet this arrow hath he buried in my heart.

¹ An allusion to Sītā's ordeal by fire in *Laṅkā*.

² I.e. who took her back after the ordeal.

खवर् कैह छाम न तस-प्यट कर दितुम लाफ ।	
तवय लिष्टु गोम नतय इष्टु क्वाह कैहम पाफ ॥	॥ १२१५ ॥
पकान गय रथ ककान वारा स सीता ।	
वनान तस रामचंद्रस-कुन स लीला ॥	॥ १२१६ ॥
बृह बोझान कोन कुख कुय-ना यिवान आर ।	
म्य क्वाह कैहमय बृह कंकुयस इहू गिरिफतार ॥	॥ १२१७ ॥
बृह आसख मसनदस-प्यट तिष्टु खूशी-सान ।	
बृह गुवा इष्टु कंडान-प्यट हालि-हीरान ॥	॥ १२१८ ॥
खतुम क्वाह पाफ बृज रक्तम परन-तन् ।	
गयस आवार वाराह कुजू त कीवल् ॥	॥ १२१९ ॥
वनान आसिम ज्ञनख राज्ञू कूमारी ।	
बुक्खि उज्ज्वल कंकुम मा कैसि योरी ॥	॥ १२२० ॥
बुक्कान कुख-ना गमचू क्वाह छस अवारय ।	
वदन-सूतिन् वदन गोम पार-पारय ॥	॥ १२२१ ॥
बुक्खि उज्ज्वल अक्खि छस रथ बृह चावान ।	
बुक्खि वथ रावि बृज मा कौह कुह हावान ॥	॥ १२२२ ॥
अ दंपुषम-ना बृह छाख नोबुख गुल्-अन्दास ।	
बुक्कान कुख-ना बृह उज्ज्वल क्वाह वनिष् आम ॥	॥ १२२३ ॥
अ दंपुषम-ना बृह छाख वागचू यम्बरजन् ।	
बुक्कान कुख-ना गक्कान क्वाह कुम कंडान-तन् ॥	॥ १२२४ ॥
अ दंपुषम-ना बृह चन्द्रम छाख प्रज्ञलवञ्जू ।	
बुक्कान कुख-ना पकान कय छस कुनूय ज्ञञ्जू ॥	॥ १२२५ ॥
अ दंपुषम-ना अ नोबुख छाख वदन तन् ।	
बुक्कान कुख-ना म्य डीगिय कंडि किह खोजन् ॥	॥ १२२६ ॥
अ दंपुषम-ना अ कौसल्या रक्खिय जान ।	
बुक्कान कुख-ना तमि ति मा म्योनु रंटु पान् ॥	॥ १२२७ ॥
अ दंपुषम-ना बृह छाख सार्यनि अछान गाश ।	
बुक्खि उज्ज्वल म्य मा बृज कैसि-इहू आश ॥	॥ १२२८ ॥
कुनूय आसूस कुनूय ओसुख बृह म्योनुय ।	
गयम जल पाप-सूख बृज म्वल् म्य जोनुय ॥	॥ १२२९ ॥
कमिस नद राह म्य पानस लानि ओसुम ।	
यिह कुम वृगुन् तिह मा बृज कैसि कोसुम ॥	॥ १२३० ॥

1215. "No memory have I that e'er before him I showed pride of self, yet such a sin must I have done, for on me hath humiliation fallen."

1216. So wailing, on went Sītā, blood dropping from her wounds the while, and as the way she traversed, thus to Rāma did she make lament :—

1217. "Ah, why dost thou not hear me ? Doth no pity come to thee ? What have I done that thou in misery hast prisoned me ?

1218. "While thou in comfort thus art seated on thy throne, seemly is it that I on thorns should be distraught ?

1219. "What fault have I committed ? Now at thy feet I fall ; ah, shelter me. No home have I, alone and lorn.

1220. "Once was I called 'the princess, daughter of King Janaka', and now, behold, there is none to show me friendship.

1221. "Dost thou not see how desolate I have become, and how, from my weeping, crushed to pieces hath become my body ?

1222. "Behold how from my eyes 'tis tears of blood I shed ; behold how, if I lose my way, no one is there to lead me right.

1223. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Thy form is tender as a rose', and dost thou now not see what hath befallen me ?

1224. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Of the garden art thou the daffodil,' and dost thou not see how beneath thorns I fare ?

1225. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Thou art the moon ashine in all its glory,' and dost thou not now see how all alone I walk ?

1226. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Very tender is thy form,' and dost thou not now see how, when they look upon me, the very thorns shrink from me in fear ?

1227. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Well will Kausalyā keep thee safe,' and dost thou not now see that even she hath not my body clasped ?

1228. "Didst thou not once say to me, 'Thou art a light unto the eyes of all ?' and, behold, now in no one have I hope.

1229. "Once was I thine alone, and thou alone wast mine ; and now, for my sins, am I unwanted ; now my true price I know.

1230. "On whom may I lay the blame for this my woe ? What I must suffer was in my fate decreed, and no one is there who can it from me remove.

अमा कुम् इय मनस् करि-ना ख्यमा वृत् ।	
मनस् धवतो म्य मशरावतो न मो वृत् ॥	॥ १२३१ ॥
मन्यम ध्वद्वै म्य ग्रीम ह्यम इय मनस् राय ।	
बृह मशराविष्य कर विय क्वाह म्य कुम् पाय ॥	॥ १२३२ ॥
म्य यंतु तामय कडन् अज् तन् इह जामय ।	
परान् आसय बृह तंतु ताञ् राम रामय ॥	॥ १२३३ ॥
मन्यम त्वलि तनि गह्यम अलि सारिसंय सूर ।	
नरुख दूर्यर च-निश स्वर्गचू दंक्षुस् हर ॥	॥ १२३४ ॥
प्रलय अलि सौपन्यम त्वलि तन् बृह नावय ।	
मुञ्जरिष्य मीन यिम्सूराख् हावय ॥	॥ १२३५ ॥
प्रलय त्वलि अलि पनञ्जु तन् नार जालय ।	
गयस् तंतु ताञ् दयस् कंक्षुमञ्जु हवालय ॥	॥ १२३६ ॥
त्रह कुख् आकाश म्य च वात्या कश्नु जौर ।	
तिह मा गंज्रुष्य इह शानन्-ष्यट खंतुम् वोर ॥	॥ १२३७ ॥
कुह पंजु यस् पाफ् खसि तस् वाति ह्यंनु प्रान् ।	
अमा न ज्ञि पज्ञि चिय-ष्यट इहू करंजु हान ॥	॥ १२३८ ॥
म्य पापौ-रेस्तु कंक्षुमो सितेज्य ।	
यितम् तव-स्तुत कर्तम् रेज-रेज्य ॥	॥ १२३९ ॥
तिह मा वंनुमय पंजुय सोरय म्य ह्यम् रय ।	
च मा कंक्षुम ख्यमा तिहू ख्यय न खानय ॥	॥ १२४० ॥
इह मा गंज्रुष्य म्य मा मन्दकन यियम् नाव ।	
दपन् मा लूख कमि-सग्न्य रच वनिष्य आव ॥	॥ १२४१ ॥
दप्यम् काँह कय जमीनस् कुम् मकानय ।	
दपख बुधि-किनि ष्ययस् वुञ् आस्मानय ॥	॥ १२४२ ॥
दप्यम् अद पंजु च ताञ् क्वाह किय वनान् नाव ।	
दपख सार्यनि गह्नु रोज्ञनि कुम् आव ॥	॥ १२४३ ॥
दप्यम् अद यिति गह्नुय आसंजु ब्यहन् जाय ।	
दपख सार्यनि गह्नु तथ जाय यतिय आव ॥	॥ १२४४ ॥

1231. "Still one hope there is within my thoughts, that haply he may even now show mercy. Ah, bear thou me in thy mind; forget me not.

1232. "If e'er I forget my love, then, in my heart, sure am I of this alone—that if I do aught forgetting it, then no other shift have I.

1233. "Until they drag these very garments from my body, so long shall I do naught but let the cry of 'Rāma, Rāma' pass my lips.

1234. "Ne'er shall I it forget, until to ashes is my whole form reduced. Farness from thee is Hell, and in it I, an angel of Heaven, am here consumed.

1235. "When destruction cometh to me, then only will I my body bathe: come thou to me, and my bosom will I unveil, and show to thee the wounds (that thou hast pierced).

1236. "Then only will my destruction come, when with fire I consume my flesh; and then, and only then, shall I be delivered to the care of God.

1237. "Exalted in the heavens art thou, and is it meet that me thou shouldst oppress? Hast thou not bethought thyself that on my shoulders mounted is this load?

1238. "True is it that his life should forfeit be, whose guilt is proved; but never is it seemly thus (causelessly) to torment a woman.

1239. "Mine is no guilt, and, lo, thou showest me no mercy: ah, come thou to me, even if thou must to pieces rend me.

1240. "Have not I said to thee, 'In truth, (if the task need it) take thou all my blood,' and mercy hast thou then ever shown? Nay, such was not thy way.

1241. "Hast thou never bethought thyself that disgraced would be thy name; that men will ask, 'Whose queen is this that to such distress hath come?'

1242. "If any man say such words to me, (I can but answer make that) on the earth is (but now) my abiding place. To them will I say that down from heaven am I fallen prone.

1243. "If then he ask me, 'Tell, of a truth, by what name art thou called?' 'Tis the fate of all,' will I reply, 'from hence to go; for who has ever come to abide for aye?'

1244. "If then he say to me, 'Here is it meet for thee to find a place to rest', Then will I answer make to them, 'Tis the fate of all to go thither whence they came.'

- प्रियम् अद क्वाञ्चिच्छस् अंगु यतु हारान् ।
दपस् छस् अंगु हरन्-कनि स्वक्त हारान् ॥ १२४५ ॥
- न तय बूञ्चिन् इय दय विय काँह म बूञ्चिन् ।
इमन् सीरन् म्य तस्-निश पर्द कूञ्चिन् ॥ १२४६ ॥
- विशामिचन् ववस् वनुमन् कुह सीतार ।
ब्रह् दिस् जेधर करिय रंति रंति इह प्वचकार ॥ १२४७ ॥
- तिह मा आसूस् खवर् सीताय चाव्यम् ।
स सीता मय जन्म मा मन्दकाव्यम् ॥ १२४८ ॥
- तिह मा गेञ्जन् इह मा इद-गुरि मिञ्जाञ्चय ।
कुह मा दीनन् विचुकन्-हन्दु राज्ञय ॥ १२४९ ॥
- वनान् गय इय सनेयेस् खोर खवर्चन् ।
पकनि लंज ताव-कुख लंगु लाव्य मूर्यन् ॥ १२५० ॥
- पकान् गय रथ ककान् कोसम् अथौ-सूत्य ।
कञ्चन् सुरास् गय तसञ्जौ कथौ-सूत्य ॥ १२५१ ॥
- पवान् वंसि वंसि गङ्गान् जद जन् गुलालन् ।
अथौ-सूत्य अफ करनि लंज कूड जालन् ॥ १२५२ ॥
- वनस् मज्ज ताञ् वुकुन् अख रंतु मकानाह ।
करिथ वुञ्जकु मुह थाविथ तावदानाह ॥ १२५३ ॥
- अथौ खोरौ अक्खि व तूरि-कुन् पकान् ज्ञय ।
अङ्गाह अख पर्जनोवुन् जन् लंबुन् दय ॥ १२५४ ॥
- मुह वांलीकी अञ्जीथर मौलि-सन्दु गोर ।
जहानस् फेरवुन् वातवुन् चुवापोर ॥ १२५५ ॥
- निराश गामंभू ततिय तिहू तस्-निशिन् चाय ।
उक्खि मज्ज-वाग् अञ्चन् तस् अञ्शि कंरुन् जाय ॥ १२५६ ॥
- मुवह फुल्ल अजगट जंजु गाश विय आव ।
प्रजलवुन् सूर्य पर्वत-तल न्यवर द्राव ॥ १२५७ ॥

1245. "If then he ask me, 'Why dost thou shed so many tears?' To them will I answer give, 'True, I am shedding tears—nay pearls I scatter.'

1246. "If God will not hear my plaint, let no other hear. Over my secrets, let there be a veil twixt me and Him.

1247. "To my father declared Viśvāmitra, 'He is incarnate God. To him, in marriage, do thou the damsel give, for well to thee will he perform the duties of a son.'

1248. "Little did my father guess that me—Sītā—Rāma would abandon, or that Sītā would for seven births put him to shame.

1249. "Nay, surely thought he, 'This youth hath the pure nature of a suckling babe. A king is he, with whom the unhappy and the poor take refuge.'

1250. So on she wandered, her feet sinking into the gravel sharp, and as she walked, came burning wounds upon her tender limbs.

1251. Along went she, blood dropping from her saffron hands, and at her words the very stones on which she trod were pierced.

1252. Stumbling and falling as she went, each gaping wound a (crimson) rose, as with her hands she grasped the thorny shrubs.

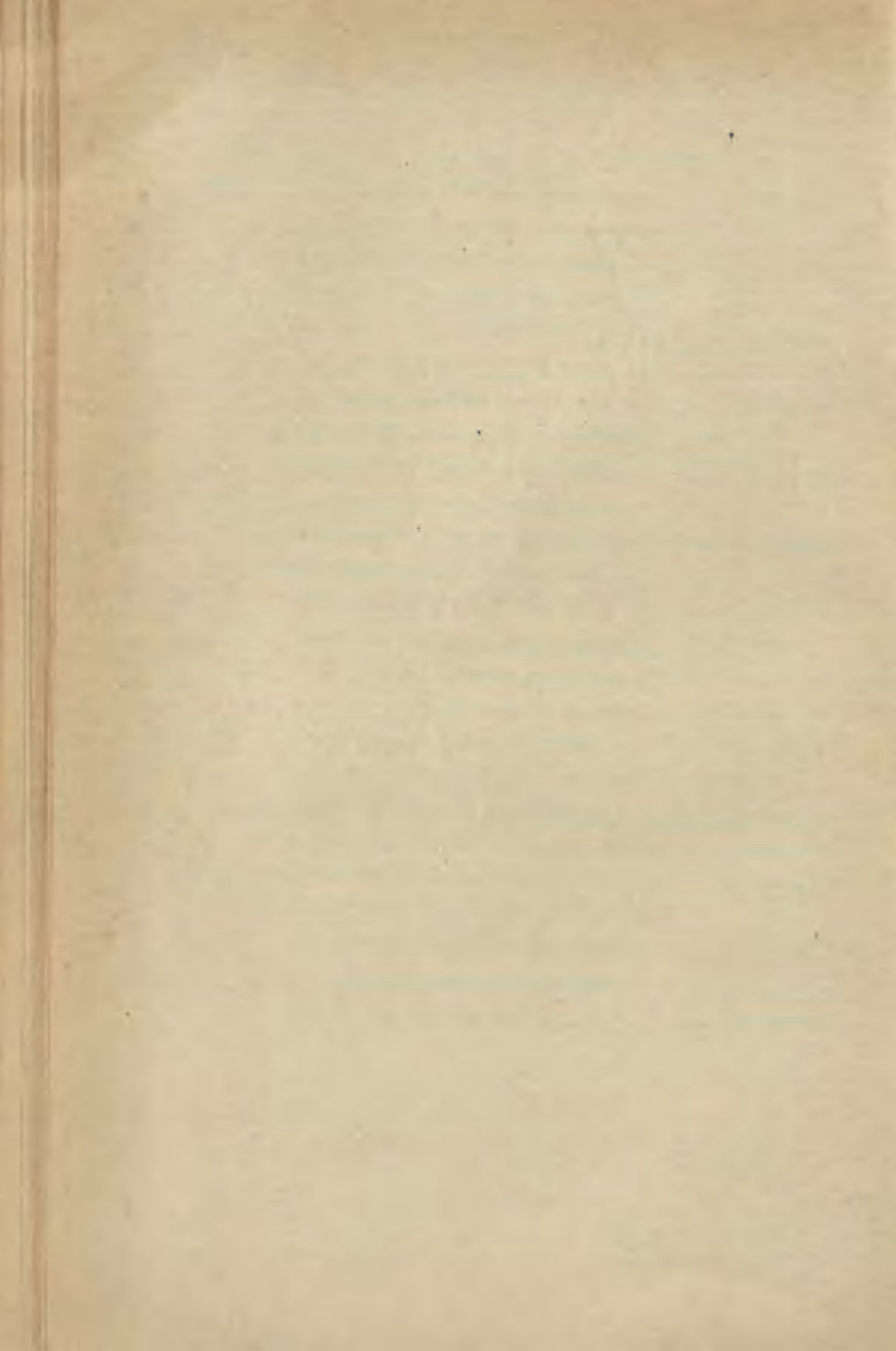
1253. At length, in the forest, came she across a dwelling fair—a mere shade of birch-bark to ward off the sun.

1254. Led thither by her hands, her feet, her eyes, descried she a holy man, on whom she looked as God;

1255. For he was no other than Vālmiki, her Father's Guide in Grace. O'er the whole world had he roamed, and of the compass had each quarter visited.

1256. Despairing, just as she was, to him she came; and he, as her he saw, made place for her, as though she were the apple of his eye.

1257. Dawn came to her, and darkness fled away; again did daylight shine. From beneath the (fabled) mountain came forth the radiant sun.



LES INFLUENCES POPULAIRES DANS LA CHANDOGYA-UPANISAD

By J. PRZYLUSKI

DANS les sociétés les plus diverses, le regard de l'homme est considéré comme omineux. Il exerce une influence qui, suivant les circonstances, peut être faste ou néfaste. La croyance au "mauvais œil" a entraîné l'emploi de mesures prophylactiques. Puisque l'œil est le siège d'une force redoutable, il faut neutraliser le maléfice et diriger la force du regard vers des conséquences heureuses. Ce résultat est souvent obtenu au moyen d'une formule qui peut se réduire à une simple exclamation. Tel est sans doute le sanskrit *bhadramukha*, pali *bhaddamukha*, dont on se servait pour aborder les personnes. Ce composé signifie "celui dont le visage (ou la vue) porte bonheur". Employé au vocatif, il était destiné à provoquer le fait énoncé, ou du moins à empêcher que le contraire ne se produisît.

Du skt. *bhadramukha*, cité par Pāṇini et fréquent dans la littérature bouddhique, on peut rapprocher un vocatif analogue employé dans la *Chāndogya-upanīṣad*, iv, 1, 2. Des oiseaux *haṃsa* volent dans la nuit. L'un d'eux interpelle son compagnon pour lui signaler une lueur qui pourrait être dangereuse : "Ho ! hoyi ! *bhallākṣa*, *bhallākṣa* . . ." *Bhallākṣa* est sans doute l'équivalent populaire de sanskrit *bhadrākṣa*, "celui dont l'œil porte bonheur."¹ Ce n'est pas nécessairement un nom propre ainsi que le suggère la traduction de Böhtlingk (p. 36).

Bhadramukha et *bhallākṣa* permettent en outre de préciser la valeur du composé fameux *piyadasi* qui, dans les inscriptions d'Asoka, désigne le monarque lui-même. *Priyadarśin* pourrait signifier "celui qui regarde avec affection" mais nous ne devons pas séparer de *piyadasi* l'autre composé qui l'accompagne régulièrement : *devānaṃ-piya*. Si nous traduisons celui-ci par "favori des dieux" il faut entendre celui-là "qui regarde avec faveur". Les deux termes sont sans doute complémentaires. C'est parce qu'il a la faveur des dieux que le grand roi, par son regard, est favorable aux hommes.

On peut soulever une objection contre cette interprétation : *bha-*

¹ Cf. Weber, *Ind. St.*, ii, 88.

dramukha dans l'usage courant est un vocatif, tandis que *piyadasi* est employé par Aśoka, parlant de soi, comme si c'était son propre nom. La difficulté n'est pas sérieuse. Un adjectif de bon augure, *āyusmat* par exemple chez les Bouddhistes, pouvait servir indifféremment à interpeller une personne ou à parler d'elle hors de sa présence ; ce pouvait être encore le substitut d'un nom qu'on croyait avoir avantage à taire. Ces trois acceptions apparaissent clairement dans l'emploi de *bhagavant* usité tour à tour comme épithète, vocatif et comme équivalent du nom de Viṣṇu et d'autres divinités.

On vient de supposer que les Indo-aryens, comme tant d'autres peuples, croyaient à la puissance du regard. Cette idée s'exprime nettement dans la *Chând.-upan.*, iv, 15, où l'esprit (*puruṣa*) qu'on aperçoit dans l'œil reçoit, entre autres noms, celui de Vāmanī. Vāma "bon, cher, agréable" est synonyme de *priya*. Vāmanī (de *vāma* + *nī*) est exactement traduit dans le Dict. de St. Pétersbourg par "Güter bringend" et peut être rendu par "porte-bonheur".

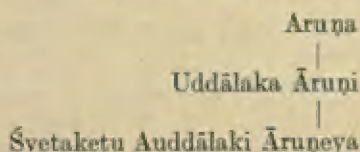
La présence dans la *Chând.-upan.* d'une forme populaire telle que *bhallākṣa* invite à poser le problème des sources de cet ouvrage. Déjà dans l'*Introduction* à son édition critique (p. x), Böhtlingk disait de cette Upaniṣad : "Sie macht überhaupt den Eindruck, als wenn sie aus verschiedenen Werken zusammengestoppelt wäre". En fait plusieurs morceaux, comme l'histoire des oiseaux *haṃsa* et celle de Satyakāma Jābāla, iv, 4-9, semblent des emprunts au folklore. Ce sont probablement, comme certains *avadāna* bouddhiques, des contes enchâssés dans une œuvre didactique. Ainsi pourrait s'expliquer la présence, dans ces histoires, de mots imparfaitement sanskritisés. Mais l'œuvre didactique elle-même ne contient-elle pas des formes analogues ?

On rencontre dans des passages d'un caractère exclusivement philosophique (v, 11 et 14) le nom propre Indradyumna Bhāllaveya. Śaṅkara considère Bhāllaveya comme dérivé du patronymique Bhāllavi, lequel dériverait lui-même de Bhallavi. Malheureusement, nous ne savons si cette explication a été puisée à une source sûre ou si elle a été imaginée par le commentateur pour les besoins de la cause.¹

Parmi les maîtres qui sont mentionnés dans les Brāhmaṇa et les Upaniṣad, quelques uns ont trois noms : un premier qui leur est

¹ Böhtlingk (*Chând.-Up.*, p. v) se montre justement sévère pour ce commentateur.

personnel, un second dérivé du nom du père, un troisième dérivé du nom de l'aïeul. Par exemple, Aruṇa Aupaveśi a pour fils Uddālaka Āruṇi lequel a pour fils Śvetaketu Auddālaki Āruṇeya :



Bhāllaveya paraît être formé comme Āruṇeya ; il dériverait alors de *Bhallava par l'intermédiaire de Bhāllavi.

Il y a une autre éventualité à considérer. Après avoir nommé Indradyumna Bhāllaveya, la *Chānd.-upan.* cite un peu plus loin Aśvapati Kaikeya. Kaikeya désigne un peuple bien connu du Nord-Ouest de l'Inde. Bhāllaveya pourrait être également un ethnique ou un adjectif dérivé d'un ethnique. Ainsi *bhālleya* dérive de l'ethnique Bhalla (Pāṇini, 4, 2, 80). De fait :

Bhāllaveya est à *Bhallava
comme Bhālleya est à Bhalla.

Faut-il choisir entre les deux termes de cette alternative : Bhāllaveya dérivé d'un patronymique ou d'un ethnique ? Non pas nécessairement, car l'un n'exclut point l'autre. Puisqu'à partir de *Bhallava on peut avoir des dérivés Bhāllavi, Bhāllaveya, on conçoit qu'un maître de la tribu *Bhallava ait reçu le nom de Bhāllavi et que son fils ou son disciple ait été nommé Bhāllaveya. Cette induction est fondée sur le fait que Bhāllavin au pluriel désigne les membres d'une école. Or Bhāllavin est exactement comparable à Āruṇin qui désigne les disciples d'Āruṇi.

Au total, si la série des dérivés : Āruṇi, Āruṇeya, Āruṇin s'explique à partir d'un nom : Aruṇa, la série parallèle : Bhāllavi, Bhāllaveya, Bhāllavin peut s'expliquer en partant de *Bhallava. Et d'autre part, puisqu'un ethnique Bhalla a un dérivé Bhālleya, Bhāllaveya peut venir d'un ethnique *Bhallava qui serait à Bhalla comme l'ethnique Mālava est à Māla.¹ Toute cette onomastique obéit à des règles particulières, auxquelles Pāṇini fait seulement allusion, et c'est pourquoi il semble difficile de séparer des formes comme Bhālleya et Bhāllaveya.

Il sort des faits analysés plus haut que l'auteur ou les auteurs de

¹ Cf. *Un ancien peuple du Panjab : les Udumbara*, J. As., 1926, I, p. 9 et suiv.

la *Chând.-upan.* avaient probablement des attaches dans des milieux sociaux extérieurs à l'aristocratie brahmanique. L'expression *bhallākṣa* trahit une origine populaire. En outre Bhāllaveya, s'il faut le rattacher à la série Bhalla, Bhadra, etc. . . . nous invite sans doute à regarder vers les régions excentriques, ethniquement bigarrées, où les influences anaryennes ont continué longtemps à se faire sentir.

SANSKRIT AND PRAKRIT IN THE ARYA ELUTTU—A NOTE

By K. R. PISHAROTI

THE editions of Sanskrit dramas based entirely on manuscripts written in the local vernacular script, called *Ārya Eluttu*, present interesting subjects for linguistic study. The Prakrit of many of these dramas, and especially the dramas wrongly assigned to Bhāsa, has been examined by various scholars, and the general conclusions derived thence have been utilized as one of the arguments in support of the Bhāsa-theory. But careful study of the original texts and the printed edition of them shows that in transforming the original Malayali script into Devanagari print some liberties have been taken by the local editors, including Mm. Dr. T. Ganapati Sastri, the late lamented editor of the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series. The first thing that arrests the attention of the student who examines the manuscripts is the presence of small circles written by the side of the letters, as for instance in: MUHUoTĀ, EoVĀ, etc. The general principle that has guided the editors has been to double the consonant following the small circle, when it stands by the side of the letter, and to treat it as an *anuvāra* when it stands above the letter. This procedure of giving two different values to the same symbol is, however, very much open to question.

The present Malayalam script, known also as *Ārya Eluttu*, i.e. the Aryan Script, was originally used by Malayalis for writing Sanskrit, and not the vernacular. The original script for this latter was the *Vatṭeluttu*, the "Round Script", which was given up in favour of the *Ārya Eluttu* when Malayalam withdrew from its former close affinities with Tamil and connected itself more with Sanskrit. This *Ārya Eluttu* is a full and perfect script, every symbol of which has its own fixed phonetic value. Moreover, the symbols used after consonants to represent vowels, including nasalized vowels, affect only the preceding only and never the following, except in the case of the vowels -e-, -o-, and -ai-, and even here only partially. Again, symbolic representation of the doubling of a consonant or word is never used in this script. There is, indeed, a form of reduplication denoted by a symbol; but this always refers to a sentence, and the only symbols used in it are -Ṣ- or -Ḍ-, and the sentence doubled is always the preceding, and never the following; as for instance, in the

sentence JAYATU MAHĀRĀJAḤ, which represents JAYATU MAHĀRĀJAḤ JAYATU MAHĀRĀJAḤ. In the case of sounds and words reduplication is denoted by writing twice the sound or word to be doubled, and never by means of a symbol, if we are to be guided by the local representation of Sanskrit. Thus neither the native genius of the script nor the practice of it allows us to regard a consonant following a small circle as doubled in Prakrit.

The accepted phonetic value of the small circle also invalidates the practice of the editors. The small circle has one, and only one, value in the *Ārya E,uttu*: it stands for *anusvāra* as such or as convertible into *-m-*. Take for instance the following: (a) KĪ EoVĀ; (b) RĀMAo VANDĒ or VANDĒ RĀMAo. In the first of these examples, the first and the last small circles represent *anusvāra* (or *-m-*), while the middle one is taken to denote the doubling of the following consonant *-v-*. In the second instance, the small circle stands for *anusvāra* in the first case and *-m-* in the second case. In Sanskrit this symbol occurs only in one position, and that is always by the side of the letter, and there it is understood only as *anusvāra* or *-m-*. In Prakrit, however, it occurs in two positions, above the letter and by the side of the letter, and the modern editors have assigned to it two different values in these two positions: the value of an *anusvāra* (as in Sanskrit) when it is above the letter, and as denoting reduplication of the following letter when it stands by the side of a previous letter. It will thus be seen that *the same symbol, the small circle, is given different values in the same position in Sanskrit and Prakrit, and in different positions in Prakrit*. When it is remembered that the local *Ārya E,utta* is a full and perfect script, having a fixed phonetic value for each one of its symbols, it appears unwarranted to give two different values to a symbol, especially as no sufficient reasons have been adduced. *Prima facie*, therefore, we cannot accept this interpretation of the small circle as denoting reduplication of the consonant following it, and would therefore attempt a new explanation.

In accordance with the general practice of the script, and in the light of the accepted value of the symbol in Malayalam, in Sanskrit, and in one position in Prakrit, we incline to regard the small circle as having a value allied to the *anusvāra*: in other words, we should rather take it as a symbol denoting the nasalization of the preceding vowel. Why then, it may be asked, is the symbol used in different positions in Prakrit? The answer is that the circle above the letter indicates the *anusvāra* which Prakrit possesses in common with

Sanskrit, while the same by the side of the letter denotes the nasalization peculiar to Prakrit. The view that this symbol indicates nasalization is based not merely on the scribes' practice, but also on one of the traditions of stage-practice and the fact that the female characters, whose speech is mostly Prakritic, use a nasalized utterance. When one speaks in a sing-song tone, he is generally compared to the Nangyar women, who alone are allowed to impersonate the female characters on the orthodox local stage. These are proverbial for their nasal pronunciation on the stage, a feature which marks them even to-day; and this clearly suggests that *the Prakrit of the local stage is characterized by an excessive nasalization*. We are, therefore, justified in assuming that the small circles that appear so profusely in the Prakrit as represented in the local *Ārya Kluttu* correctly represent the natural proneness of this Prakrit to nasalization. If this view is right, we have here a specific feature of the Kēraḷa stage-Prakrit. At what point this tendency to nasalization set in, and what the circumstances are which favoured or necessitated it, are subjects for future research.¹

We have now referred to one aspect of our script, probably the most important. A couple of other peculiarities, scarcely less important, may also be mentioned. They arise from (1) the carelessness or ignorance of scribes, and (2) the phonetic habit of Malayalis of pronouncing initial *t*- in a consonantal compound as *l*-.

To the first of these is due the abnormal change of *p*- into *v*-, which, on account of the similarity of these letters in writing, need not be regarded as a peculiarity of the local stage-Prakrit. Even here it is

¹ This view implies that Kēralan Prakrit turned into *anuvāra* or *anuvāsika* a short vowel before a consonant reduced from a group of two or more consonants, e.g. *āvaṇa*, *muhūṭaṇa* (cf. Pkt. *aṇṇa*, *daṇṇaṇa*, from *āva*, *darāṇa*: Pischel. *Gramm. d. Pkt.-Spr.* § 74). It may be asked how far this theory, which explains the small circle of the MSS. as a nasal sign, is applicable to spellings like *AoA* (Skt. *ārya*), or *SUoA* (Skt. *sūrya*). On any hypothesis it is difficult to find a phonetic explanation for spellings of this kind. If the little circle denotes reduplication of the following consonant (as is assumed in the editions of the Trivandrum texts), the *a* following the circle, not being a consonant, cannot be reduplicated; if the circle stands for a sound something like *-yy* or *-jj* (Pischel, § 284) it cannot be followed by a syllable beginning with *a*-; and if it represents an *anuvāra* or *anuvāsika*, it is hard to find exact analogies for the change of e.g. *ayya* and *suṇṇa* (Skt. *ārya*, *sūrya*) to *aṇṇa* or *āṇṇa* and *suṇṇa* or *sūṇṇa*. But the last hypothesis, that of Mr. Pisharoti, seems on the whole to present the least difficulties; in Apabhraṃśa the change of *-yya-* to *-vva-* (Pischel, § 254) and of *-va* to *-va* (id. § 261) is well attested, hence we may assume a process *ayya*, *suṇṇa* > *ava*, *suva* > *āva*, *sūva* > *āṇṇa*, *sūṇṇa*. The Prakrit of the dramas is certainly not Apabhraṃśa; but perhaps the peculiar conventions of stage-pronunciation in Kēraḷa might have produced there the same phonetic phenomenon in this connection as that which occurred in Apabhraṃśa.—L. D. B.

not maintained consistently, as can be seen from the illustrations EoKĀ PI and AHĀ VI; such variation suggests only carelessness of scribes. Another phenomenon is the result of confusion, due mainly to ignorance, regarding the proper use of *anuvāra* and the *parasavarṇa vidhi*; it is illustrated in the spelling of the common word KĀPĀ and KANPĀ.

The second peculiarity is the habit of pronouncing *t* as *l* when it is the initial member of a compound, whether the latter is initial, medial, or final. This change of the dental occurs only when it is compounded with gutturals and labials (excluding the nasals) and with *-s-* and *-ṣ-*. Some persons find fault with this pronunciation of the Malayalis, forgetting that it is derived from the Rg-vēda as recited in this corner of India. This utterance has naturally affected the script also, and thus has created much confusion: to mention but one instance, we have VĀLMĪKI side by side with VĀTMĪKI and VĀNMĪKI, where the latter two forms are evidently the result of false analogy. Thus the scribes' ignorance of the proper use of *anuvāra* and *parasavarṇa vidhi* and the habit of pronouncing *t* as *l* are responsible for a series of peculiarities which can be scarcely regarded as phonetic: they are mainly scribal.

There are thus in the dramas popular on the local stage two sets of peculiarities, one linguistic and the other scribal. The first of these is the presence of an excessive nasalization in the Prakrit, a feature that has been obliterated in the printed Dēva-nāgarī editions by an unwarranted evaluation of the small circle as a symbol for doubling of the following consonant. The scribal peculiarities are suppressed in the Sanskrit portion, but inconsistently kept in the Prakrit passages. These features, therefore, should be borne in mind in studying the Prakrit of these dramas from the printed texts alone.

It will not be out of place, I hope, in this connection to point out that the so-called Prakritic peculiarities of the dramas assigned to Bhāsa ought to be reconsidered in view of the facts set forth above, while all the arguments of the Bhāsites in support of their theory which they base on linguistic peculiarities noted by them from the printed texts, without reference to the local Ārya Eluttu in which these texts are preserved, stand invalidated.

STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC LITERATURE

By H. A. R. GIBB

II. MANFALŪṬĪ AND THE "NEW STYLE"

IN the preceding survey of Arabic literature during the nineteenth century,¹ special emphasis was deliberately laid on two aspects of the subject, the struggle between the old and the new conceptions and ideals, and the gradual emergence of a simplified Arabic prose style. If it is asked why a point of view apparently so narrow and exclusive should have been adopted, to the prejudice of a more detailed investigation of the personal and literary characteristics of the individual writers, the answer is twofold. These two questions in fact overshadowed the literature of the time, as indeed every aspect of life in the Arabic East was overshadowed by the similar conflict of old and new ideals and the problem of a new technique. In the second place, it must be admitted that the literary productions of the century were of little merit in themselves, and important only for the influence which they exerted in one or the other direction. There are few young men in Egypt and Syria to-day who know even the names of the writers of the seventies and eighties, and practically none to whom their works would make any appeal. With the single exception of Naṣīf al-Yāzījī, who was in reality a belated representative of mediæval Arabic literature, the writers of the nineteenth century faithfully reflect the ideas, conditions, and problems of their own day and community, and with the gradual change which these have undergone have lost all but a historical value.

It is desirable therefore to pause at the threshold of the twentieth century, and inquire into the exact nature of the problem which, in its literary bearings, lay before the writers of the new generation, and how far the experience of their predecessors had guided them to a solution.

To this problem there are two sides, one psychological, the other stylistic. The former is the more fundamental, but to deal with it fully would far outrun the limits of this article. Its roots lie in the methods of education adopted in Egypt and elsewhere, the twist so

¹ *Bulletin*, Vol. IV, 745-60. See also the additional notes at the end of this article.

given to the minds of the literate classes and their consequent capacity, or lack of capacity, either to adhere to the orthodox Muslim world-view or to assimilate the intellectual basis of Western thought and literature. It is obvious that the imitation of Western models initiated by the violent impact of Western life on the East remained and must remain sterile until such assimilation can issue in a community of intellectual method and aim. The earlier literature of the nineteenth century, swaying between a lifeless reproduction of mediaeval Arabic models, and an imitation of Western models without sufficient intellectual preparation, could not but be feeble and unfruitful. The whole intellectual life of the people was thrown into confusion by the contradiction in principle between the old system of thought with its dogmatic basis and the intellectual freedom of Western scientific methods.

In Egypt, at all events, this duality of method and the resulting confusion continued throughout the century, and has even yet not been eradicated. Its seeds are sown in the school, where shaykhs from the theological colleges and graduates of European universities teach side by side,¹ and its vitiating effects are only too obvious in the prevalence amongst educated Egyptians of cynicism, the inevitable companion of intellectual instability. Down to 1914, at least, only a small proportion of serious students succeeded in overcoming the handicap imposed upon them by their early training. It is largely owing to this that Syrian writers, educated from the outset on consistent Western lines, became the leaders of the movement of emancipation in the last decades of the century.

Literature of necessity followed a parallel course. The mediaeval and the modern views rested upon opposite conceptions which admitted of no reconciliation. For the mediaeval view of literature made of it privilege confined to the few. It was a mystery, in which only the scholastically educated might participate, and its aim was to supply not only intellectual recreation but also intellectual exercise. The mediaeval writer scorned simplicity, and repelled the simple by adopting a recondite style, strewn with obscurities and graced with literary allusions and erudite wit. But the spread of education and the increasing literacy of the population itself created a demand for simple, intelligible, and interesting books. The problem was in essentials

¹ See on this subject an excellent analysis of Egyptian educational methods by Professor Ahmad Amin in *Mijallah al-Majma' al-'Ilmi*, Damascus, vii (1927), 481 ff.

the same as (though more complicated than) that which confronted English writers at the beginning of the eighteenth century, when Defoe, Addison, and Steele led the way in breaking up the stately periods of Caroline prose. The very efforts of the teachers of Arabic in the schools to stem the tide furthered the reaction. "The student who begins the study of Arabic and a foreign language simultaneously finds that he makes more progress with the latter, and consequently embraces its cultural heritage and neglects Arabic. . . . In Western literature he sees vigour of thought and congruence with the present, and a spirit, a life, an activity which he cannot find in Arabic. For where are the Arabic novels which portray our social life? Where is the Arabic poetry that represents our modern feelings? Where are the elegant and attractive Arabic books which we can place in the hands of our boys and girls for their education, where the pleasing illustrated stories which we can present to our babes?"¹ Another teacher, Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn, has frequently stressed the result of this contrast in creating a dislike of Arabic literature in the minds of the students and in strengthening their preference for Western literature. To which might be added that a desire so stimulated is not likely to seek satisfaction in the best Western literature.

It was into this widening breach that the Syrian writers of the eighties and nineties stepped. Under the leadership of Ġurġī Zaydān they set out to write new and interesting articles in language intelligible to all readers, "preferring" in the apt phrase of Manfalūṭī² "that the ignorant should learn of them than that pedants should approve of them". But great as were the services of the Syrian school to neo-Arabic literature, they did not, and could not, solve the problem in either of its aspects. They could not solve the psychological problem because they were Christians, and whether Arabic literature was to have any future must of necessity rest with the overwhelming Muslim majority. Nor, for similar reasons, could they solve the stylistic problem. In the whole history of classical Arabic literature, there is only one Christian who stands out as a master of his craft, the poet al-Akḥṭal. The canons of Arabic literary style were laid down by Muslims on Islamic literary models, above all on the Qur'ān and the Traditions. It was neither possible, nor was it desirable, that modern Arabic literature should completely sever itself from the Islamic past, however far it might proceed on the path of adaptation to new conditions. It might well throw off the accumulated rubbish of centuries,

¹ Professor Aḥmad Amin, loc. cit.

² *an-Nazarāt*, iii, 145.

but only to drink yet more deeply of the mainsprings of its existence. And from those mainsprings the Christian, in the impressionable years of education, was debarred.

Among the older generation of Muslim writers, as we have seen, religious conservatism was too deeply bound up with the entire heritage of Arabic literature to allow of any kind of simplification. But here too the reform movement led by Muḥammad 'Abduh brought about a profound change. In returning to the writings of the early centuries, the new generation discovered afresh an Arabic literary style which was simple and direct, not yet tainted with the erudite "refinements" of the Silver Age. The ease and lucidity of Ibn al-Muqaffa' were contrasted with the laboured pedantry of the school of al-Ḥariri. Now that the religious inhibition was removed, there was no further reason for timidity—indeed religious radicalism supplied a strong incentive to literary radicalism as well. A little later this was to lead to a widespread interest in and study of all the early productions of Arabic literature, but in the first decade of the century the movement was still in its infancy.¹ The writers of the Syro-American school, however, had brought into prominence the poetry of Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arri,² whose rationalism and pessimism not only appealed to the spirit of the age, but also supplied a point of contact between Arabic and European thought. But for the present, the chief lesson which was deduced from the study of the early writers was that Arabic stylists were not tied to the wheels of a decadent scholasticism, but free, not so much to recover the simplicity of the primitives, but to create anew for this age, as they had created for theirs, and by acknowledging a common inspiration, to preserve the continuity of Arabic tradition through an epoch of destruction and rebuilding.

There remained a subsidiary problem. Classical Arabic literature offered practically no models for prose works of entertainment in the modern style. What form was the new type of belles-lettres to adopt? The answer was dictated by various considerations. In the first place the intellectual instability on the part of both writers and readers militated against the production of works of any length. The necessary power of concentration was lacking, except indeed amongst the Syrians. Thus the only long original productions of the turn of the

¹ This statement refers of course to the general body of literates, not to scholars such as Ahmad Pāshā Zakī and Ahmad Pāshā Taymūr.

² Cf. the English translation of selected *Quatrains of Abu'l-'Ala* by Ameen F. Rihani (Amin ar-Raybānī), New York, 1903.

century were novels, and of these the rambling and unfinished *Ḥadīth 'Īsā 'bnī Hishām* of the younger Muwaylḥī (though itself possibly the most living and original work in the whole Arabic literature of the time) alone bore the signature of an Egyptian author.¹ More decisive, however, were the facilities for publication within reach of the ordinary writer. With so limited a public, publishers were naturally reluctant to spend money on experiments, and writers to embark on the risky, and at best ill-rewarded task of producing books. The expansion of the daily and periodical Press furnished the opportunity of making a livelihood and a name, but at the same time limited the field to the short essay. Most of the books issued by Egyptian writers consist in consequence of essays on various subjects, reprinted from journals with or without alteration. In this moreover they were but following their Syrian predecessors. The activities of the Syrians were almost entirely journalistic, and their writing had to accommodate itself to their needs. Even their novels came out originally as serials. All these influences led Egyptian writers to turn to the essay form, and having once acquired that fatally convenient style, it was seldom that they roused themselves to experiment in more elaborate and less profitable genres.

The first years of the century, however, saw one forward step. The Syrian writers had hitherto pursued, sometimes openly, sometimes indirectly, an aim which was primarily educational and directed to the widest possible public. For their purposes the first essentials were clarity and simplicity, and literary polish was a secondary, if desirable, adjunct. The newer generation of Syrians, while retaining the essay form, began to infuse into it a more definitely literary content. On the one hand Faraḥ Anṭūn (1874-1922) kept the simple style but used the essay and the novel to express his own philosophy of life.² He was at this time strongly attracted towards Rousseau and the French Romanticists, and in spite of, or because of, his pessimism and anti-religious bias, his work exerted a formative influence on the more thoughtful section of readers. But he was ahead of his time, and financial difficulties drove him to attempt more popular work. On the other hand, the brilliant writers of the young Syro-American

¹ It is intended to make the Arabic novel the subject of a later study in this series.

² On Faraḥ Anṭūn see Kratchkowsky, *Istorichesii roman etc.*, in *Zhurnal Min. Narod. Prosvyesheniya*, June, 1911, pp. 282-4, and in the Introduction to *Obraztsy Novo-arabskoi Literatury* (1923), pp. xiii-xiv; Cheikho in *al-Machriq*, 1927, 115; al-'Aqqād, *مطالعات* (Cairo, 1924), 61-6.

school¹ were engaged in the creation of a new literary art, the "prose poem" (*shi'r manthūr*), which owed its inspiration to Walt Whitman and English *vers libre*.

It has already been shown that in this revival of literary activity, Egyptian writers had begun to contest the primacy enjoyed by the Syrians. In journalism the new Muslim and nationalist Press was able to touch whole classes of the population to whom the Syrian Press made no appeal, at the same time striving to reinterpret the new ideas, introduced by Western education and interpreted by the Syrians, into some sort of harmony with the intellectual basis of Islamic culture. It was not yet time for radical measures, though the pace of reform was to quicken at a rate which none could then have foreseen, but a time of stirring, when political nationalism, pan-Islamic aspirations, religious reform, and Western culture fought with the forces of conservatism for the soul of Egypt, in confused rivalry and dubious alliance.

The inquiet, struggling, groping spirit of the age found characteristic literary expression in the work of Sayyid Muṣṭafā Luṭfī al-Manfalūṭī (1876-1924). Of half-Turkish, half-Arab stock, Manfalūṭī received the usual theological training in the college of al-Azhar. After distinguishing himself as a poet he began his career as a prose-writer under Shaykh 'Alī Yūsuf's wing in the *Mu'ayyad*. From the very first he was distinguished by a width of interests foreign to the conservative theologian. His writings show how deeply he had been influenced by the work on the one hand of the Syrian school, and even of Farah Anṭūn (for he knew no European languages) and by the religious reform movement, pan-Islamism, and the rise of Egyptian nationalism on the other. He seemed to epitomize all the half-articulate and contradictory tendencies of his time, and his essays, republished as *an-Naẓarāt* (1910) and supplemented in subsequent editions, have survived the furious attacks of both conservatives and modernists, and remain down to the present the most widely read work in modern Arabic literature.²

¹ See in *Le Monde Orientale*, xxi (1927), 193-213, Professor Kratchkowsky's article "Die Literatur der arabischen Emigranten in Amerika (1895-1915)", and the slightly extended Russian version of the same in *Izvestiya Leningradskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta*, vol. i (1928).

² Fourth edition, 3 vols., Cairo, 1923. The most judicial of contemporary reviews is that of Salāh ad-Dīn al-Qāsimī in *al-Muqtabas*, v (1910), 325-34, 371-82. An interesting study from a more recent point of view has been written by al-Aqqād, *مراجعات* (Cairo, 1926), 170-84 (see *MSOS*, (Berlin), xxix³ (1926), 241). See also Kratchkowsky in *Introduction to Oubrayes etc.*, p. xv.

It is not difficult to explain the attraction of the *Nazarāt* for Egyptian readers. Nothing like these racy and sparkling essays and sermonettes had ever appeared before in Arabic literature. The style, the subjects, the manner of presentation, all possessed an immediate appeal to an Egyptian audience. For this Manfalūṭī was indebted to no superior power of psychological insight, nor even to a carefully-chosen literary art; he looked within himself, and put down on paper, with native Egyptian wit, in the style and language of a trained scholar, heedless of inconsistencies and with perfect sincerity, the contents of that microcosm of pre-war Egypt, his own mind.

As a religious reformer, he attacked conservatism and its sanctuary, the college of al-Azhar, and condemned saint-worship, the darwish orders, etc., yet went out of his way to insult his master Muḥammad 'Abduh,¹ and having blamed him for introducing modern interpretations of the Qur'ān, went on in the very next paragraph to make drastic interpretations himself. Together with a fervent Islamic patriotism, which led him at one time to condemn all Western studies and at another to protest against Armenian massacres,² he betrayed on almost every page of his work the influence of Western currents of thought. No more striking proof of the permeation of the Arabic world by such European currents could be given than this fact, that a man entirely cut off as he was from direct contact with the West should yet have been so completely under the influence of Rousseau and Victor Hugo. Equally eloquent of Western influences is his attraction towards Abu'l-'Alā, whose verses he quoted, and whose *Risālat al-Ghufrān* he not only summarized in one essay, but imitated in another.³ At the same time his Islamic patriotism had to admit a growing rival in Egyptian national pride, which claimed to be the heir of Thebes no less than of Baghdad, but with characteristic candour he acknowledged the deep debt of gratitude which Egypt owes to the Syrians.⁴

His social outlook was dominated by the idealistic and doctrinaire naturalism of the eighteenth century and the French romanticists, mediated through Faraḥ Anṭūn. "The City of Happiness"⁵ repre-

¹ i, 213. In iii, 68, however, which was written in 1913, he speaks of Muḥammad 'Abduh in terms of profound respect.

² i, 324-9.

³ i, 204-15. Cf. also his eulogy of 'Omar Khayyām, ii, 235-41.

⁴ i, 286-8; iii, 131-45.

⁵ i, 101-13.

sents an early attempt to systematize his vague socialism, but for the most part their ideas hover sentimentally above his pages, as when he contrasts the "freedom" of the animal creation with the unnatural servitude of man.¹ But his sympathies were called out above all by the weak and the defenceless, and in essay after essay he preached the duty of charity (*iḥsān*), especially towards wronged and persecuted women. Yet he attacked Qāsim Amīn as the corrupter of Egyptian womanhood, and asserted the intellectual inferiority of women to men.² The natural tendency in him to melancholy and sentimentality led him to take the most pessimistic view of humanity. Life was indeed to him a vale of tears, from which he sought an escape in imagination. "I love beauty in imagination more than in reality," he writes; "the description of a garden gives me more pleasure than to view it. I like to read about fine cities . . . and care not at all to see them, as though I wished to preserve unspoilt this imaginative delight, and were afraid that the reality would rob me of it."³ But too often his sense of social injustice issued in an unqualified cynicism, which was the gravest fault in his character as a writer. Nothing escaped his lash—even the reformers fared no better than the wealthy and powerful, and in his impatience he denied human loyalty altogether.⁴ But it was against politicians that his bitterest scorn was directed. "Can a man be a politician without being a liar and a knave?" he exclaims, in seeking to justify his abstention from political debate.⁵

It was less the content of his essays, however, than the style in which they were written that won for Manfalūṭī his singular pre-eminence. Of this it is perhaps difficult for a European to judge quite fairly. He had a clear perception of the need for a change in Arabic literary methods, and repeatedly expressed his conviction that the secret of style lay in the truthful representation to the reader of the ideas which occupied the writer's mind. With this he held strongly to the necessity of studying the great models of Arabic eloquence, asserting that the poverty of so much contemporary writing was due to ignorance and lack of confidence. For himself he disclaimed any sort of imitation; he expressed his ideas with complete freedom in the language which pleased his own ear.

¹ i, 184-5.

² i, 212; ii, 62-9. Cf. also *ʿAbarāt* [see below], pp. 61 ff. (الحجاب).

³ ii, 355.

⁴ ii, 17-18.

⁵ ii, 102.

This resulted, as might be expected, in a characteristic mixture of mediaeval and modern. Modern is the general smoothness of his writing, especially in narrative passages, and the framework of the essays. He delights to begin with a homely illustration or a simple parable, which serves as the text of his discourse, and is often expanded into a complete story. A humorous scene with mosquitoes serves as prelude to a denunciation of inhumanity; at another time he bids farewell to humour with playful gravity before launching on a diatribe against Westernism. Modern, too, are his imaginative metaphors and similes, though European readers may often fail to realize how novel they are in Arabic. The influence of the Syro-Americans is obvious in the passages of "prose poetry" to be found in his earlier work, but in spite of the popularity of these passages, the prose poem seems to have followed regular poetry into the limbo of neglect.

With all this, he could not completely throw off inherited mannerisms. Though he criticized rhymed prose, he fell into it automatically whenever the emotional tone of his writing rose. The effect is often not unpleasing, and to those who (like the present writer) regard rhymed prose as a natural and legitimate ornament of Arabic style, it gives, when properly used, a cadence and a finish that is sadly lacking in most of his contemporaries. But the use of rhymed prose is open to criticism when it is employed simply for its own sake, and becomes mere highfalutin—a fault from which Manfalūṭī was by no means free. Unfortunately, too, he showed a tendency in his later essays to restrict rhymed prose to just such passages of padding. A still more insidious fault, which he shared with almost all Arabic writers, was the habit of balancing words and phrases by rhyming or unrhymed synonyms, which add nothing to the sense, and hinder the development of the narrative or thought. Occasionally, but not often, his excess of detail resulted in clumsy sentences.¹ How far Manfalūṭī is to be charged with the pedantry which he condemned in others is a question which, in the present state of Arabic letters, can be answered only by those who knew him personally.

The later essays differ to some extent from the earlier, both in style and matter, but in an unfavourable sense. The writing is more mechanical and less humorous, the decoration more artificial; there is more effort at symmetry and balance. His imagination has no longer the same wide play, and the didactic purpose is more stressed.

¹ e.g. i, 194.

Along with this went a certain stereotyping of his ideas. His Islamic patriotism and antipathy to the spread of Western influences were more pronounced,¹ and led him at times to idealize the old manners and even the old political organization.² Yet he himself remained completely under the influence of Western thought in his interpretation of religious and social ethics, and seemed quite unconscious of the contradiction.

Nevertheless, taken as a whole, Manfalūṭī's work marks an immense advance on that of all his predecessors. It was the first really successful attempt to adapt the classical tradition to the new demands of popular literature, however much room it left for improvement. There is certainly little in modern Arabic writing that affords so much pleasure as the *Naẓarāt*, and its brilliant qualities frequently disguise the inadequacy and lack of originality of the ideas which it clothes. Only when it is read in bulk does the repetition of ideas, of phrases, even of metaphors, and still more the querulous and critical tone which pervades it from cover to cover, pall at length on the reader, and leave him with the feeling that with the *Naẓarāt* Manfalūṭī had worked himself out.

As the peculiar virtues of Manfalūṭī's style must largely be lost in translation, the contrast which he offers to his Syrian predecessors may perhaps be best illustrated by comparing two essays which show a general similarity of plan in developing the text that "Riches do not confer happiness".

Gurǧī Zaydān begins his essay³ with a simple warning that happiness must not be sought in riches, though there is nothing reprehensible in the acquisition of wealth by rightful means. To marry for money, on the other hand, brings evil moral and material consequences in its train. "Do not be dazzled by the outward pomp of wealth," he says in effect, "but come with me and visit one of these imposing palaces," and having drawn a picture of a dispirited husband, whose wife cares only for dress and spends the night out dancing with more attractive partners, he returns to draw the lessons of the danger of riches. The tone never rises above a pleasant conversational level, with an occasional touch of lightness.

¹ iii, 216-17, 237, and *passim*.

² e.g. iii, 126, 243 ff. It is instructive to compare this with Muwaylḥī, *Taṣā l. Hishām*, 3rd ed. (Cairo, 1923), 103 ff.

³ *Mukhtārāt Gurǧī Zaydān* (Cairo, 1920), i, 136 = *Hilāl*, viii (1900), 325.

Manfalūṭī, on the other hand, opens¹ with two pages of brilliant description of a luxurious palace, "whose towering battlements soar to the heavenly spheres," written in elaborately interlaced rhyming prose. He then passes to a picture in simple but dignified language of a dying man awaiting through the night the return of his frivolous wife and depraved son. From a faithful black servant he learns that their callousness is the direct outcome of his earlier life of dissipation. As he leans out to drink in the fresh dawn breeze he overhears the gardener and his wife contrasting their simple happiness with his wealth and misery, and in his death-agony sees the wreckage of his life fall about him. The contrast between the two writers is intensified by Manfalūṭī's melodramatic exaggeration and absence of shading in his characters, who are little more than personifications of virtues or vices.²

The other prose writings of Manfalūṭī consist of a volume of short stories entitled *al-'Abarāt* ("Tears")³ and several versions of French romances, presumably made from Arabic drafts.⁴ Several of the stories in the *'Abarāt* are also based on translated material, as are several essays in the *Naẓarāt*. But it seems that the translations in the *Naẓarāt* are intended partly as object-lessons or experiments in the capacity of Arabic to render exalted passages of Western literary style (e.g. Hugo's discourse on Voltaire, and the speeches of Brutus and Antony from "Julius Caesar"). In the *'Abarāt*, on the other hand, Manfalūṭī abandoned himself to the sentimental pessimism of the extreme romantic school, with the same absence of light and shade in his character-drawing which he had already displayed in the *Naẓarāt*.⁵ In spite of the popularity which the work has enjoyed, largely on account of its stylistic qualities, it ranks very far below the *Naẓarāt* as a contribution to modern Arabic literature.

¹ i, 150-61 (عبرة الدهر).

² The same tendency in him to absolute judgments in moral questions may be exemplified by comparing his essay on Truth (i, 166-79) with the balanced judgment of Zaydān (*Mukhtārāt*, i, 26-9 = *Hiṣāl*, xi (1102-3), 149).

³ Fifth edition, Cairo, 1926.

⁴ For four of these (Rostand's *Cyrano de Bergerac*, A. Karr's *Sous les Tillands*, Coppée's *Pour la Couronne*, and Saint-Pierre's *Paul et Virginie*) see *MSOS.*, xxix², 246-8. The last-named had already been translated by Farah Anṭūn (Alexandria, 1902).

⁵ A brief critical examination of Manfalūṭī's qualities as a writer of short stories is contained in the Introduction to *التحقيق سيد الربط* by Maḥmūd Taymūr (Cairo, 1926), 44-5, reproduced in translation in *MSOS.*, *ibid.*, 254.

ADDITIONAL NOTES TO BULLETIN, IV, 745-60

p. 747, note 1. Since this was written the Leningrad Oriental Institute has issued (1928) an anthology of modern Arabic literature, *Obraztsy Novo-arabskoi Literatury, 1880-1925, I. Tekst*, edited by Mdme. Ode-Vasil'eva (Kulthūm Naṣr 'Awdah, on whom see *Mijallah al-Majma' al-'Ilmi*, viii (1928), 756-7), with an introduction of twenty-five pages by Professor Kratchkovsky, describing the literary developments of the period, with brief characterizations of the authors from whom extracts have been taken. The latter part of this introduction is available also in a five-page English summary.

Professor Kratchkovsky also draws attention to the value of the well-known work of Comte Philippe Tarrāzī *Ta'rikh al-shaḥāfa al-'arabiya* (Bayrūt, 1913), as a source for the history of modern Arabic literature in the nineteenth century.

p. 749. Mr. Amīn ar-Rayḥānī suggests that Ahmad Fāris ash-Shidyāq "deserves more than a passing notice. He is, with all his faults, one of the outstanding figures in the Arabic literature of the nineteenth century. He has in him a Yāziḥ, a Ḥarīrī, and a modern thinker of uncommon ability".

p. 757, note 1. Professor D. B. Macdonald writes: "Muhammad 'Abduh was plainly a Mātūrīdite. He never mentions Mātūrīdī in his *Risāla*, but while he refers with devotion to al-Ash'arī, his theological positions are straight Mātūrīdite."

p. 758. A German translation of Qāsim Amīn's epoch-making work has now been issued by O. Rescher, *Tahrīr al-mar'a (Ueber die Frauenemanzipation)*. Stuttgart, 1928. Cf. also Rescher's translation of an-Nisā'iyāt of Malak Hifnī Nāṣif (*Ueber die ägyptische Frauenfrage*, Constantinople, 1926).

*A GRAMMAR OF THE LAU LANGUAGE, NORTH EAST
COAST OF BIG MALA, SOLOMON ISLANDS*

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THE Lau language is spoken by the inhabitants of the "artificial islands" in the lagoon off the north-east coast of Big Mala, Solomon Islands, and by the people who live on the natural island Ngwalulu (Manoba, of the Admiralty charts) which closes the northern entrance to the lagoon. The southern end of the lagoon is known as Ataa Cove, and the language of the islanders in that part of the lagoon has a closer affinity to the languages of the hill peoples of the mainland than has Lau proper. In Port Adam, Little Mala, there are two villages whose people also talk Lau, they being immigrants from Ataa Cove. The hill languages of the north end of Big Mala use certain sounds which do not appear in Lau. These sounds are *ngg*, i.e. *ng* in English "finger", *nd* instead of pure *d*, *mb* instead of pure *b*. Also the Lau *h* appears as *s* or *th*.

The accent in Lau, where noticeable, is on the first syllable, and the voice is raised at the end of the sentence with a stressing of the penultimate syllable.

This present grammar is a recension of the Lau Grammar published for me by the Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1921. In 1927 I spent five months among the Lau people, studying their anthropology and collecting material for a vocabulary of the language. In addition, the existing translation of the Four Gospels was revised at the same time, and the rest of the New Testament was translated. With this new material to go on, a fuller and more accurate grammar of the language has been prepared.

ALPHABET

The vowels are *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, *u*, with the Italian sounds. All of these vowels may be long or short, the long sound being represented by a doubling of the vowel. Closed syllables do not occur, and every word ends with a vowel. There is an interchange between *a* and *o* in certain words, e.g. *finou*, *finau*, fish-hook, *bou*, *bau*, banana; and also between *i* and *u*, e.g. *dikwe*, *dukwe*, to be broken up; and between *o* and *u*, e.g. *tooni*, *tuuni*, a thousand.

The "Umlaut" (i.e. the change of *a* to *e* in certain words after a preceding *i* or *u*, and with *i* and *u* also following) occurs in some words

in Lau, e.g. *du*, bamboo, but its use is not strictly observed, and there are instances of its use in an arbitrary fashion, e.g. *manateini*, to know, for *manataini*. The instances in which it occurs are shown by the use of the letter *ā*.

The diphthongs are *ae*, *ai*, *ao*, *au*, *ei*, *ou*, as in *hæ*, *mai*, *rao*, *rau*, *mei*, *fou*, which are pronounced respectively as in the English words eye, I, hour, how, hey, oh.

The consonants are *f*, *k*, *g*; *d*, *t*; *b*; *q* (*kw*), *gw*; *l*, *r*; *h*, *s*; *m*, *ngw*; *n*, *ng*.

The Lau *f* replaces an *h* in Sa'a: *fera*, island, village, Sa'a *hera*, courtyard. In the speech of Sulu Vou island, which is the one presented here, *f* in many words tends to become *v*.

Both *k* and *g* are hard. The "Melanesian *g*" is not heard; it has been dropped in certain words, and its loss is marked by a "break" in the pronunciation of some of the words, but not in all of them. This "break" in the sound is represented by the sign ' : ' *ai* tree; Florida *gai*. In certain other words "the Melanesian *g*" is replaced in Lau by *k* or by hard *g*: *take*, to stand, Mota *sage*, Sa'a *ta'e*; Mota *igamam*, we (exclusive), Lau *igami*.

Other consonants which are dropped in Lau are *k*, *l*, *n*, *s*, *t*, *w*, but their loss is not always denoted by the presence of a "break" in the pronunciation. In some cases the loss of an initial *t* or of "the Melanesian *g*" is shown by the doubling of the initial vowel, e.g. *aalamai*, to answer, which appears as *talamai* in one of the hill languages of the neighbourhood; *i'a*, fish, for Mota *iga*. Even where the "break" does occur in Lau there is not such a pronounced emphasis laid upon it as there is in the kindred language of Sa'a, Little Mala; and one has to listen carefully in order to catch the sound of it. A *k* in Lau may replace an *h* in Sa'a: *luka*, to loose, Sa'a *luhe*. There is no preface of *n* in the sound of *d*, or of *m* in the sound of *b*. The only use of *w* in Lau is in the sounds *kw*, i.e. *q*, *gw*, and *ngw*. Where *w* occurs in Sa'a its place is supplied in Lau by *kw*: *kwalu*, eight, Sa'a *walu*, or it is dropped, Sa'a *uweo*, hill, Lau *wo*. The sound *gw* in Lau may represent *pw* in Sa'a: *gwau*, *gwou*, head, Sa'a *pwau*; or *w* in Mota: *gwou*, deserted, Mota *wou*. The sound of *d* in Lau is much the same as that of *d* in English. That the sound *ngw* in Lau is a nasalized *m* is shown by comparing the instances where it occurs with the similar words in Sa'a, where the sound is there represented by *mw*. In printing for native use *ngw* is represented by *m̄*, and *ng* by *n̄*.

There is a slight interchange between *n* and *l*, *nima* and *lima*,

five, but it is probably due to the influence of the hill languages, and is not really characteristic of Lau. Both *l* and *r* are used, and the sounds are distinct; the *l* sound is trilled, and there is a pronounced rolling of the *r*. The *h* in Lau represents an *s* in Sa'a, a *th* in some of the hill languages of north Mala, an *r* in others.

ARTICLES

(a) *Demonstrative* :—

Singular : *na, si ; taa, te, ata ; ke, kwe, gwe, fe ; maa, mae.*

Plural : *gi ; ote, ngwai ; gera.*

(b) *Personal* : *a, ni.*

Na denotes "the", and is used with nouns both in the singular and in the plural : *na noni*, the body ; *na ote haasimiu*, your brothers ; *na boso gi*, the pigs ; it is used with numerals : *na fai fe doo*, the four ; *na akwala ro ngwane*, the twelve men ; it forms a plural with *gi* following the noun : *na ngwane gi*, the men. *Na* may be used with nouns when a particular thing is spoken of, and attention is directed to an object ; it is also used with the interrogative *taa* : *na taa*, what ? It coalesces with the conjunction *ma*, and.

Si is less definite and particular in meaning than *na*, and also it denotes "a, a part, a piece, any" : *si fou*, a stone ; *si kada*, a time, the time when ; *si lifu*, the thing which. It may be preceded by *na* : *na si au*, a bamboo splinter ; it may be followed by *gi* : *si doo gi*, the things.

Taa is the numeral "one" ; as an article it denotes "a, another, a certain one" : *tee fafo taa fou*, bump on a rock ; *taa si doo*, a certain thing ; *taa balii 'aba*, one hand, the other hand ; *taa ngwane*, *taa ngwane*, odd men here and there ; *taa fe uo*, every hill ; *taafuli 'ae*, a shell-money ; *ni* demonstrative, may be added ; *taani ngwane*, some men.

Te is also a form of the numeral "one" ; as an article it denotes "a, any, the same, a certain one" ; *ni*, demonstrative, may be added : *teni ngwane*, certain people ; *tesi kada*, by and by. *Ata* is a metathetic form of *taa*, one, and denotes "another, a different one" : *lea ata fera*, to go to another island.

Ke denotes "a little, a piece" ; it is followed by *si* or *fe*, or is preceded by *te* : *ro kesi kuru i doo*, two little bits of things ; *kesi ere*, some firebrands ; *kesi kwaena gi*, certain pieces of forest land ; *teke si doo*, only one thing.

Kwe denotes "a": *kwe afe*, a married woman; *kwe ii'a*, a fish; *na* may precede: *na kwe ii'a gi*, the fishes; *gwe* is a variant of *kwe*: *gwe ii'a*, a fish; *te gwe kwesu*, a torch.

Fe is used of things spherical in shape, and corresponds to *hoi* of Sa'a and to *wo* of Mota: *fe 'ota*, an areca nut; *fe bubulu*, a star; it has a general use also: *fe agalo*, an act of intercession, an incantation; *na fe uo*, a hill; it is used as a multiplicative: *ro fe doo*, twice. *Maa* is the same word as *maa*, eye, and denotes "one, a unit": *maafera*, a village; *mae* is a contraction of *maa* and *e*, genitive: *maefera*, a village; *mae finau*, a fish-hook.

Gi denotes plurality and follows the noun: *na ngwane gi*, the men; it may be separated from the noun: *ngwane nagi*, those men; *si doo a aarai gi*, the chief's things; *doo gera gi*, their things; *gi* is used following all the forms of the personal pronoun except those ending in *lu*.

Ote is used of the plural of persons; it precedes the noun; *ote ngwane 'ae*, you men (Vocative); *ote ngwane gi*, the men; *na* or *te* may precede: *na ote geni*, the women; *te ote tero*, a company of lame people. It need not be followed by *gi*.

Ngwai is a prefix marking reciprocity of relationship: *ngwai doorana*, brethren; *ngwai maalana*, father and son.

A is used as a personal article with the names of males only, both native and foreign: *a Leo*; *a Peter*. It is used also with *doo*, thing: *a doo*, So-and-so; *a doo na*, the person (male); *si baea*, a word; *a si baea*, The Personal Word.

Ni is used as a personal article with the names of females, both native and foreign, *ni Alidi*, *ni Mary*; *ni ai*, the woman; it is used also with *doo*, thing, and with *ai*, woman; *ni doo na*, she; it is used with certain relationship terms: *ni tee nau*, my mother; but is not used with *afe* or *geni*, wife, woman. It is not used with the plural.

NOUNS

1. *Nouns to which the possessive pronominal suffixes may be added*: these are nouns denoting:—

(a) Parts of the body, hand, arm, eye, etc.: *'aba*, hand, *'abagu*, my hand.

(b) Position, end, middle, top, bottom: *buri*, behind, *burigu* behind me; *i initoona*, in the midst; *'isilana*, its end; *i kamena lobo*, beside the lake; *i fafona*, on top of it; *borona*, the bottom.

(c) Certain terms of relationship: *haasi*, brother, sister, *ama*,

father, are never used without the possessive suffixes. The other relationship terms employ the personal pronoun to denote possession.

2. *Formation of nouns.* Nouns which have a special termination showing them to be nouns substantive are: (a) verbal nouns, and (b) independent nouns.

(a) *Verbal nouns* are formed from verbs by the terminations *a*, *fa*, *laa*, *ta*, *ngaa*, *ma*: *mae*, to die, *maea*, sickness, death, *mamaela*, danger, *mamaeta*, danger, sickness; *kuala*, to bear children, *kwalafa*, family; *fale*, to give, to make presents, *falenga*, a wedding feast. The terminations in *ngaa* and *ma* are rare in Lau. Instances are *ogangaa*, a debt incurred, *oga*, *ogani*, to incur a debt; *maoma*, a dance, *Sa'a mao*, to dance; *lou* to bend, *louma*, double. The termination *laa* is gerundival and denotes the act of doing a thing; it may be added to a compound verb to which the object is attached: *faamaedarolaa*, the killing of those two people. The termination *la* has a gerundival force also, and is not used without the possessive pronominal suffixes attached: *faasifo*, to lower, *faasifolana furei*, the lowering of a net for the first time.

Compound nouns may be found by the suffixing of *a*, *laa*, to the last member, *girigiri lifo*, to gnash the teeth, *girigiri lifoa*, the gnashing of teeth; *ani*, to eat, *anilana*, eating it, *anilanalaa*, the eating of it; *kwarelanalaa*, the cutting of it.

There are certain adjectives to which the noun termination *laa* is attached: *diena*, good, *dienalaa*, goodness; *baita*, big, *baitalaa*, bigness; but these words are probably of verbal formation and not true adjectives.

(b) *Independent nouns.*—The usual termination is *na*, and this is added (1) to certain relationship terms; (2) to the cardinal numerals to form the ordinal.

(1) The nouns so formed are always preceded by the prefix *ngwai* which marks reciprocity of relationship, the numeral *ro*, two, being prefixed: *ro ngwai haasina*, two brothers, or, two sisters. The form *teelana*, *ro ngwai teelana*, mother and child, shows this *na* added to the termination *la*; and *haasilaa*, *haasinaa*: *ro ngwai haasilaa*, two brothers, *ngwai haasinaa*, brethren, show *laa*, or its variant *naa*, added to a relationship term.

(2) Numerals *rua*, two, *ruana*, second. The words for "third" and "eighth", *oula*, *kroula* (*kwaula*) show *la* as a termination and also show the loss of the letter *l*. It seems probable that *la* in these instances is for *na*.

3. *Construct form*.—To make a construct form the letter *e*, a genitive, is added to the first of two nouns : *toloe fera*, a hill ; *fulii 'abae ngwane*, men's handiwork. When the first noun ends in *a* or *o*, *ae* and *oe* of the construct forms are contracted to *ē* : *akwale ngwane*, ten men ; *maa*, one, a, *mae fera*, a hamlet ; *abolo*, piece, *abole 'ai*, a log. This *e* may be added to *nao*, first, *naoe lifu*, the chief place.

4. *Genitive relation*.—The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected by the use of the prepositions *ni*, *li*, *i* ; *ni* is used mainly in construction : *fote ni fera*, a native paddle ; *ngwane ni tolo*, a hill man ; it also expresses purpose and condition : *si lifu ni lea inia*, a place for him to go to ; *nau gu ote nau ni lea*, I do not want to go ; *doo ni moulaa 'ana*, a thing to be afraid of. In certain words *li* replaces *ni* : *maalimaea*, enemy ; *gwau li ngwane*, elders. The genitive *i* appears in *lifoi i'a*, a porpoise tooth ; *geni i Sa'a*, a Sa'a woman ; *gwai (gwau i) hao*, head of a bonito ; *mumudi (mumudu i) doo*, scraps of food ; it combines with *so* to make *si* which expresses purpose. The genitive may be omitted : *ngwane tolo*, a hill man.

The possessive pronoun *'ana* may be used to denote the genitive : *taani ngwane 'ana toa nae*, some of those people. A genitive relation is also shown by the use of the suffixed pronoun of the third person singular in agreement with the idea expressed in the second noun of the pair : *i tolona fera*, on the top of the hills. Where the second noun is followed by the plural article, the pronominal suffix is generally in the singular form : *gwauna ngwane gi*, men's heads.

The ordinary personal pronouns are used as possessive in cases where the pronoun can not be suffixed : *afe nau*, my wife ; *aarai nia*, her husband.

The instrumental prefix *i* occurs, but is not very common : *gau*, to hook ; *igau*, a crook.

5. *Plural*.—To show plurality *gi* is used following the noun. The word *'oro*, many, may be added immediately after the noun : *na ngwane 'oro gi*, many men : *a doo ma ote ngwane 'oro nia gi*, So-and-so and all his people. When *'oro* is employed *gi* may be omitted. The personal pronoun third person plural, *gera*, is used as the plural article with persons : *gera tolo*, the hill people ; *gera a doo*, So-and-so and those with him ; but *gera* is not used before an adjective as a collective pronoun like *ira*, the, in Mota : *ngwane ta'a gi*, *toa ta'a*, bad people, not *gera ta'a*. Totality and completion are shown by *sui*, finished, or *sui na* : *igera sui*, all of them ; *gera lea sui na*, they have gone already. The

Lau people of Ataa Cove suffix the pronoun third singular and all persons plural to a noun *afuta* formed from *afu*, to complete, in order to express "totality": *afutana fera*, all the country; *afutagera*, all of them; but Sulu Vou says, *fera sui*, the whole place, and *igera sui*, all of them. The numeral *kwalu*, eight, is used of an indefinite number: *kwalu si doogi*, all the things; *kwalu ngwane*, eight men, of a round number.

6. *Gender*.—There is no grammatical gender. The words *ngwane*, male, *geni*, female, are added when the noun does not carry a sex distinction.

7. *Relationship terms*.—With the exception of *haasi*, brother, sister, and *doora*, elder brother (classificatory), the relationship terms are not used with the suffixed pronouns, *ku*, *mu*, *na*, etc. The prefix *ngwai* denoting reciprocity of relationship may precede, and in speaking of pairs of relatives *ro*, two, is added: *ro ngwai haasina*, two brothers, etc. Cf. Nouns, 2 (b).

The word for "father" is *maka*, with *maa* as vocative: *a maka nau*, my father; *oi maa 'ae*, oh my father! is a cry of lamentation. The article used with *tee*, mother, is *ni*: *ni tee nau*, my mother; *oi tee 'ae*, oh my mother! a cry of lamentation; *ro ngwai teelana*, mother and child. The word for "child" is *ngwela*: *ngwela a doo*, So-and-so's child; *bare ngwela*, children! Two other words beside *haasi* are used to describe the brother-sister relationship, *ngwai ngwaena*, *ngwai ngwane*; the first portion of these is the reciprocal prefix, *ngwai*, and the second word in each case denotes "male".

8. A word *gala*, little, which is a noun, is used preceding a noun to describe something young: *gala ngwela*, a little child; this is used with the construct particle *e*: *gale boso*, a little pig. There is a use of *gele* with a similar meaning.

A noun *ai* is used to denote "woman", "wife": *ai nau*, my wife; *ai harii*, a maiden; *ai too i bisi*, the woman undergoing separation; *ni ai*, the woman.

To, express "thing", "kind", "sort" a noun *ai*, *ei*, is used: *sai ei*, the thing which; *too teni ai*, some things (out of a number); *te ai ni doo*, one of a kind; *te doo ai*, another kind of thing; *te sai ai*, duty, obligation; "person" is *ai ai*.

The words 'ae, *e* are used with the vocative, the former following, the latter preceding the noun, and used with personal names: *ote dooragu 'ae*, brethren! *e aarai*, Sir! *Doo*, thing, is used with the personal articles to express "person": *a doo*, So-and-so (male person);

ní doo, the woman. *Doo* may be used as a verb: '*o dooa si doo na*, eat this thing; *doolana*, the doing of it.

PRONOUNS

The pronouns may be classified as (a) those used as the subject of a verb; (b) those suffixed to a verb or a preposition as object; (c) those suffixed to nouns substantive and denoting possession.

A. Pronouns used as the Subject of a Verb

Singular:—

1. *inau, nau, gu (ku)*.
2. *i'oe, 'oe, 'o*.
3. *inia, nia, ní, e*.

Plural:—

- Inclusive: 1. *igia, gia, kia; igolu, голу*.
 Exclusive: 1. *igami, gami, mi; igamelu, gamelu*.
 2. *igamu, gamu, mu; igamolu, gamolu*.
 3. *igera, gera, ta; idalu, dalu*.

Dual:—

- Inclusive: 1. *igoro, goro*.
 Exclusive: 1. *igamere, gamere, mere*.
 2. *igamoro, gamoro, gamoroo, moro*.
 3. *idaro, daro, idaroo*.

1. All the forms, except *gu, 'o, ní, e, mi, mu, ta*, are used as possessive pronouns when the suffixed pronoun cannot be added to the noun: *geni inau*, my wife.

The forms with initial *i* are never used by themselves as the subject, but are accompanied by one of the shorter forms; the use of the two forms together denotes emphasis. The three longer forms in the singular are of more or less infrequent use except for emphasis. The initial *i* of the longer forms is run on to the preceding vowel in pronunciation.

2. All the forms without initial *i* are used alone as the subject of the verb. Where there are three forms the second and third are generally used together as subjects: *gami mi haitamana*, we know it. The short forms *gu (ku), 'o, e, mi, mu, da, ta*, may be used alone as subjects: '*o haea na*, you said it. The Sulu Vou people tend to substitute *ku* for *gu*. The forms in *lu* are not used as a trial number, but denote a more restricted number of persons.

3. *Nia* is used as meaning "there is", "it is": *nia langi si nau hata 'ana*, it is not that I own it; it also precedes personal names: *doo nia a Toli*, the property of Toli. When the meaning is "there is", "it is", *nia* is preceded by *e*: *enia nana*, that is so! *gele ngwela enia faida*, there was a little child with them: *te ngwane enia i beu*, there was only one man in the house.

Ni is used in affirmations: *ni diena*, that's all right! it is seen also in *nifai*, *nifei*, what? where?

E is generally used of the neuter: *e langi*, no, not, there is nothing; *e sui na*, it is finished; *e utaa*, how is it? It is also used following a noun: *uta e 'aru*, the rain (it) came on.

4. *Ta* is used as subject instead of *nia* and *gera* at the resumption of a narrative or following a collective noun: *too ta haca*, those who say so; *ta bae urii*, and said; it carries a subjunctive force: *kesi diena ta ngalia*, it is not right that they should take it; it is used with negative and verbal particles: *tasi*, *taka*.

5. The pronouns of the third person singular and plural may be used of impersonal and inanimate things.

B. Pronouns Suffixed to Verbs or to Prepositions as Object

Singular:—

1. *nau*.
2. *'oe*.
3. *a*.

Plural:—

Inclusive: 1. *gia*, *golu*.

Exclusive: 1. *gami*, *gamelu*.

2. *gamu*, *gamolu*.

3. *gera*, *da*, *dalu*.

Dual:—

Inclusive: 1. *goro*.

Exclusive: 1. *gamere*.

2. *gamoro*.

3. *daró*.

Examples of usage are: *gera haegera sui*, they were all summoned; *nia lea uria*, he went to get it. A second object of the verb always appears in the suffixed pronoun third person singular and plural: *kusi adasia na ola*, I did not see a canoe. *Da* is used instead of *gera* when the emphasis is less pronounced. All prepositions governing

nouns have the pronoun suffixed as an anticipatory object in agreement with the noun : *faafia si doo nae*, concerning (it) that thing.

The verb *dori*, to wish, may have the pronoun of the object suffixed when another verb follows : *kusi doria lea*, I do not want to go. The pronouns are suffixed to *taifili*, *tahifili*, alone : *tahifilinau*, I alone. The forms in *lu* are used of a restricted number of persons.

C. *Pronouns Suffixed to Nouns or to Verbal Nouns used as Prepositions*

Singular :—

1. *gu*.
2. *mu*.
3. *na*.

Plural :—

Inclusive : 1. *gia*, *golu*, *ga*.

Exclusive : 1. *gami*, *mia*, *gamelu*, *melu*.

2. *gamu*, *miu* *gamolu*.

3. *gera*, *da*, *dalu*.

Dual :—

Inclusive : 1. *goro*.

Exclusive : 1. *gamere*.

2. *gamoro*.

3. *daro*.

These are the pronouns denoting possession, and they are suffixed to a certain class of nouns only, viz. those which denote names of parts of the body, or of family relationships. The forms in *lu* denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned.

Several words which are employed as prepositions or pronouns have these pronouns attached, thus proving that they are nouns : *fua*, to, for, *falea fuagu*, give it to me ; *sie*, to, towards, at the house of ; *e dao siegu*, he has arrived at my house. Certain words which show a noun termination, but which have no independent existence as nouns, have these pronouns attached : *otofana*, straight opposite it, because of it ; *oofada*, enceinte (plural) ; *afutana*, all of it. The verb *too*, to hit, try, used in many compounds, e.g. *hama too*, to feel with the hand, takes these suffixed pronouns of the object, as does also *haitama*, to know : *ku haitamana*, I know (it).

DEMONSTRATIVE PRONOUNS

These are *na*, *nana*, this, these, *nae*, that, those, *logo*, *loko*, that over there. They are used following a noun or a pronoun : *a ngwela na*,

this person ; *i see nana*, at this place ; *i see nae*, at that place ; or they may be used with the simple meaning of "this", "that". *Ne*, that, is used in the speech of Ataa Cove. A pronoun *ni* is prefixed to the personal pronouns for emphasis : *ni nau*, I, *ni nia*, he, etc., and to the interrogatives *fai, fei*, where ? *tei*, who ? *inia nifei*, where is it ? *nitei 'ani gamu*, whosoever of you. Another *ni* is suffixed to *taa*, *te*, one : *teni too*, certain people.

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogatives are *tei*, *ti*, who ? *taa*, what ? The form *ti* is used in Ataa Cove. The personal article makes *atei*, *ati*, who ? singular, with *gera atei*, *gera ati*, as plural. The use of the article marks the words as nouns. *Tei* stands for the name of the person, and *atei* means "What is the name ?" *atei ngwane*, what person ? *doo atei*, whose thing ? The demonstrative pronouns *na*, *nae*, may be added for emphasis : *atei nae*, who is it then ? The adverb *ba* may be added for emphasis : *atei ba*, who is it ? There is no indefinite use of *atei*.

The article *si* may be used with *taa* : *si taa*, what thing ? *si taa na*, what is it ? *taa si taa*, (one) what thing ? *Taa* may follow the noun : *si doo taa*, what sort of thing ? The adverb *fai, fei*, where ? may be used with *ni* prefixed as an interrogative pronoun as stated above.

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Nitei is used as an indefinite pronoun : *nitei ka haea*, whosoever says. The uses of *taa*, *te*, as indefinites have been dealt with under "Articles". These two words are used as signifying "any, some, other, another". The noun *ai* (*ei*) denotes "another"; see "Nouns" 8.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

There are no relative pronouns ; their place is supplied in two ways :

1. By the use of the suffixed pronoun and the demonstratives *na*, *nae* : *inia na ku bae kekerošana*, this is he of whom I spoke.
2. By the use of a coördinate clause : *igami na tooa gera rikigera na*, we are they whom they saw.

POSSESSIVE

Singular :—

1. *'agu*, *'agu'a*.
2. *'amu*, *'amu'a*.
3. *'ana*, *nana*.

Plural :—

Inclusive : 1. 'aga, 'agolu, nagolu'a

Exclusive : 1. 'agami, 'agamelu, nagamelu'a.

2. 'agamu, 'agamolu, 'amolu'a, nagamolu'a.

3. 'agera, 'ada, 'adalu.

Dual :—

Inclusive : 1. 'agoro, 'agoro'a.

Exclusive : 1. 'agamere.

2. 'agamoro, 'agamoro'a.

3. 'adaro, nadaro'a.

The possessive is used :—

1. Of things to eat and drink : *si fangalaa 'agu*, something for me to eat ; *'o ngalia 'amu'a*, take it for your eating ; *si doo 'ana gera hata aabu gi*, food for the priests. When the sense relates to food in general, and not to a particular meal, the ordinary personal pronouns are employed as possessives : *si kafo ni gwou inau*, some water for me to drink.

2. As meaning "for me", "for my part", etc., "belonging to, at, with" ; *geni 'agu*, a wife for me ; *nia lea na 'ana*, he went his way ; *so kuka dau go 'agu'a*, if I but touch ; *ceri gia kefi ngalia fera nia 'agolu*, that we may get his land for ourselves ; *si mamanaa nia 'ana*, power in itself ; *e langi 'ana*, not in it, lost ; *'oko ledia hatana 'ana a ngicane loko*, ask that man his name ; *e baita tasa 'ana*, it is bigger. For emphasis *'ani* with the personal pronoun is used instead of the possessive : *ta malau 'ani gera*, they treated them evilly ; *e langi taa doo 'ani nau*, there is nothing in me.

3. As the object of an intransitive verb (i.e. a verb which cannot suffix the pronoun as an object) : *gera da kwele 'ana*, they marvelled at him ; *nau ku ii 'amu*, I beseech thee ; *bota 'ana*, blessed is he.

4. As the object of a verb when a word intervenes between verb and object : *nia bubu tetee 'adalu*, he regarded them fixedly ; *ka lukatai haufini 'ana*, let him go secretly : *nia ala ta'a 'ana*, it bit him badly.

5. With the noun *ruana*, friend : *ruana 'agu*, my friend ; with *uri*, to, toward : *uri 'agu*, toward me.

The forms ending in *lu* denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned. The five forms which begin with *na* are probably drawn from the hill languages, and are not true Lau forms. They are used as meaning "for his part", etc.

ADJECTIVES

1. The adjective follows the noun. Words which are qualifying terms may be used in the form of verbs, but some of these may be used without verbal particles and following the qualified word: *muane baita*, a big man; *ngwela to'ou*, a little child.

2. Certain words have a form of termination or of prefix which is used only of adjectives.

(a) *Adjectival terminations* are: 'a, la; these are attached to nouns substantive and to verbs: *rodo*, night, *rorodo'a*, belonging to darkness; *haulafi*, evening, *i haulafi'a*, in the evening; *bulu*, to be black, *bubulu'a*, black; 'ae, source, 'aela, rooted; *kobu*, to be well filled out, *kobukobula*, fat.

(b) *Adjectival prefixes* are 'a, ma, tata; these are all prefixed to verbs. The prefixing of 'a forms a participle: *luka*, to loose, 'aluka, loosened; *bulo*, to turn, 'abulo, reversed; *mabulobulo*, reversed; *dila*, to be slippery, *mamadila*, slippery; *tatabulobulo*, head over heels.

3. *Comparison*.—Degrees of comparison are shown by the use of adverbs, or by a simple positive statement. The words used are *tasa*, beyond, in excess; *asia*, very, too much. The possessive is used with *tasa*: *boso nia baita tasa 'ana gwoua*, a pig is bigger than a rat; *gera 'oro tasa 'agami*, they are more numerous than we are; *nia baita asia*, it is too large. A positive statement carries comparison by implication: *doo nae nia baita*, that one is the biggest; *doo na nia diena*, *doo na nia ta'a na*, this one is good, that one is bad.

VERBS

Words may be used as verbs by prefixing the verbal particles, but some words are naturally verbs as being the names of actions and not of things. There are also verbs which have special forms as such by means of a prefix or a termination.

1. The *verbal particles* are *ka*, *ko*, *ke*. The particles are written apart from the verb, but in speech the first two are joined to the governing pronouns of the first and second persons singular, *gu* (*ku*), 'o.

Ka is used both of present and of future time, the illative *fi* may be added: *nia kafi bae urii*, then said (says) he; *gamelu ka 'ania si tao*, what are we to eat? *lelea ka rodo*, go till nightfall; *melu rao ka dani*, we worked till right up to daylight; the subject need not be stated: *gera too aroaro ka sui*, when they were quiet; *ka* may be used in negative sentences with the addition of *si*, not; *kasi bobola*, it is not fitting; *kasi lifu ka ore*, without any omission.

Ko is used only with the personal pronoun second person singular 'o, and may express either present or future time; the illative *fi* may be added. It is probable that *ko* is not an independent form, but that the *a* of *ka* has been assimilated to the *o* of the pronoun with which it is used, *ka* thus becoming *ko*.

Ke is used only with *fi*, illative, and *si*, negative; it generally denotes a future: *si doo na kefi dao mai*, then will this thing come to pass; *te baea kesi funu*, no word shall fail; *nia e langi kesi doria*, he will not wish it; *kesi diena ta ngalia*, it is not right for them to take it.

2. *Time and Moods*.—The use of a subjunctive is formed by *eeri*, in order that: *liona eeri ka rikia*, his desire was to see him. A gerundive is formed by the addition of the suffix *la* to the verb with the suffixing of the pronouns of the object: *haungilana*, the killing of him.

Conditional particles are *so*, *si*, *aso*, *ata*, *boro*, *boroe*. *So* denotes "if, haply, supposing that, about to, likely to"; *so ni'oe taari*, if it really is you; *so ni nau*, *so ni gera*, whether it be I or they; *ma ka garangia si manga a Herod so ka faatainia*, when it came to the time when Herod was about to show him.

Si denotes "if, as if, supposing, about to". It is used as an optative, or as denoting intention: *si ka lofo i halo*, as if it were going up to the sky; *e langi taa doo si ka too haufini*, there is nothing that can be secret; *si 'ana mouria*, *si 'ana maea*, whether in life or death. *Si* appears to be compounded of *so* and *i*, the genitive denoting purpose; but *si* in Mota is used much as *si* is in Lau.

Aso begins a sentence and denotes possibility or probability; it also gives indirectness as meaning "haply, it may be that, supposing".

Ata begins a sentence and introduces a doubt or a warning; *ata ka uta*, it may rain; *ata ka ta'a*, lest it be spoilt.

Boro denotes "haply, is it that?" It may open or close the sentence. It is also used following *aso*. *Boroe* has a similar meaning.

The illative is *fi* which denotes "thereupon, then, in that case, just now, for the first time". It is joined on to the verbal particle or to the governing pronoun used either with or without a verbal particle: *ta kafi uri*, thereupon they said; *'ofi haea*, you are to say.

There is no word in Lau corresponding to the English use of "that" in declaratory sentences, and a coördinate sentence must be employed; in Sa'a *uri* is employed in this connotation, as *si* is in Mota.

Na is used following the verb to form a preterite: *nia mae na*,

he is dead ; *e lea na 'ana*, he has gone. Finality is shown by the use of *sui*, finished : *nia kefi dao sui na*, when he shall have arrived ; *sui na, sui taa*, "thereupon, then," begin a sentence.

For the imperative the simple verb is used : *'o lea*, *'o lea 'amu*, *lea 'amu*, *lea*, go away ! *'o lea lau*, *'o totoo lau*, you go, you stay ! *fasi* may be added for politeness : *lea fasi 'amu'a*, you go !

3. *Negative Particles*.—The foregoing particles are not used by themselves in negative sentences, but require the addition of *si* : *mi kasi adasia*, we did not see it. *Si* is used by itself as a negative : *misi haea na*, we did not say so. *Langi* is the ordinary negative used in denial. With the pronoun *e* it is used in negative sentences : *e langi nau ku lea*, I am not going. It may combine with *si* : *nia langi si haitamana*, he does not know ; *e langi kusi lea*, I am not going ; *'oe 'o langi 'osi doria*, you will not like it. The dehortative and the negative imperative is *si* : *'osi lea*, do not go ! *'oe 'osi lua*, do not forbid it ! The genitives *ni*, *i*, are used to express purpose.

4. *Suffixes to Verbs*.—There are certain terminations which, when added to intransitive verbs, i.e. to verbs to which the pronoun of the object cannot be suffixed, make them definitely transitive or determine their action upon some object. These suffixes are of two forms :—

(a) The vowel *i* by itself, or a consonant with *i* : *f*, *li*, *mi*, *ngi*, *ri*, *si*. Examples are : *manata*, *manatai* ; *tau*, *taufi* ; *mae*, *maeli* ; *ano*, *anomi* ; *hau*, *haungi* ; *sibe*, *siberi* ; *ada*, *adasi*.

(b) The termination *ai* is suffixed to nouns to convert them into verbs transitive : *hato*, sun, *hatoai*, to shine on, of the sun. When *ai* is suffixed to verbs the syllable *ni* may be added, and to this form *aini* the consonants *f*, *m*, *ng*, *t*, are prefixed ; *oli*, to return, *olifaini*, to return with ; *aala*, to answer, *aalamaini*, to consent ; *hau*, to become, *haungaini*, to make ; *liu*, to travel about ; *liuteini*, to carry an article about. The forms in *ai* are also used intransitively. The forms *lai*, *tai*, added to certain verbs carry a participial meaning ; *mai*, *tai*, *ngai*, are used as transitive suffixes without the addition of *ni*. In pronunciation, the *a* of *ai* is frequently turned into *e* when *i* or *u* follow, but do not precede.

With either class of suffixes there is no difference between one suffix and another, except that *faini* denotes "accompanying", and may be connected with the preposition *fai*, "with."

'*Ani* is used as a transitive suffix : *ui*, to throw, *ui'ani*, to throw away ; *taba*, to strike, *taba'ani*, to destroy. This may be the preposition '*ani*.

5. *Prefixed to Verbs*.—These are causative and reciprocal. The *causative* is *faa* : it may be prefixed to almost any word, and it may be used with words which have a transitive suffix. The use of *faa* frequently obviates the addition of a transitive suffix and of itself makes verbs transitive.

The *reciprocal* prefix is *kwai*. The addition of *kwai* may cause an enlargement of the action of the verb by including the subject. The adding of a transitive suffix to the compound verb with *kwai* does not necessarily cause it to be transitive, and the object of such verbs, used intransitively, is supplied by the possessive pronoun. The *illative*, *fi*, marks repetition or continuance as well as restoration ; in these cases it is followed by the adverb *lau*, again, with *go* added.

6. *Passive*.—The passive is expressed by the impersonal use of the personal pronoun third person *gera*, *ta*, with the verb and the adverb *na*, already : *gera taufia na*, they have washed it, i.e. it has been washed. The word *haetana*, it is said, is used as a passive : *doo haetana*, the thing which has been said.

The vowel *a* is suffixed to certain verbs to form a passive : *asi*, to throw, *asia*, much, excessive ; *bua*, to inaugurate, *buaa*, used for the first time ; *kwaa*, to rise, of the heavenly bodies, *dani e kwaasia*, it is daybreak.

7. *Auxiliary verbs*—*alu*, “to put,” is used as meaning “to be, to become” ; *hau*, “to make,” with the possessive *ana*, means “to become, to turn into”.

8. *Reflexive verb*.—A noun form *tala*, “of one’s own accord, by one’s self,” is used with *i* following the verb to denote reflexive action, the pronoun being suffixed : *nia haungia i talana*, he killed himself. *Tala* may be used preceding the verb.

9. *Reduplication of verb* : verbs are reduplicated in two ways : (a) by reduplication of the first syllable : *liu*, *liliu* ; *bae*, *babae* ; (b) by repetition of the whole word : *gwou*, *gwougwou*. There is no difference in meaning between the various forms beyond an intensification of meaning. In the case of verbs which normally should show a “break”, e.g. *too*, to stay (*Sa’a to’o*), the first vowel of the reduplicated form is short : *totoo*.

ADVERBS

There are pure adverbs in Lau, but many words used as adverbs are truly nouns, while others are verbs.

1. *Adverbs of place*.—*mai*, here, hither ; *loko*, there ; *kou*, away ;

i see, *i see na*, *i see nana*, here, in this place; *i see nae*, there, in that place; *alaa*, *i alaa*, up, east, south; *lau*, north; *bali*, side, *i bali*, on the side of, on the other side, *bali na*, on this side, *bali loko*, on that (other) side; *ifai*, *ifei*, where? *ita mai ifei*, whence? *tau* (a verb), far off; *i langi*, up; *i ano*, down; *sai(hai) gano*, on the ground.

The adverb *mai*, here, "place where," is also used with the locative *i* to denote "place at": *o siu mai i kafe*, have you been bathing in the river? *nau too mai i tolo*, I have been in (come from) the hills; *mai ua mai inao*, from of old; *si initooa mai i halo*, the kingdom of heaven.

2. *Adverbs of time*.—*kada*, *kada na*, when; *si kada*, *si manga*, *kade manga*, the time when; *angita*, *i angita*, when? *si kada utaa*, what time? when? *inao mai*, from of old; *'isingana na*, henceforth; *alua fasi*, wait a while, presently; *uuri*, just now; *lau*, *lau go*, again; *oli*, back, afresh; *ua na*, already; *ua*, yet, still, still left; *langi ua*, not yet; *ua go i ubongi*, in the early morning; *firi*, always, for ever; *too fir*, everlasting; *tefou*, once for all, finally, "one time"; *too ka tau*, for ever; *suli dani*, *suli danifiri*, daily; *tara*, *tara'ena*, to-day; *ubongi*, *ubongi'a*, in the morning; *haulafi*, *haulafi'a*, in the evening; *i ro*, *i rogi*, yesterday; *i ro gi*, formerly; *maedani i fafo*, two days ago; *i bobongi*, to-morrow; *(i)fulee*, the third day on; *(i)fafoni*, the fourth day on; *(i)fookao*, the fifth day on; *tara'ena lao rodo*, to-night, last night; *aliali*, *lakwalakwa*, *lakwalakwaa*, quick, quickly; *maasia*, while. "When" may be expressed by the use of the verbs *lea*, *lelea*, to go, *totoo*, *(i)totoo*, to be; *lea* also denotes "if": *lea ka baita*, if it were a big one.

3. *Adverbs of manner*.—*ilingia*, like, as, as if, as it were; two other words *mala*, *alafana*, belonging to the language of the hill peoples, are sometimes used; *urii*, thus, as it were; used of reported speech; *urinae*, thus; *urinana*, like; *uria*, just as if, like; *uria si taa*, like what? *utaa*, *e utaa*, how?; *asia*, *asiasia*, completely, too much; *saumala* (Ataa Cove), granted that; *fala'ete*, *mamala'o'oni*, merely, only; *tefou*, together, at one time, once for all; *afui* (Ataa Cove), altogether; *boro*, *boroe*, *mone*, *'oto*, *bota na*, introduce a note of indefiniteness or of doubt or of qualification; *fetei*, *taari*, haply, are used in explanations; *ba* gives force to the narrative, and also makes the diction less abrupt; *fasi* marks a polite request or conveys an aorist force to the verb; *go* qualifies the preceding word and also conveys an idea of limitation: *inau go agu'a*, I for my part; *too go 'ana*, it is still there; *go* follows *lau*, "again, also": *inau lau go*, I too; *tasa*,

tasa 'ana, too much ; the use of the verbal particle with *tasa* : *ka tasa* 'ana, it is too much, shows *tasa* to be a verb.

PREPOSITIONS

1. Simple Prepositions

Locative	<i>i</i> .	Dative	<i>fua, fu</i> .
Motion to	<i>uri, suli, isuli</i> .	Instrumental	'ana, 'ani.
Motion from	<i>faasi, ita</i> .	Relation	'ana, 'ani, <i>fai, sie</i> .
Causation	<i>faafi</i> .		<i>sia, usi, lao, la</i> .
Position	<i>fonosi, suusi</i> .	Genitive	<i>ni, i ; e</i> .

The locative is seen in *ifai, ifei*, where ? it is also largely used with adverbs of place and time, and it precedes every place name. With the exception of the locative, the instrumental, the genitive, and also 'ana, *ita*, and *fu*, all the foregoing prepositions are used with a suffixed pronoun, and those printed with a hyphen are never used without such pronouns ; *ita* is followed by the possessive 'ana : *ita mai* 'ana, from it, from thence. *Fonosi*, against, opposed to, is used in Ataa Cove. *Uri* denotes "towards, for the purpose of" : *lea uria*, go and get it ; *rao uri*, to work at a thing ; *uri 'agu*, towards me ; *uria*, for the purpose of ; *uria taa*, wherefore. *Suli, isuli*, denote "motion after, motion over" : *sulia maedani 'oro*, during many days. *Faasi* denotes "motion from" ; *ita* is used of "place whence" : *ita mai ifei*, whence ? *ita na mai inao*, from of old. *Faafi* means "about, concerning, because of" : *faafia si taa*, about what ? *Suusi* denotes "on behalf of, protecting, opposing" : *babae suusi*, to accuse ; *take suusi*, to withstand. *Fonosi* means "against, to meet." *Fu*, to, appears in *fu i fera nia*, to his village ; *funitei*, to whomsoever ; *fua* generally has the pronoun suffixed as the object.

Of the two instrumental prefixes 'ana, 'ani, which denote "there-with, thereby", 'ana is used by itself alone, or else is followed by an article before the governed noun ; 'ani is generally followed by a pronoun : 'ania, therewith ; *doo 'ani nau*, a thing for me to do ; 'ani taa, with what ? and not *ania taa*. 'Ana also denotes "concerning, from, of, by, time when" : *te ngwane 'ana toa nae*, a man of that people ; 'o ngalia 'ana atei, from whom did you get it ? *soea 'ana hatana*, call him by his name. 'Ani denotes "concerning, with, of, in" : *te ngwane 'ani maku kwakwaoa*, a man in white clothing ; *ngwane 'ani gamu*, a man of your company ; 'ani may be followed by a pronoun denoting the object.

Fai means "with"; *fainau*, with me; *ni* may be added: *fainia*, with it, moreover, and.

Sie, *sia*, is a noun and is never used without a suffixed pronoun. Its meaning is "at, at the house of, to, towards". By the ordinary Melanesian idiom "place at" is used of "motion towards": *siegamehu*, at our house; *siena ere*, at the fire; *lea mai siegu*, come here to me; *faatania siena*, show it to him; *gani siena*, ask him for it. The locative *i* may precede; the form *sia* is used as well as *sie*. *Usi* means "over, on behalf of, protecting". *Lao*, *la*, denote "in, inside"; the pronoun of the object may be suffixed to *lao*.

The genitives *ni*, *i*, have been dealt with under nouns; *i* is the genitive in most general use; both of them are used to express purpose, and *ni* denotes "for, belonging to": *gera mou ni oli*, they feared to return; *ote nia ni rosuli*, he will not obey.

2. Compound Prepositions

These are nouns which are used with the locative; the pronoun may be suffixed as the actual object, or as an anticipatory object when the actual object follows: *i fafo*, above, *i fara*, beneath, *i lao*, *i lalo*, within, inside, in; *suu i lao*, the Mara Masike channel. Certain verbs are used as prepositions: *maasi*, to await, *maasia*, while; *garangi*, to be near, *garangia*, near, close to.

CONJUNCTIONS

Copulative *ma*.

Adversative *taa*, *ma taa*, *ma*.

Connective *sui*, *sui na*, *sui taa*.

Disjunctive *langi*, *langi taa*, *ma langi*, *ma ka langi*.

Conditional 'ana, so, si, aso, ata, boro, boro.

Illative *fi*.

The copulative *ma* is used following the noun in summaries: *ii'a ma*, *manu ma*, fish and what not, birds and what not. *Taa* is probably the numeral *taa*, one. *Ma langi*, *ma ka langi*, or not, are used at the end of the sentence. A mark of quotation is *urii*. "Neither-nor" is expressed by a negative followed by *ma*. "Until" is *dao 'ana*, *lea ka dao*.

NUMERALS

The numerical system is decimal. All numbers over the ten are expressed in tens.

1. *Cardinals*

- | | |
|----------------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. <i>eta, taa, te, ti, ata.</i> | 6. <i>e ono.</i> |
| 2. <i>e rua, ro, ru.</i> | 7. <i>e fuu.</i> |
| 3. <i>e olu.</i> | 8. <i>e kwalu.</i> |
| 4. <i>e fai.</i> | 9. <i>e sikwa.</i> |
| 5. <i>e lima.</i> | 10. <i>e tangafulu, akwala.</i> |

In numbers other than *eta*, one, the initial *e* is omitted in quick counting. The article *na* is used with all the numbers except *eta* and *tangafulu*. In composition "one" is *taa* or *te*, "two" is *ro*; *taa*, *te*, also denote "a", "only"; *ti* is used in Ataa Cove. *Rua* is reduplicated into *rurua*. *Kwalu*, eight, is used of an indefinite number, or to express totality. *Tangafulu* is the "tenth" of a series; *akwala* is used for "ten" denoting a unit: *akwala fono na*, a full ten. To express the units above ten *mana* may be employed: *akwala mana fai*, fourteen. In general practice *mana* is omitted: *akwale (akwala e) doo fai fe doo*, ten things four things, fourteen. A number short of ten is *sarenga*: *ii'a sarenga*, fish short of ten; *akwala ma ka sarenga*, ten and some over.

A "hundred" is *tangalau*, *e tangalau*; the construct form *tangale* is only used of fish; for a hundred of everything else the methathetic form *talenge* is used: *talenge nguane*, a hundred men; *talenge si doo*, a hundred things. The sum above the hundred may be expressed by *mana*, but in practice *mana* is generally omitted: *tangalau fai agala fai*, one hundred and forty-four. "Thousand" is *tooni*, *tuuni*: *tooni si doo*, a thousand things. "Ten thousand" is *mola*: *molai kai*, a thousand yams; *mole alo*, a thousand taros; "hundred thousand" is *kudu*: *kudu i alo*, 100,000 taros; *kudu fe niu*, 100,000 coconuts; *kudi (kudu i) doo*, countless numbers of things.

Special words are used for the tens of certain objects: *finita* with the genitive *e* is used of "ten" of taros or yams: *finite alo*; *kobi* is "ten" of shell-moneys: *kobi malefo*, ten shell-moneys; *lilio*, *te lilio*, is "ten" of bread-fruit; *iluilu*, ten *kauve*, pandanus mats; *sinola* is "ten" of garfish, and is also used for a "thousand" of areca nuts. *Fulu*, a part of *tangafulu*, ten, with the genitive *i*, and with *taa*, one, prefixed, is used of shell-moneys with ten strings: *taafuli 'ae*, a shell-money consisting of ten strings; *taafuli lifo*, ten porpoise teeth; *taafuli doo*, ten things; *ro sikwa taa fulu*, ten, in an unusual system of counting; *ada* is "ten" of coconuts: *ade niu*.

2. Ordinals

The cardinals with a noun ending *na* (*la*) form ordinals :—

First, <i>etana</i> .	Fourth, <i>faina</i> .	Seventh, <i>fiuna</i> .
Second, <i>ruana</i> .	Fifth, <i>limana</i> .	Eighth, <i>kwaula, kwoula</i> .
Third, <i>oula</i> .	Sixth, <i>onona</i> .	Ninth, <i>sikwana</i> .

The ordinals precede the noun : *ruana ngwane*, the second man ; the article *na* may precede. The ordinals are used to express the number of times : *ruana lau nia lea kou*, he went away the second time. *Ruana* also means "friend, fellow", and is used with the possessive : *na ruana 'agera*, their fellows.

"Tenth" is *tangafulu 'ana*. "One hundred and twenty-first" is rendered *tangalau, ro akwala mana etana*, or, *eta* is employed instead of *mana etana*.

The forms *oula, kwaula (kwoula)* probably show *la* used instead of *na*, and with a dropping of the *l* of *olu, kwalu*. "How many" is *fita, efita* ; *efita* is used with the noun termination *na* : *efitana*, what number is it ?

Multiplicatives

The article *fe* is used to form multiplicatives : *te fe doo*, once ; *ro fe doo*, twice ; *tefe lealaa*, one journey ; *haasigu ka fita fe ade taalaa fuagu*, how often shall my brother harm me ? The causative *faa* does not make multiplicatives.

EXCLAMATIONS

Iu, iuka, assent ; *uaa*, verily, is used at the end of a speech by the listeners to signify assent or approval ; *aia*, well then ! *ne*, is it so, is used in questions ; *'ae* is used after the names of persons addressed : *ngwela 'ae*, you ! (boy, or girl, or adult person) ; *e* precedes personal names in address ; *e aarai*, sir ; *oi* denotes reproof or regret ; *oi maa ae*, alas, father ! *oi tee 'ae*, alas, mother ! are cries of lamentation ; *ku* is added to the names of persons who are summoned ; *a* denotes "don't !" "mind !" *ai* calls attention ; *e, ee*, denote disapproval ; *ea* is equivalent to "is that so !" used after a statement ; *eeri* denotes "that's the way !" and is used as an encouragement.



*A STUDY OF THE LANGUAGE OF MARAU SOUND,
GUADALCANAL, SOLOMON ISLANDS*

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THE material for the study here presented was collected during a short stay at Marau Sound in 1927, in pursuance of my research work. Bishop Patteson, of the Melanesian Mission, published grammatical notes of the language of Marau Sound at Auckland, New Zealand, about 1860, together with a short catechism, a translation of the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer, and a list of words. This material was edited by von der Gabelentz, and was published in his *Melanesischen Sprachen*, Leipzig, 1873. I have worked through the material and corrected it where necessary. The two pieces of translation, Creed and Lord's Prayer, which appear in von der Gabelentz, are too faulty to be inserted here as specimens of the language, and I had not the opportunity of correcting them.

Bishop Patteson had several men from Marau Sound with him at Auckland, among whom, according to the information given to me, were Tootoo, Waaro mae, Waihunu, Nini pua, Porike, Porasi (who died at Auckland), and also Vouvete of Kaoka, a village on the mainland near by. The large percentage of San Cristoval words and grammatical constructions which appear in Bishop Patteson's material, as quoted by von der Gabelentz, is probably due to the influence of Taroaniara, a San Cristoval man, who acted as guide on the visits to Marau Sound, and whose wife was a Marau Sound woman. Taroaniara was with the party at Auckland, and evidently acted as interpreter. He may even have been commissioned by the Bishop to render certain stock pieces, e.g. the Creed, into the language of Marau Sound. This supposition would account for the presence in the translations of words like *tahi*, to live, *tataro* (San Cristoval *dadaro*) for "cross", and for such grammatical constructions as *ia*, personal article in San Cristoval, instead of *a*, the Marau Sound usage. Also it would account for the use of *ni*, demonstrative article, and *ia*, personal pronoun 3rd singular. However, there is good internal evidence that the work in the main was done by the Bishop.

During my stay at Marau Sound I made a list of words, and confined myself mainly to that, and to the editing of Bishop Patteson's

material. The speech of the people is a difficult one owing to the uncertainty of some of the sounds, to the free interchange of *l* and *r* in words, and above all to the way in which the people speak. There is no movement of the upper lip in speaking, the lips are but slightly parted, and the speech is thrust forward as it were. Little stress is put on the words, and the result is a running sound of words, making it very difficult to distinguish between individual words and to catch what is said. There is but little rise and fall of sound. The accent, if any, falls on the last syllable.

The use of the diaeresis over the vowel *ä*, denotes the "Umlaut", *ä* changing to *e* after a preceding *i* or *u* and with *i* and *u* following. The Marau Sound people do not always observe this change in the particular words, and also they make the change in an arbitrary fashion. The sign ' denotes a dropped consonant, and in the spoken language there is a "break" in the pronunciation where such a sign is employed in the written language. The consonants thus dropped are "the Melanesian *g*", *k, l, n, s, t*. Words spelt with a hyphen, e.g. *maeta-*, are used only with the suffixed pronouns *ku, mu, na*, etc.

The Marau Sound people are immigrants from places on the coast of Big Mala, Waisisi, Uhu, etc., and the language has no connexion with the languages of Guadalcanal, but is probably a form of the language spoken by the Areare people of the south end of Big Mala.

A GRAMMAR OF THE LANGUAGE OF MARAU SOUND ALPHABET

Vowels : *a, e, i, o, u*.

Diphthongs : *ae, ai, ao, au, ei, ou*.

Consonants : *w, v, r, k, l, t, n, m, p, h, s*.

The vowels have the Italian sounds. There are both long and short sounds of the vowels, and the doubling of a vowel, except when a "break" occurs, denotes a lengthening of its sound ; *raa* "to go, to come". The sound of *k* is hard ; *e* is used for *w* in some words. There are no closed syllables.

ARTICLES

(a) *Demonstrative* :—

Singular : '*a, na ; hai ; maa, mani, wari*.

Plural : '*a'a, hua, lai, rai, ni, 'i, 'i'i ; ikira, kira ; mora ; waru*.

(b) *Personal* : *a*.

1. Von der Gabelentz gives *ni* as an article : *Kauraha ni ama*, God the Father, but there can be no doubt that this is a mistake.

I found no trace of *ní* as a singular article, and in the instance given, the word *ama*, father, is never preceded by an article. This *ní* should probably be *nia*, he. Nouns are commonly used without any article at all: *ora nau*, my canoe; *mane wouna*, that man there. When it is desired to call attention to the noun, 'a, *na*, may be used both in an indefinite and also in a definite sense: *na 'ai*, a tree; 'a *keu*, a cockle; *na mora ní mane*, a thousand men; *na taa'i*, what things? 'a *taa*, what thing?; 'a *are nau nena*, that is mine; 'a *mera wou*, that boy there. The form 'a is *na* with the loss of *n*.

2. *Hai* appears in *hai horo'a*, a day; *hai rato*, a spell of sunshine; *rua hai li poni*, *rua hai rato'a*, two days.

3. *Maa* expresses "one, a, piece", and is used with the genitives *i*, *ní*: *maa ní kamuha*, one eating of the betel-mixture; *maai rade*, a reed; *rua maani are*, two things; *maa ní tawa*, a landing-place. *Maa* is identical with *maa*, eye, used of round objects and of individual objects.

4. *Mani* denotes "a"; *mani are*, a thing; *mani wara*, a word; *mani rehona*, his word, what he said; *ate mani iri á'i ró'u*, another way of saying it.

5. *Wari* is used of things spherical in shape, of fruit, or of stones, the genitives *i*, *ní*, being added; *wari i niu*, a coconut; *wari i hau*, a ceremonial club. The use of the genitive shows that *wari* is a noun.

6. The form 'a'a appears to be the plural of 'a: 'a'a *are nau ní*, my things. *Hua* is used with the genitive *ní*: *hua ní keni na*, *hua ní mane na*, *hua ní haka na*, women, men, ships. *Lai*, *rai*, precede certain nouns, *inoni*, man, *keni*, woman, *mane*, male, *mera*, child, and are used of persons only. *Lai* is the same as Florida *lei*, Sa'a *alei*. The forms *ní*, 'i, 'i'i follow the noun or pronoun, and are used of things only; they mark the ordinary plural: 'a'a *are nau ní*, those are my things, *huu ní 'ameru*, we have colds, *are mora'i*, ordinary things, *are 'o'i'i nei*, these are your things, *na taa'i*, what things? 'i is used of many things to eat: *are 'aku'i*, things for me to eat.

7. The personal pronouns 3rd pers. pl., *ikira*, *kira*, they, are used as plural articles of people only: *ikira hanua*, the people; *ikira a are*, So-and-so and those with him; *kira Sa'a*, the Sa'a people; *bokus kira waiti mani*, white men's boxes. The word *mora* which properly denotes "ten thousand" is used of a number of things or of people, or to express totality: *mora ní mane*, many men; *moramora ní are*, very many things; the numeral *waru*, eight, expresses totality; *waru mora ní are*, countless numbers of things.

8. The personal article *a* is used with nouns expressing kindred or relationship, or with personal names: *a Mouria*; *a mama'a*, father; *a teite*, mother, used of definite persons; *a huka*, *a keina*, such-and-such a woman; *a porona*, So-and-so; *a are*, So-and-so, who do you mean? This *a* is seen in *atei*, who? (singular), *kira atei*, who? (plural). The word *nīkia*, mother (vocative), may possibly contain the feminine article *nī*, which is used in the Lau language of north Mala.

NOUNS

1. *Noun endings*.—Nouns which have a special termination showing them to be nouns substantive are (a) verbal nouns; (b) independent nouns.

(a) Verbal nouns are formed from verbs by adding the terminations *na*, *raa*, *ta*, *ha*, *a*.

Examples: *hahi*, to cook in an oven, *hahina*, a cooking; *arahuu*, to use parabolic language, *arahuuta*, a parabolic saying; *hou*, to be famous, *houraa*, a public feast; *mae*, to die, *maeta*, a death feast; *rae*, to go, *raeha*, a journey; *koru*, to heap up, *korua*, a company of people.

(b) Independent nouns: The termination is *na*, and this is (i) added to nouns which express kindred or relationship; (ii) attached to cardinal numerals to form ordinals.

(i) The nouns so formed are always preceded by the prefixes *ma*, *mai*, which mark reciprocity of relationship or of kindred, and by the numeral *rua* "two": *rua mai warina*, mother's brother and sister's son; *rua mai ulana*, two cross-cousins; *rua maasina*, *rua mai maasina*, two brothers, or two sisters.

(ii) Ordinals: *rua*, two, *ruana*, second.

2. *Nouns with possessive pronominal suffixes*.—Certain nouns take the suffixed pronouns *ku*, *mu*, *na*, etc., denoting the possessor. These are nouns denoting:—

(a) Parts of the body: *maa*, eye; *maaku*, my eye; *'ae*, leg; *'aena*, his leg.

(b) Certain states of men or certain things belonging to men; name, life, death, speech, thought: *sasa*, name, *sasana*, his name; *maeta*, death, *maetana*, his death feast; *wara*, word, *waraku*, my word; *manata*, thought, *manatana*, his intention.

(c) Position, side, end, middle, top: *to'o 'erena*, the top of it; *i apina*, beside; *i matorana*, in between; *i touna*, in the middle.

(d) All the words expressing kindred or relationship, except those for "husband", *poro*, "wife", *huka*, *keni*, "child", *mera*; *teite*, "mother" (Vocative), *mama'a*, "father" (Vocative). In the case of these six words possession is denoted by the addition of the ordinary personal pronouns.

3. *Genitive relation*.—The genitive relation of nouns one to another is effected by the use of the prepositions *ni* or *i*: *mane ni Mara*, a Mala man; *poro ni haka*, a white man; *wari i niu*, a coconut. Both forms of the genitive are used to express purpose: *nasi ni tohua*, hard to chop; *hana 'oko i ta*, for you to do it; *nokoi tohua na 'ai*, I am (for) chopping a tree. Another form of the genitive is *li*: *maa li tawa*, a landing-place.

4. *The instrumental prefix* is *i*: *kau*, to grasp with a hook or tentacle, *ikau*, a crook.

5. *Plurality*.—Plurality is marked by the use of the articles *hua*, *lai*, *rai*, preceding the noun and used of persons only, or by the use of *ni*, *'i*, *'i*, following the noun and used of things only.

To a noun *ahuta*-, denoting totality the pronoun of the third person singular, and of all persons in the plural, is suffixed in agreement with the noun: *ahutana taana are*, every single thing; *ikira ahutada*, all of them.

The pronouns denoting possession are suffixed in all persons singular and plural to a stem *ha*-, a noun with a dative use: *haku*, to me, *hakaoru*, to us; *noru haku*, listen to me; *mane i sii haku*, my elder brother; also to a stem *maraa*- denoting "self", "alone": *inau maraaku*, I myself, I alone; to *hike*-, of, from among, in the third person singular and all persons plural: *hikamiu*, from among you; to *to*-, "mate, companion" in the first person singular: *toku*, "my mate," used in addressing a child.

6. *Endearing use*: A noun *kei*, which denotes "woman", is used with the adjective *ta'a*, bad, to express endearment or commiseration: *kei ta'a*, poor lady! *kei ha'i nau*, my sister; *a keina*, the woman, So-and-so.

The plural of *mera*, child, is formed by reduplication, *memera*.

7. A noun *haru* denotes "some": *haru 'ei e una*, some things are like that; a noun *'ai* ('*ei*), denotes "person, thing": *'ei iweera*, many things; *'ai utaa*, what person? *are noo na ei noo*, this one and that; *taa'i olu 'ei*, only three things.

The forms *i*, *ni*, are suffixed to nouns to denote "place", "position": *i raoni*, beside; *i marui*, underneath, *i matorai*, in amongst.

8. There is no grammatical gender ; the words *mane*, male, *keni*, female, are added when there is need to distinguish sex ; *mera mane*, a boy ; *mera keni*, a girl.

9. Nouns expressing relationship, except those instanced above, are always used as follows : (a) with a suffixed pronoun : *amaku*, my father ; (b) with the termination *na* and with a reciprocal prefix *mai*, *ma* : *rua maasina*, two brothers.

PRONOUNS

1. Pronouns used as the subject of a verb

Singular :		Plural :	
1. <i>inau</i> , <i>nau</i> , <i>na</i> , <i>no</i> .	Inclusive :	1. <i>ikia</i> , <i>kia</i> .	
2. <i>i'o</i> , 'o.	Exclusive :	1. <i>i'ami</i> , 'ami.	
3. <i>inaia</i> , <i>naia</i> , <i>neia</i> , <i>nei</i> , <i>ne</i> , <i>e</i> .		2. <i>i'amu</i> , 'amu, 'au.	
		3. <i>ikira</i> , <i>kira</i> .	
Dual :		Trial :	
Inclusive : 1. <i>ikura</i> , <i>kura</i> .	Inclusive :	1. <i>ikoru</i> , <i>koru</i> , <i>kolu</i> .	
<i>ikara</i> , <i>kara</i> .			
Exclusive : 1. <i>ierua</i> , <i>erua</i> .	Exclusive :	1. <i>ieru</i> , <i>eru</i> .	
2. <i>iarua</i> , <i>arua</i> .		2. <i>iauru</i> , <i>auru</i> .	
3. <i>ikirorua</i> , <i>kirorua</i> .		3. <i>ikiraoru</i> , <i>kiraoru</i> .	

The forms beginning with *i* denote emphasis ; they are not used by themselves as the subject, but are always accompanied by the shorter forms without *i*, which may themselves be used alone as the subject. In the first person singular *na* is used by itself as the subject of the verb : *na suu'i raa*, I won't go ; *no* is used with the verbal particle *ko* of present or of general time : *noko mai raa*, I am not going ; *noko si hura*, I have just arrived. *Naia*, *neia* when used as subjects are followed by *e* ; *nei* is not used as a subject, but rather as a demonstrative : *nei ne na*, that is it ! *ne* is used before proper nouns, and the personal article *a* coalesces : *nea are*, So-and-so ; *e* follows the noun as a second subject, or is used by itself as a subject : *tani e makata*, the daylight (it) lightened ; *e mai komu i'ami*, it is not in our country ; it is also used following a collective noun : *lai mane e raa siko*, the men have gone.

The pronouns of the third persons singular and plural may be used of impersonal or inanimate objects ; *kira* is used correctly as a plural article in connexion with persons, but not as an ordinary collective : *ikira hanua*, the people ; *kira Arosi*, the Arosi people. *Kira* is also

used to form a passive; *kira hahia no'o*, is it cooked? *Kira* followed by the personal article *a* and *are*, thing (used instead of a personal name) denotes a company or a party: *kira a are*, who are they?

The forms beginning with *i* are used to denote possession: *iora inau*, my canoe. The trial number is used of a more restricted number as well as of three people; *kolu, koru*, denote "Let us be going". A chief or a person of importance is addressed in the dual, or trial; and a mother, either by herself or with her child, is addressed in the dual.

2. Pronouns suffixed to Verbs or Prepositions as Object

Singular :		Plural :	
1. <i>nau</i> .	Inclusive :	1. <i>kia</i> .	
2. <i>'o</i> .	Exclusive :	1. <i>'ami</i> .	
3. <i>a</i> .		2. <i>'amu</i> .	
		3. <i>kira, ta, 'i</i> .	
Dual :		Trial :	
Inclusive : 1. <i>kura</i> .		Inclusive : 1. <i>koru, kolu</i> .	
Exclusive : 1. <i>erua</i> .		Exclusive : 1. <i>eru</i> .	
2. <i>arua</i> .		2. <i>auru</i> .	
3. <i>kirarua</i> .		3. <i>kiraoru</i> .	

The form *a* is suffixed to a transitive verb as an anticipatory object: *ka totoria raurahi*, he is waiting for the evening; *ta* is used as an object, in place of *kira*, for the sake of shortness, but *kira* is in common use. When things and not persons are in question *'i* is the form used: *raa ohi'i*, go and fetch them. The plural sign *ni* is added to *ha-*, *hani*, when things are in question: *kuki niu hani tapaiso*, to smoke-dry coconuts for tobacco.

3. Pronouns suffixed to Nouns or to certain Prepositions

Singular :		Plural :	
1. <i>ku</i> .	Inclusive :	1. <i>ka</i> .	
2. <i>mu</i> .	Exclusive :	1. <i>mami</i> .	
3. <i>na</i> .		2. <i>miu</i> .	
		3. <i>ta</i> .	
Dual :		Trial :	
Inclusive : 1. <i>ka ikura</i> .		Inclusive : 1. <i>kaoru, ka ikoru</i> .	
Exclusive : 1. <i>meeru, meerua</i> .		Exclusive : 1. <i>meru</i> .	
2. <i>maaru, maarua</i> .		2. <i>maauru</i> .	
3. <i>tarua</i> .		3. <i>tauru</i> .	

These are the pronouns denoting possession, and they are suffixed to a certain class of nouns only, viz. those denoting the names of parts of the body, or of relationship terms, with the exceptions noted above, or things in close relationship to a man, his name, his speech. They are not used of a man's weapons or house or handbag. Where they cannot be employed, the ordinary pronouns are used instead. The forms *ka ikura*, *ka ikoru*, are composite : *nimaka ikura*, the hands of us two ; *maraka ikoru*, by ourselves ; *hamaauru*, to you three. The trial forms denote a restriction in the number of the persons concerned. Words like *maraa-*, lone, unaided, of one's own accord, *sio-*, after, according to, which have the above set of pronouns suffixed, *norosiona waraku*, hear and do what I say, *nau raa maraaku*, I went of my own accord, are evidently nouns, but they have no independent use apart from the use with the suffixed pronouns.

4. Possessive

There is only one possessive, 'a, a noun to which the suffixed pronouns are added :—

Singular :		Plural :	
1. 'aku, 'aku'a, 'aku'i.	Inclusive :	1. 'aka.	
2. 'amu, 'amu'a, 'amu'i.	Exclusive :	1. 'amami.	
3. 'ana, 'ani.		2. 'amiu.	
		3. 'ata.	
Dual :		Trial :	
Inclusive : 1. 'aka ikura, 'ata ikura.	Inclusive :	1. 'akaoru.	
		akaorua.	
Exclusive : 1. 'ameeru, 'ameerua.	Exclusive :	1. 'ameru,	
		'amerua.	
2. 'amaarua.		2. 'amaauru.	
3. 'atarua.		3. 'atauru.	

The possessive is used (1) of things to eat and drink. In the singular, first and second person, the addition of 'i, 'aku'i, etc., denotes that several things are in view for a person to eat ; (2) when the meaning is " for " : *to'i 'amu'a*, work for you ; *naia ka raa 'ana*, he went off for his part ; (3) when the meaning is " belonging to, with, at " : *kai ui 'ana*, his right hand : *to'i 'ana*, to work at it ; *totohu 'aku*, of my own accord. These forms serve as the objects of those verbs to which the pronoun cannot be suffixed, or they are used as objects when an adverb intervenes between a transitive verb and its object : *e hana*

ta'a 'aku, he shot and wounded me badly. The form *'ani* is used with *i* prefixed: *ka to'o i 'ani*, it hits it.

5. Demonstratives

The demonstratives are *na*, *nee*, *nei*, *ni nei*, *noo*, this, these, thus; *na wou*, *neena*, *ni noo*, *wouna*, that, those.

Examples:—*a mane na*, this man; *inau na mai to'o are*, as for me I have nothing; *are nau ni nei*, this is mine; *'ei nei*, this thing; *mae noo*, that man, you (Vocative); *are noo warita*, thing of old time, formerly; *i apani asi na wou*, in that part of the sea over there; *naia na*, that's it! *'o hura na*, you have come then!

INTERROGATIVE PRONOUNS

The interrogative pronouns are *tei*, who? *taa*, what? The personal article *a* is prefixed to *tei*: *atei*, who? singular, *kira atei*, who? plural. *Atei* means "what is the name of the person?" The article *'a* is prefixed to *taa*; *'a taa*, what? *hana taa*, what for?

INDEFINITE PRONOUNS

Taetaena means "one, some"; *'ana taetaena horo'a*, at some time; *taana*, *taataana*, means "every"; *ahutana taana are*, all and sundry things; "another, different" is *ate*, which is probably the Mota *tea*, one.

RELATIVE PRONOUNS

There are no relative pronouns. Their place is supplied by the suffixed pronouns, a demonstrative being added: *inaia a porona kira ka iria*, he is the man whom they were talking about.

VERBS

Words may be used as verbs by prefixing the verbal particles, but words which are the names of actions are naturally verbs. Certain words have special prefixes or terminations which further mark them off as verbs. The verbal particles precede the verb.

1. The verbal particles are *ka*, *ko*, *kai*.

Ka is used with all the pronouns which are the subject of the verb, but not with the forms *no*, *'o*. The pronoun need not be used where the idea is impersonal: *ka uta*, it is raining. The time is the ordinary or the historic present. *Ko* is used only with the shortened pronominal forms *no*, *'o*: *noko raa*, I am going; *'oko raaia*, you know it. The time is the ordinary or the historic present. The illative *si* may be used with both *ka* and *ko*, or may replace them altogether: *'o si ke hura na*, have you just arrived? *i* may be added to *ko* in order to express purpose: *hana 'okoi ta*, so that you may do it.

Kai is used of a definite future : *mane kai mae*, men will die.

2. *Times and Moods*.—A subjunctive is formed by '*ana*, if, when, used with the verbal particles.

The illative is *si*, thereupon, in that case, for the first time : *noko haro simouka ka'u kolu si raa*, we shall go after I have had a smoke. The verbal particles need not necessarily precede.

The dehortative is *mana* : *mana rerehono*, don't make a disturbance. "Lest" is *mane* : *mane kira mae siko*, lest they all die. The adverb *no'o* denotes a preterite and is used following the verb : *e mae no'o*, he is dead ; *taa wou 'ana, e sieni no'o*, it makes no difference, it is all right. *Siko*, finished, may be used after the verb as a preterite : *e 'ani siko*, he has eaten (finished). *Ka'u* denotes a preterite and is also used to make the speech less abrupt. *Haro, raro*, denote "consequent upon" or convey the idea of "gently, a little" ; they precede the verb.

3. *Negative Particles*.—The negative particles are *mai* and *suu'i*, and are used preceding the verb ; *suu'i* is used as a dehortative and as a strong negative : *noko mai raa*, I am not going ; *inau mai torea mai*, I did not bring it here ; *na suu'i rae*, I won't go ; '*o suu'i iria*, don't say it ! A word '*ai* is used as meaning "not to be" : '*o iria e 'ai*, did you think it wasn't so ? The ordinary negative is *mao*, "no, not," and this is used also as a negative particle : *e mao necna*, it is not so.

4. *Suffixes to Verbs*.—There are certain terminations which when added to intransitive verbs, i.e. to verbs to which the pronoun of the object cannot be attached, make them definitely transitive. These suffixes are of two forms :—

(a) The vowel *i* by itself, or a consonant with *i* : *i, hi, li, mi, ni, ri, si*.

(b) The termination *a'i*, which is suffixed by itself to verbs or nouns to convert them into transitive verbs, or is used with the consonants *h, l, m, n, r, t* : *ha'i*, etc. The syllable *ni* may be attached, but the forms ending in *a'i* are definitely transitive of themselves. The termination *a'i*, with or without a preceding consonant, often conveys a participial force : *ponie'i*, from day to day ; *moute'i*, only ; *rapute'i*, fallen to the ground.

5. *Prefxes to Verbs*.—These are of two sorts, causative and reciprocal. The causative prefix is *ha'a* ; it may be prefixed to nouns as well as to verbs, and it is used with verbs which have a transitive suffix. The reciprocal is *hai*.

6. *Passive*.—The passive is expressed by the use of the personal pronoun third person plural, *kira*, as subject with the verb, the adverb *no'o*, already, being added. The addition of *a* to certain verbs conveys a passive sense: *siki*, to be clear of, *sikihi*, to detach, *sikihia*, clear.

7. *Reduplication*.—Verbs are reduplicated in three ways, and there is no difference in the use of the reduplicated forms beyond an intensification of meaning.

(a) By repetition of the first syllable: *hara*, *hahara*.

(b) By repetition of the whole word: *kae*, *kaekae*.

(c) By repetition of the whole word with the omission of the inner consonant in the former member: *nahu*, *naunahu*.

ADJECTIVES

The adjective follows the noun.

1. Certain words have a form which is only used of adjectives; this form may be either a termination or a prefix.

(a) Adjectival terminations are '*a*, *ra*.

(b) Adjectival prefixes are *ma* (*mama*), *tai*, *taka*; *taka* denotes spontaneity.

'*a* is prefixed to verbs and forms a participle: *pulo*, to turn round, '*apulo* reversed.

2. Comparison of adjectives. Degrees of comparison are shown by the use of a preposition or an adverb, or by a simple positive statement. The preposition used is *maani*, from, which always has the pronoun of the third person suffixed: *naia e paina maania*, this is bigger; *poo e paina maania asuhe*, a pig is bigger than a rat. The adverbs used are *ke*, little, and *kaka'i*, very; *e ke sieni maania*, it is a little better; *e paina kaka'i*, it is very, too, big.

A positive statement carries comparison by implication: *ei sieni noo*, *ei taa noo*, this is good, this is bad, i.e. this is better than that.

ADVERBS

1. *Adverbs of condition*:—*mora*, only, merely, without any reason; *maakure*, merely, for no reason; *he'eta*, only, entirely; *inau mora he'eta*, I myself alone; *ke*, little, just now; *uta ka ke mimi'i*, it rains a little; *no'o* expresses finality or emphasis; *ro'u*, again, anew; *asi'a*, very; *warita no'o asi'a*, very long ago.

2. *Adverbs of manner*:—*ua*, *e ua*, yet, still; *utaa*, *e utaa*, how? *uri'i*, thus, of reported speech, *urihana*, like, *uritaa*, like what? *una*, *haiuna*, thus; *tari*, for no reason, anyhow, just; *ta'ana*, certainly.

3. *Adverbs of time*:—*siko*, finished, past; *mora na, mora nena*, immediately; *pui eni, pui noo*, to-day; *na poni*, yesterday; *warita*, time past; *raahure*, to-morrow; *poirua*, two days hence, *poni oru*, three days hence, to *poni tanahuru*, ten days hence; *nanita, i nanita*, when? "First" is *sii*: *tari 'ae e'i sii*, to be the first to do.

4. *Adverbs of place*:—*ihei*, where, whence; *tei eni, kai (kei) eni*, here, this place; *mai*, here, hither; *wou*, away, there; *karai, karaini* (verbs), near; *a'i*, therein, thereat, thereby; *ta'au*, east, south; *hou*, north; *hao*, down, *hao i (hai) nima*, in the house. Affirmation *eo*; negation *mao*; question *hina*.

PREPOSITIONS

1. *Simple prepositions*:—

Locative	<i>i</i> .
Causative	<i>haahi</i> .
Motion to	<i>tale-, tare-; sio-, i sio-; suri, i suri</i> .
Motion from	<i>maani</i> .
Dative	<i>ha-</i> .
Instrumental	<i>'ani, a'i</i> .
Relation	<i>'ana, 'ani, a'i; ha'ini-; honosi-; i epi-</i> .
Purpose	<i>hana</i> .
Genitive	<i>ni, i, li, ri</i> .
Position	<i>hatare-; (i)haho; (i)hiru; 'ohi-</i> .

With the exception of the locative, the instrumental, the first three prepositions of relation, the second and third prepositions of position, and the genitive, all the foregoing are used with a suffixed pronoun.

The locative is used of place where, and is prefixed to all words denoting place or direction. The instrumental *a'i* is used at the end of a sentence and denotes "therein, thereat, thereby, thereof, thereon, therewith": *kira piipii e'i*, they cook it by stone-boiling; *'au raa'i rata a'i 'ana taa*, how do you name it? *i hiru a'i*, on top of it; *'ani hori e'i*, to trade with; *hana 'ani a'i*, for eating; *i epi-* means "alongside, at the house of": *horia keni i epina*, buy a wife for him; *ha'ini* means "with"; *i hiru, i huru, i haho*, all denote "above, on"; *'ohi-* means "for, to get"; *hatare-* is "alongside, beside".

2. *Compound Prepositions*.—These are nouns used with the locative; the pronoun is suffixed as the actual object or as an anticipatory object when a noun follows: *i marui*, underneath; *i raai, i raoni*, inside;

i hiru, i huru, above, on top of. *I na'o*, is "before": *i na'oku*, in front of me; *i sii* is "elder": *mane i sii haku*, my elder brother; *i puri* is "after": *mane i puriku*, my younger brother.

CONJUNCTIONS

Copulative	<i>na</i> .
Adversative	<i>taa</i> .
Disjunctive	<i>moa</i> .
Conditional	<i>'ana</i> .
Illative	<i>si</i> .

Moa introduces a doubt, "haply"; it is placed at the end of the sentence; *hura 'ana* is "until"; *ha'ini*, with, is used instead of *ma*, and: *mane ha'inia keni*, men and women.

NUMERALS

The numeral system is decimal; all numbers above the ten are expressed in tens.

1. Cardinals:—

1. <i>eta, taa, taa'i</i> .	6. <i>e ono</i> .
2. <i>e rua, ro</i> .	7. <i>e hiu</i> .
3. <i>e oru</i> .	8. <i>e waru</i> .
4. <i>e hai</i> .	9. <i>e siwa</i> .
5. <i>e nima</i> .	10. <i>e tanahuru; awara</i> .

In numbers other than *eta*, one, the initial *e* is omitted in quick counting. In composition "one" is *taa* or *taa'i*. *Kwalu*, eight, is used of an indefinite number, or to express totality. *Tanahuru* is the tenth of a series; *awara* is used for "ten" denoting a unit. To express the units above ten *mana* is used: *awara mana ono*, sixteen. A number over ten, but short of a second ten is expressed by *atara*: *awara kai atara moa*, haply more than ten. The word *ta'e*, to embark, is used with *taa'i*, one, *oru*, three, of the number of men that a canoe will hold. The prefix *to'o* forms a distributive. "One hundred" is *tanarau*, *e tanarau*; and the sum above the hundred is expressed by *mana*: *tanarau awara mana hai*, one hundred and fourteen. "A thousand" is *sinora*, used of people or yams; *pera*, is used of a thousand coconuts or taros; *mora* is "ten thousand", a final number; *moramora*, numerous; *apa* is used of a thousand coconuts. Special words are used for the tens or hundreds of certain objects: *ata i niu*, a hundred coconuts; *tohu ni pata*, ten shell-moneys.

2. *Ordinals* :—

The cardinals with a noun ending, *na*, form ordinals.

First, <i>etana</i> .	Fourth, <i>haina</i> .	Seventh, <i>hiuna</i> .
Second, <i>ruana</i> .	Fifth, <i>nimana</i> .	Eighth, <i>waruna</i> .
Third, <i>oruna</i> .	Sixth, <i>onona</i> .	Ninth, <i>siwana</i> .

The ordinals precede the noun : *ruana mane*, the second man. "Tenth" is *tanahura 'ana*. "One hundred and twenty first" is rendered *tanarau ro awara mana eta* (*etana*). *E hita*, how many ? is used with the noun termination *na* : *ehitana*, what number is it ?

3. *Multiplicatives* :—

The noun *horo'a*, time, occasion, day, is used for multiplicatives : *taa'i horo'a*, once ; *rua horo'a*, twice. The causative *ha'a* does not make multiplicatives.

EXCLAMATIONS

Eo, assent ; *waraimori*, true ! it is so ! *hina* is used in questions ; *ro mane*, two men, calls attention, or expresses surprise.

MABALE STORIES

WITH A FEW NOTES ON MABALE GRAMMAR

By J. TANGHE

THE following stories are the first two of a Mabale series. Mabale is a Bantu dialect spoken by the Ba-mabale (sing. Wa-mabale; both abbreviations of *moto wa Mabale*, a Mabale-man and *batu ba Mabale*, the Mabale people).

The Bamabale live on the right bank of the Congo River, up but especially down Nouvelle-Anvers.¹ They also occupy the immediate hinterland and are even found in a few places on the left bank, opposite the same central town.

The Bamabale belong to the group of tribes we usually call Bangala. Amongst them are the Iboko, who also live at Nouvelle-Anvers, and whose ancestor Mata-Boiki (i.e. grandson of Boiki) has become famous, since his encounter with Stanley; further, the Mbenga, Motembo, Losengo and Boloki (between N.A. and the mouth of the Mongala); the Ndobu and Mbundzi (down N.A.), all on the right bank. The BaFoto (near Lisala) and the eleku (at Lolanga and near Coquilhatville); the Libinza, Ewaku, and Likoka (in the hinterland, on the Ngiri).

We should now like to emphasize the fact that none of those peoples ever called themselves Bangala, which name was given to them by the Europeans and is a transformation of the only known term Mangala.² Mangala, then, is the name of different villages of the country, and according to the opinion of some authors, originally the name of a chief, which may have come to design later on a village and finally a whole country. All those tribes speak kindred dialects and also belong together from an ethnological point of view. We shall call their dialects Ngala-dialects. Bangala or Lingala is the name of the commercial language.

We have the pleasure of acknowledging here our indebtedness to Mgr. E. de Boeck, the Bishop of N.A., who kindly put at our disposal original texts of those and other Mabale stories, and Iboko and Libinza as well, and so considerably facilitated our work.

¹ The inland name of N.A. is Mankanza. In fact, N.A. arose from the junction of four small villages.

² Which is easy to be understood, owing to the close connection of m and b, and the fact that ba was a known prefix to names of tribes. The correct form would have been Bamangala.

monggo na mobembe

THE ANTELOPE AND THE SNAIL

monggo na mobembe (1) babetake ntembi. (2) monggo
 The antelope and the snail laid a wager. The antelope
 jo tri (3): "je mobembe oko (4) moto we; te todgai, (5)
 he so: "thou snail art not a man not; if we had a run
 wantiwa (6) nga nenakoleki." (7) mobembe jo tri:
 on the spot I shall overtake thee." The snail he so:
 "wakondeka (8) we." mokia (9) akwei (10) babi (11) bandi
 "Thou wilt not overtake me not!" Thereupon he took friends of him
 banso, ababeidga (12) esika esika esika. bango
 all, he put them place place place. They
 banso bakoki na janga. (13) mokia (9) jo wawi (14)
 all were sufficient for the island. Thereupon he alone
 mobembe na monggo bakundodgi (15) mbangu.
 the snail and the antelope, they ran quickly.
 monggo abeki mobembe moabaka (16) jandi
 the antelope called the snail who was (on) his
 esika (17) mpr (18) mobembe monamei aambi
 place and snail that very one replied
 jo tri: "nalo bo." bakundodgi mbangu, mpr
 he so: "I am first." they ran quickly and
 monggo abeki mobembe: "mobembe e:!"
 The antelope called the snail: "snail e:!"
 mobembe aambi jo tri: "nalo bo."
 The snail replied he so: "I am first."
 bakundodgi bobele (19) mbangu. monggo
 they ran presently quickly. The antelope
 abimi o mbata (20) ja janga. mokia
 came out at the upstream-end of the island. Thereupon
 mobembe monamei akodgi (21) jo tri:
 the snail that very one said he so:

"nga nakoleki" (22) toibukana, (23)
 "I have overtaken thee I. We did not break one another,

oibukia (24) mpr ekolo. mokia mango
 thou madest not break and a leg. Thereupon the antelope

akolo (21) ti: "e modzika, ndzokandi (25) o na
 says so: "e uncle, nevertheless thou with

pkasu." (26) dginamei dgiidgi. (27)
 strength." That very one is finished.

NOTES

(1) *mango* and *mobembe* are no generical terms. The *mango* is a big antelope and the *mobembe* a big snail. Also *mombembe*; Mabale often introduces a nasal before the accent; ex: en'sulan'gutu, an owl (bobangi, esūkulūkufū); miete mim'be, two trees, (-be=two); amim'bomi, he has killed himself (mi, reflexive pron., boma to kill). Compare Engl. nightingale with Germ. Nachtigall; Du. comfoor, with Fre. chauffoir.

(2) *babeteke ntembr*. *babeteke* < ba-a-bete-ke, remote definite past tense of *bete*, to hit. *ntembr*, doubt, discussion, wager; literally: to hit the doubt. *ntembr* is properly the name of the *ntembr*-stick, used at that occasion. *montembr* = branch of bread-fruit-tree. Compare *ndeko*, friend, and *tena ndeko*, to conclude terms of peace, to become friends, literally: to cut the *ndeko*-stick; of Weeks' *Amongst Congo Cannibals*, p. 73.

(3) *je* = he, *je* = thou. This explains to us the citative particle *jetr*: from *je kolo ti*, thou say thus; ex. *moto mosu: te ajei, jetr tomeki nebenda bwato o mokidgi*, when another man will come here, say, (i.e. then) we could try to carry the prow ashore (cf. E. de Boeck *Lingala*, p. 75).

(4) *oko*, from *ko*, not to be, negative of *lo*, to be. *ko* is also used as negative time-prefix.

(5) *todgai*, indefinite past tense of *dzata*, to run < *todgati*. Compare *nkoi*, leopard < *nkopi*, *ma'asa*, twins < *mapasa*.

(6) *wantrwa*, immediately, recently < *wa-ntr-wa*; remnant of locative class 16. *wa* = B. *pa*; also in *wa-lo?*, where?, *wabo(mai)*,

here, **wana**(mzi), there, and **waidgi** it is finished (i.e. here is finished); **-idgi** = indefinite past tense of **ila**, to finish; **-nti** = **nse**.

(7) **nenakoleki**, near future of **leka**. **ne**, future prefix, **na**, I; **ko**, thee; **leka**, to overtake.

(8) **wakondeka** < **o-ako-m-leka**. Negative remote future of **leka**. **o**, thou; **-ako**, neg. part.; **m-**, 1st person, personal pronoun, direct object; **nd** < **m-l**.

(9) **mokia**, thereupon, then. **mokia** is a substantive meaning the back.

(10) **akwei**, indefinite past tense of **kwa**, to take; no difference as to pronunciation with **kwa**, to fall. **a-** refers to **mobembe**.

(11) **babi**, contraction of **ba-ebi**, acquaintances + **eba**, to know.

(12) **ababeidga**, **ba** = **babi**, **beidga**, to put.

(13) **janga** = **e-anga**, < **esanga** (plur. **bi-**). Mabale often drops initial **s** or **s** between two vowels; ex: **εke**, to laugh, **ila**, to finish, **amba**, to buy, **ula**, to betray; **'dgiu**, eye, **ma'nga**, palm-wine, **lo'ka**, leave, **-'beu**, green, **-'kue**, short, **pa**, to give (Iboko **e**). Other Ngala dialects would say: **sεke**, **sila**, **somba**, **sula**, **liu**, **masanga**, **lokasa**, **-besu**, **-kuse**, **pesa**. Mabale also inserts **s** between nasal and stressed vowel: ex.: **mbeli n-s'-otu**, sharp knives (sing. **mbeli e'-otu**, adj. **-otu**, sharp); **mbwa n-s'-indu**, black dogs (sing. **mbwa e'-indu**, adj. **-indu**, black); **bon-s'-εke nga?** do you laugh at me? (**bo-**, you, **n-**, personal pronoun direct object, me; **-s-**, inserted; **-εke**, to laugh. **an-s'-oki nga**, he understood me (**a**, he, **n-**, me, **-s-**, inserted, **-oka**, to understand. Stapleton, *Comp. Handbook of Congo Languages*, p. 23, says: "—: **anseniki** . . ." Here the nasal prefix **n-**, me, retains the initial consonant of **sene**." But we cannot agree, the initial consonant of **-otu**, being **p-** (**potu**), **-indu**, having none and **oka** coming from ***joka**, B g.

(14) **wawi**, the numeral one is **-awi** and takes in the first class prefix **o-**.

(15) **bakundodgi**, remote definite past tense of **kundola**, to walk, to run.

(16) **moabaka**, remote definite past tense of "to be". Indicative present **nalo**, I am; near definite past tense **na-imbi-ki**, I was; remote definite past tense, **naimbaka** or **na-a-baka**; future **ndenabei** or **ndenambei**, near future **nenabei** or **nenambei**. The negative indicative present is **nako**; near definite past tense **naidgiki**, remote definite past tense **na-ako-imbaka** or **na-ako-(m)-baka**, future **nde-na-i-ba** or **nde-na-i-imba**; near future **ne-na-i-ba**. **N. imba** in

Mabale is used in the sense of to slumber, and *dgala*, in that of to sit down, to be present, alive ; in Boloki the copula is : *be*, and also means to sleep.

(17) *jandi esika* : the regular order would be (o) *esika jandi*.

(18) *mpi*, and, points to the succession, the conjunction *na* is rarely used for the purpose of connecting parts of sentences.

(19) *bobeke* before a noun or pronoun means exclusively : *bobeke biu*, we alone ; after a verb it means immediately, definitely, *bakuki bobeke*, they fled immediately, definitely.

(20) *mbata*, the up-stream end of the island ; the down-stream end is *motengo*.

(21) *akadgi*, indicative past tense of *kolo*, to say, to speak, *akolo*, simple tense.

(22) *nakoleki*, indicative past tense of *leka*, to depass. *ko-*, pers. pronoun, prefix, 2nd person object.

(23) *toibukana* negative indef. past tense of *bukana*, reciprocal form of *buka*, to break.

(24) *oibukia*, negative indef. past tense of *bukia*, to make, to break, caus. of *buka*, to break.

(25) *ndgokande* = *ndgoka*, *ka*.

(26) *o na nkasu* for *olo na nkasu*, thou art with, possesseth strength. The verb *lo* is understood. Compare *jo nta molamu* for *jo alo nta molamu*, he is very good.

(27) *dginamei* and *dgiidgi* refer to *dgibandza*, story, understood. *dgiidgi*, indef. past tense of *ila*, to finish. *-mei* is enclitic, emphatic suffix.

CONNECTED TRANSLATION

The antelope and the snail laid a wager. The antelope said : " Thou snail, thou art not a man, if we were to run I should immediately beat thee." The snail said : " Thou wouldst not beat me." Thereupon the snail gathered all his friends and placed them one next to the other. They were numerous enough to reach from one end of the island to the other. Then the snail he alone and the antelope set off quickly. The antelope cried to the snail who was staying on his place, whereupon that very snail replied : " I am first." They went on running quickly, and again the antelope cried to the snail : " allo, mobembe ! " The snail then answered : " I am first." They kept on running quickly. The antelope came out at the up-stream-end of the island. Then

the snail, who was placed there said : " I have beaten thee. We were not of the same strength and thou hast not beaten me." Then the antelope said : " I say, my dear, after all I must confess that thou art strong." So the story ends.

santongi (1)

njama	insɔ (2)	jakendɛkɛ (3)	bokila.	bakomi (4)	o
Animals	all	went	hunting.	They arrived	on

janga,	baluboi (5)	o	molako,	badɔadzi. (6)
an island,	they landed	on a	fishers-encampment,	they sat down.

na	ɲkɛɛ,	badɔai (7)	nekakwɛɛ (8)	bokoto.
In the morning,		they set out	to fell	the bokoto.

badɔai (7)	na	janga,	bazni (9)	ɲkema.	bakwei (10)
They walked about	in	the island,	they saw	apes.	They took

bikoko,	baindi (4)	mjete,	mikwei (11)	o	nse.
axes,	they cut down	trees,	they fell	on	the ground.

babomi (4)	ɲkema	ndɔiki, (2)	bateni (4)	makɔndzi, (12)
They killed	apes	many,	they cut	stakes,

bakedzi (6)	matala,	baiti (4)	ɲjama.
they made	dry-stands,	they dried	the flesh.

na	ɲkɛɛ	batunani : (13)	" waikala (14)	na
In the morning	they asked one another :	" who will stay in the		

molako,	nda ? "	mɔngo	akɔdɔzi (15)	na bebi :	" bolɛ (16)
encampment,	who ? "	The antelope said	to the friends :	" let	

ɲga naikala." (17)	mɔngo	aikadzi. (6)	bebi	bakɛi. (18)
me that I stay."	The antelope	stayed,	the friends	went on.

santongi	akwei (10)	ɲkai	na	bwato,	amedzi (6)
Santonge	took	paddle	and	canoe,	he crossed

o	lɔi,	aɛmbi (4)	ndɔɛmbɔ : (19)	" santongi	bja.
(in) the river,		he sang	songs :	" Santonge	bja,

santongi	bja,	naluka,	nasuma (20)	ɲkai
Santonge	bja,	I row,	I handle	the paddle

jangga bja, jaumbaka (21) na nga
of me bja, which I have paddled round with I

 mitengo bja, na koi, (22) nebele na
the down-stream ends of the islands bja, and Koi and Ebele and

jeto bja, na langalanga na baseka na matuka
Yoto bja, and Langalanga and Baseka and Matuka

na ndangemedgi, santongr bja, santongr bja."
and Ndangemezi, Santonge bja, Santonge bja."

akomi (4) o molako, aeni (9) monggo, adgadgi (6)
He arrived in the encampment, he saw the antelope, he sat down.

santongr akodgi (15) na monggo: "eikadgi nde je?" (23)
Santonge said to the antelope: "hast stayed then thou?"

 monggo abati. (4) santongr atomi (4) monggo
The antelope said yes. Santonge sent the antelope

jo ti: "kankwela (24) bikakalu o bwato.
he so: "go and fetch for me grubs (of insects) on the canoe.

 monggo akci (18) nekabimokwela. (25) ajei na bjanggo (26)
The antelope went to fetch them for him. He came with them

 amotumbedgi, (27) bibedgi, (28) amopei, (29)
he roasted for him, they were ready, he gave him,

alei. (30) aidgidga (31) nelz, (32) amoongi (33) njama:
he ate. He finished to eat, he asked him meat:

"modzika, (34) mpa (35) mwamomi. (36) monatindela (37)
"Uncle, give me the little meat which is hanging down

o botala, (38) nala. (39) monggo amopei, (40)
from the dry-stand, that I may eat. The antelope gave to him,

alei. (30) abobi (41) neonga. (42) monggo amoimi. (43)
he ate. He (began) again to ask. The antelope refused to him.

santongr aki (4) nkela, amolemoledgi (44) monggo, mbia
Santonge fell anger, he was cross with him the antelope, thereupon

 babuni. (4) santongr aneti (9) monggo, akwei, (10)
they fought. Santonge beat the antelope, he took,

akangi (4) mōngo, amobwaki (45) o nsina
he bound the antelope, he threw him into the roots

ja makakau. santongi akwei (10) njama
of the lianas. Santonge took the meat

inso, akai (18) na jango. mōngo aledzi (6)
all, he went away with it. The antelope cried

jo ti: "babakeke (46) bokila, toke; santongi
he so: "Who went hunting, let us go; Santonge

amboma, (47) toke, ambodgidza (48) njama, toke."
is going to kill me, let us go, has deprived me of the meat, let us go."

babi bajei, (10) bakomi (4) o molako, babeidza (49)
The friends came, they arrived in the encampment, they placed

njama o nse, bakai, (18) baikakwa (50) mōngo.
the venison on the ground, they went, and they took the antelope,

bamoutodgi, (51) nkekele, jamokanggaka (52)
they unfastened him the ropes with which had bound him

santongi. baanginja (53) mweja, babobodgi (4)
Santonge. They gathered fire, they roasted

njama, baidgidza (31) nebobolo (54) njama.
the flesh, they finished to roast the flesh,

butubodgi (55) nso, bakwei (18) njama, baiti (4) o
they pierced the intestines, they took the meat they dried on

botala. balambi (4) njama, balei. (18)
the dry-stand. They cooked the flesh, they ate.

butu boindi. (4) na nkele batunani: (13)
The sun darkened. In the morning they asked one another:

"waikala na molako nda?" (14) ndzoku jo ti:
"who will stay in the encampment who?" The elephant he so:

"jaikala nga." (23) babi bakai. (18) santongi akwei (10)
"will stay I." The friends went off. Santonge took

nkai na bwatu, amedgi (6) o loi,
paddle and canoe, he crossed in the river,

aembi (4) ndzembw: (19) "santongr bja, a : a . o . . .
he sang songs : "Santonge bja,

akambidga. (55) aeni (9) ndzoku, adgadzi. (6)
He landed, he saw the elephant, he sat down.

amotuni: (57) "eikadzi nde je? " (23) ndzoku
He asked him : "Hast stayed then thou ? " The elephant

abati. (4) santongr atomi (4) ndzoku, akwei (10)
said yes. Santonge sent the elephant, he took

bikakalu, atumbi. (4) alei. (18) santongr
grubs (of insects), he roasted, he ate. Santonge

aongi (4) ndzoku njama, amoimi. (4) babuni. (4)
asked the elephant meat, he refused to him. They fought.

santongr akwei (10) ndzoku, amobwaki (45) o
Santonge took the elephant, he threw him into

makakan. ndzoku aledgi (6) jo tr: "babakeke (46)
the lianas. The elephant cried he so : "who went

bokila, toke! ambodgidga (48) njama, toke!
hunting, let us go! he has deprived me of the meat, let us go!

bebi bajei, (10) babeidga (49) njama o nse.
The friends came, they placed the venison on the ground.

ndzoku abimi, (4) babobodgi (15) njama,
The elephant came out, they roasted the flesh,

bakokidga, (31) balei. (18)
they made it ready, they ate.

batu boindi, (4) batuki, (4) na nkele
The sun darkened, they slept, in the morning

batunani: (13) "waikala na molako nda?" (14)
they asked one another : "who will stay in the encampment who?"

nkumba abati (4) jo tr: "jaikala (23) nga"
The tortoise said yes, he so : "will stay I."

nkumba aikadzi, (6) alambi (4) mbila,
The tortoise stayed, he cooked palm-nuts,

aitinja (58)	mweja,	mbila	ibedzi (28)
he stirred	the fire,	the palm-nuts	were ready

akatedzi, (59)	atoki (15)	dzambu, (60)	akwei (10)
he took off the fire,	he smashed	the pulp,	he took

dzina, (61)	abeidza (49)	o	nsunga	ja	mweja.
it,	he placed	on	the side	of	the fire.

akei	nekatima (62)	dzitongu.	atimi (4)
He went	to dig	a hole.	He dug

dzitongu.	dgiidzi, (63)	akwei (10)	bitanda,
a hole,	it was finished,	he took	planks,

abibeidza, (64)	alambi (4)	mai,	matoki. (65)
he put them,	he cooked	water,	it boiled.

santongr	ajei, (10)	aluboi, (5)	akodzi (15)	na
Santonge	came,	he landed,	he said	to

nkumba :	"eikadzi	nde	je ?" (23)	nkumba
the tortoise :	"Hast stayed	then	thou ?"	The tortoise

abati.	santongr	amoongi (33)	dzambu (60)
said yes.	Santonge	asked him	the pulp

amopei, (40)	alei. (30)	badzai, (7)	acni (9)	dzisu, (66)
he gave him,	he ate.	They walked,	he saw	some other,

akwei, (10)	alei. (30)	akomi (4)	o	dzitongu.
he took,	he ate.	He arrived	at	the hole.

santongr	auti (67)	o	dzitongu.	nkumba
Santonge	fell	into	the hole.	The tortoise

akwei (10)	bitanda,	adzigibi. (68)	akwei
took	the planks,	he shut it.	He took

mai	ma	mweja,	amotei. (69)	santongr
water	of	fire,	he poured on him.	Santonge

awei. (10)	mboka	ja	dzibandza	enamel. (70)
died.	The end	of	the story	that one.

NOTES

(1) *santongi, tantongi* or *ntantongi* is the name of a water-spirit.

(2) *njama inso*. With substantives of cl. 9-10, the adjectives take pref. *e-* and *n-*; the numerals and pronouns *e-* and *i-*; *-iki*, many, has *n-* and inserts *dg*: (*ndako*) *n-dg-iki*, many (houses).

(3) *jakendeke*, < *i-a-kende-ke*, remote definite past tense of *kende*, to go.

(4) *bakomi*, indef. past tense of *koma*, to arrive. In the same way: *baindi, babomi, bateni, aoygi, baiti, asmbi, abati, atomi, abobi, babuni, balambi, atumbi, abimi, boindi, batuki, atimi, auti*, indef. past tenses of *inda, boma, tena, oyga, ita, emba, bata, toma, boba*, etc., all verbs in *-a-*.—*bakomi, badgadgi, badgai* a.s.o. refer to animals (*njama*) personified.

(5) *baluboi*, indef. past tense of *lubwa*, to land.

(6) *badgadgi*, indef. past tense of *dzala*, to sit, to settle. *l + i > dzi*; also *bakedgi, aikadgi, amedgi, batubodgi, bibedgi, aledgi, akatodgi, dgiidgi* indef. past tenses of *kela, ikala, mela, tubola, bela, lela, latola, ila*.

(7) *badgai* < *badgati*, indef. past tense of *dzata*, to walk, to run.

(8) *nekakwete*, future infinitive of *kwete*, to cut down. *kwete* to travel.

bokoto, to cut down the *bokoto*, is a mood of hunting apes. Here a group of apes are surrounded, and at the hunters' loud crying and shouting, they all climb upon the top of the trees. Those are subsequently cut down. Such a tree is called *bokoto* (plur. *ma-*).

(9) *baani*, indef. past tense of *ene*, to see. Likewise, *aneti*, indef. past tense of *nete*, to beat.

(10) *bakwei*, indef. past tense of *kwa*, to take. Likewise, *bakwei*, they took, from *kwa*, to fall; *ajei, amopei, awei*, from *ja, pa, and wa*.

(11) *mikwei*, refers to *mjete*.

(12) *makondgi* (sing. *bokondgi*), name of the four stakes supporting the *botala* or dry-stand (plur. *matala*).

(13) *batunani*, indef. past tense of *tunana*, to ask one another, reciprocal form of *tuna*, to ask.

(14) *waikala* < *o-a-ikala*, immediate future of *ikala*, to stay, to remain; *w-* is the relative pronoun of Cl. 1, *o-*, referring to *moto*, understood.

(15) *akodgi*, indef. past tense of *kalo*, to say; likewise *babobodgi, atoki*, from *bobolo, toko*.

(16) **bole**, 2nd pers. plur. of the imperative of **le**, to let.

(17) **naikala**, subjunctive of **ikala**, to stay.

(18) **bakei**, indef. past tense of **ke**, to go (also **kende**) ; id. **alei** from **le**, to eat.

(19) **ndzembw**, plural of **loembw** or **lambw**, song.

(20) **naluka** and **nasuma** are simple tenses of **luka**, to paddle, and **suma**, to handle (the paddle).

(21) **jaumbaka na nga mitengo**, by means of which I have paddled round the down-stream ends of the islands. **jaumbaka**, remote definite past tense of **umba**, to paddle round. **j** is the relative pronoun **e** and refers to **nkai**. Note the special word-order in this relative construction. Compare **dzikongo**, **dzinaboma na bisu ndzoku**. The spear with which we kill the elephants. **molango**, **manaba na bango mabila**, the hoop by means of which they climb on the palm-trees (sing. **libila**).

(22) **kai**, **ebele** (**nebele** = **na ebele**), **joto**, **langalanga**, **baseka**, **matuka**, and **ndengemedgi** (or **ndanggandai**) are names of different islands of the river.

(23) **eikadgi nde je** ? In interrogative sentences the subject is generally put at the end. Then the verb is introduced by the prepositional pronoun **e**, referring to **esika**, place, moment, understood. Comp. **nda akodgi bonamei**, who said so, with **ekodgi bonamei**, **nda** ? said so who ? With emphasis the subject is also put at the end : **jaikala nga**, I will stay.

(24) **kankwela**, go and take for me, future infinitive of **kwela**, to take for, applicative form of **kwa**, to take ; **ŋ** = **m**, pers. pron. prefix, 1st pers. **ka**, prefix to infinitives after the imperatives of **ja**, to come, and **ke(nde)**, to go, either expressed or understood. Here **ke(nde)** is understood. Ex. **kende kakwela Bodzoko biliki bjande**, go and fetch Bodjoko his things (**B.**'s things).

(25) **nekabimokwela**, infinitive future of **kwela**. **neka**, prefix ; **bi**, refers to **bikakalu**, **mo**, to Santonge.

(26) **bjango**, independent personal pronoun, refers to **bikalalu**.

(27) **amotumbedgi**, indef. past tense of **tumbela**, to roast for, applicative form of **tumba**, to roast. **a**-subject refers to **mongo**. **mo**, pers. pron. prefix object refers to **santongi**.

(28) **bibedgi**, indef. past tense of **bela**. **bi** = **bikakalu**. Compare **bele**, to be ill.

(29) **amopei**, indef. past tense of **pa**. **a** = **mongo**, **mo** = **santongi**.

(30) **alei**, indef. past tense of **le**. **a** = **santongi**.

(31) **aidgidza**, indef. past tense of **idgidza**, to finish, causative form

of **idga**, to be finished. The indef. past tense of causative verbs always ends in **a**. **a-**, prefix ref. to **santongr**. Comp. **bakokidga**, to prepare, caus. form of **koka** to be sufficient, to be ready.

(32) **nele**, infinitive of **le**, to eat.

(33) **amoongi**, indef. past tense of **onga**, to ask, **a** = **santongr**, **mo** = **moggo**.

(34) **modzika**, uncle, mother's brother.

(35) **mpa**, imperative of **pa**, **m-**, pers. pronoun. 1st pers. object.

(36) **mwamomi**, diminutive of **momi** (plur. **miomi**). **mwa** is an abbreviation of **mwana**, child.

(37) **monatindela**, indicative present of **tindela**, to hang down from, applicative form of **tinda**, to hang. **mo** = **mwamomi**.

(38) **botala**, a kind of table to dry the fish on.

(39) **nale**, subjunctive of **le**, to eat.

(40) **amopei**, indef. past tense of **pa**, to give, **a** = **moggo**. **mo** = **santongr**.

(41) **abobi**, indef. past tense of **boba**, which indicates the repetition of the action. Compare **abobi nekende**, he went again, **abobi nekolo**, he spoke again.

(42) **neonga**, infinitive of **onga**, to ask, to beg.

(43) **amoimi**, indef. past tense of **ima**, to refuse. **mo** = **santongr**.

(44) **amolemoledgi**, indef. past tense of **lemolela**, to be cross with, applicative form of **lemola**, to be cross. **mo** = **moggo**.

(45) **amobwaki**, indef. past tense of **bwaka**, to throw. **mo** = **moggo**.

(46) **babakeke**, remote definite past tense of **ke** < **ba-a-ba-ke-ke**; the first **ba** is the rel. pron. ref. to **bato**, understood; the second is the pers. pron. The first **ke** is the verb-stem, the second the suffix.

(47) **amboma**, simple tense of **boma**, kills me, is going to kill me. **m** = personal pronoun, 1st person, object.

(48) **ambodgidga**, indef. past tense of **bodgidga**, causative form of **bola**, to be deprived of, **m** = **moggo**.

(49) **babeidga**, indef. past tense of **beidga**, to place.

(50) **baikakwa**, successive tense of **kwa**. **-ika-**, tense prefix.

(51) **bamoutodgi**, indef. past tense of **utola**, to unfasten. **mo** = **moggo**.

(52) **jamokangaka** < **i-a-mo-kanga-ka**, remote def. past tense of **kanga**, to bind. **j** = the relative pron. **i-** referring to **ɲekelɛ**; **a**, tense prefix; **mo** = **moggo**.

(53) **baanginja** indef. past tense of **anginja**, to take together, causative form of **angana**, to come together, + **anga**, to organize.

- (54) *nebobolo*, infinitive of *bobolo*, to roast.
- (55) *batubodgi*, indef. past tense of *tubola*, to pierce, intensive form of *tuba*, to pierce.
- (56) *akambidga*, indef. past tense of *kambidga*, to land.
- (57) *amotuni*, indef. past tense of *tuna*, to ask, *mo* = *ndzoku*.
- (58) *aitinja*, indef. past tense of *itinja*, to stir.
- (59) *akatodgi*, indef. past tense of *katola*, to separate, to take off, intensive form of *kata*, to cut.
- (60) *dzambu*, also *dzikamu*, pulp.
- (61) *dzina*, ref. to *dzambu*.
- (62) *nekatima*, future infinitive of *tima*, to dig.
- (63) *dziidgi*, indef. past tense of *ila*, to finish, *dgi* = *dzitongu*.
- (64) *abibeidga*, *bi-* refers to *bitanda*.
- (65) *matoki*, indef. past tense of *toko*, to boil, *ma-* refers to *mai*; *matoki*, is used here as an adjective.
- (66) *dzisu*. *dgi* refers to *dzambu*. *-su*: < *susu*, other.
- (67) *auti* indef. past tense of *uta*, to fall into . . . or to come from.
- (68) *adgidgibi*, indef. past tense of *dziba*, to shut, the first *dgi* refers to *dzitongu*.
- (69) *amotei*, indef. past tense of *ta*, to pour. *mo*, *santongi*.
- (70) *enamsi*, demonstrative adjective ref. to *mboka*, end; *mai*, enclytic emphatic suffix.

CONNECTED TRANSLATION

All the animals went out hunting. They arrived on an island, they landed in a fishers-encampment, and settled. The following morning they set out to cut down the bokoto-tree. They walked about in the island and saw apes. They took their axes and cut down trees. These fell down on the ground. They killed many apes, they cut stakes, made dry-stands and dried the flesh. In the morning they asked one another: "Who is going to stay in the encampment?" The antelope said to the friends: "Let me stay." And the antelope stayed; the friends went off.

Santonge took his paddle and canoe, he crossed the river and sang: "Santonge bia, Santonge bia, I row, I handle my paddle, with which I paddled round the down-stream ends of the islands, Koi and Ebele and Yoto, bja, and Langalanga and Basaka and Matuka and Ndangemegi, Santonge bia, Santonge bia." Santonge arrived at the encampment, he saw the antelope and sat down. Santonge said to

the antelope : " Hast thou then stayed ? " The antelope said : " Yes." Santonge sent the antelope and said : " Go and fetch grubs of insects for me with the canoe. The antelope set out to fetch some for him. He came back with them, and roasted them for Santonge. When they were roasted he gave them to him, and Santonge ate them. When he had eaten them he asked the antelope for some meat : " Friend, give me the little meat, which is hanging down from the dry-stand, that I may eat it. The antelope gave it to him, and he ate it. Santonge again asked for some. Then the antelope refused. Santonge fell angry, he was cross with the antelope, and they fought. Santonge beat the antelope, he caught him, he bound him, and threw him into the roots of the lianas. Santonge took all the meat and he went off with it. The antelope cried : " You people, who went out hunting, come along ! Santonge is going to kill me, come along ! He took all my meat, come along ! The friends came, they arrived in the encampment, they put the venison on the ground and went to take the antelope ; they untied him from the ropes with which Santonge had bound him. They gathered fire, and roasted the flesh ; when they had finished they pierced the intestines, they took the meat and dried it on the dry-stand. They cooked the flesh and ate it.

The day darkened. The following morning they asked one another : " Who is going to stay in the encampment ? " " I, myself," said the elephant. The friends went off. Santonge took his paddle and canoe, he crossed the river and sang : " Santonge bia, etc." He landed, he saw the elephant and sat down. He asked him : " Hast thou then stayed here ? " " Yes," said the elephant. Santonge sent the elephant and the elephant took grubs of insects ; he roasted them and Santonge ate them. Santonge asked the elephant for some meat, but the elephant refused to give him any. They fought. Santonge caught the elephant and he threw him into the lianas. The elephant cried : " You people, who went out hunting, come along ! He has taken all my meat, come along ! " The friends came, they put the venison on the ground. The elephant came out, they roasted the flesh, and when it was roasted, they ate it.

The day darkened. They slept. The following morning they asked one another : " Who is going to stay in the encampment ? " The tortoise said : " I shall stay " And the tortoise stayed. He cooked palm-nuts, he stirred the fire ; and when the palm-nuts were cooked he smashed the pulp, he took it and put it on the side of the fire. He then went to dig a hole. When it was dug he took planks, and

placed them (aside), he took boiling water. Santonge came, he landed, and said to the tortoise: "Hast thou then stayed?" "Yes," said the tortoise. Santonge asked him for some pulp. The tortoise gave him some. Santonge ate it. They sat down. Santonge saw some more, he took it and ate it. And he arrived at the hole. He fell into it. The tortoise took the planks, he covered the hole, he took hot water and poured it on Santonge. Santonge died. That's the end of the story.

NOTES ON GRAMMAR

Preliminary

*Phonetics.*¹—No difficult sounds are met with in Mabale, and word-tone is not to be found.

The vowels may be represented as follows: *i*, *ɪ*, *e*, *ɛ*, *a*, *ɔ*, *o*, *ω*, and *u*. Compare *ɔ̄gibongo*, knee, with *ɔ̄gibongo*, bank (of a river); *mabele*, (woman's) breasts, with *mabele*, earth; *ebembi*, dead body, with *ebembe*, female; *-be*, two, with *-be*, bad. *ɪ* and *ω* often occur as weakened forms of *i* and *u*, in unstressed syllables: so we can hear *bwatu*, canoe, as well as *bwatw* and *bwato*. But *ɪ* is significant as final vowel of suffix *-eli*, which serves to make nouns of instruments as, *ebaeli*, ladder, from *ba*, to mount, and differs from *-ele*, suffix to nouns meaning the place where anything is done, as *etukele*, sleeping-room, from *tuka*, to lie down.

The consonants are: *p*, *b*, *t*, *d*, *k*, *g*, *m*, *n*, *ŋ*, *l*, *f*, *ʒ*, and *s*. There is also *j* and *w* and the affricate group *dʒ*.

ŋ only occurs before *k* or *g*. In Mbundzi we get it before vowels: *ŋaŋa*, witch, *ŋoi*, leopard, *boŋo*, brains, Mabale, *ŋganga*, *ŋkoi*, *boŋo*.

p may occur in the proximity of front-vowels, but as the sound is not significant, no special symbol has been adopted.

f alternates with *p* and *f* after *m*: *mʃata*, sheep; *mʃuti*, tax = *mpata*, *mfuti* (from *futa*, to pay).

l is met with in the case of individual speakers, but is a regular sound in Motembo and Mbundzi. There are neither ejectives nor implosives, though *ʒ* occurs in some borrowed words as *ʒagʒa*, bridge, *ŋʒi*, strong. *ʒ* is the sound usually represented as *gw* in *monʒandi*, *ŋʒanza*, and *ŋʒaka*, names of Sudanic peoples in the North of the Belgian Congo.

¹ We have adopted in this paper the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association.

Mabale regularly changes *l* > *dʒ* before *i*. So the sixth noun-prefix (B. *li-*) in Mabale is *dʒi*, Iboko *i-*; Ndobbo *ɕi*; Boloki and Libinza *li-*; Motembo and Mbundzi *li*. The indef. past tense of *kela*, to do, is *nakedʒi*, I did; *kolo*, to speak, has *nakodʒi*, I spoke. Mabale also regularly inserts a nasal before stressed syllables, and *s* between a nasal and a stressed vowel. For examples, see "*Mongo na Mobamba*", notes 1 and 13.

Word-building.—An interesting point is the derivation of substantives from causative verbs. The nouns of agents formed from simple verbs, prefix *mo-* to the verb-stem and change its final vowel into *i*: *moluki*, a rower, from *luka*, to row, to paddle. Others, formed from causative forms prefix *mo-* to the unchanged verb-stem: *moongidza*, a seller, from *ongidza*, to sell; *mobikidza*, a deliverer, from *bikidza*, to deliver; *moongidza*, a leader, from *angidza*, to lead.

Both of them are, as a rule, followed by the possessive construction, and never by a direct object, as it may be the case in other dialects, which clearly proves that their verbal character is no longer felt; e.g. *moembi wa ndzembwa*, a singer of songs, from *emba*, to sing; *mosani wa bitobo*, a tailor of clothes, from *sana*, to sew. *moongidza wa nsu*, a dealer with fish; *mobikidza wa batu*, a deliverer of men, a doctor.

We may notice here that the indef. past tense of all primitive verbs ends in *i*, whilst the same tense in the causative ends in *a*. We say *nakeki*, I looked, from *keka*, to look, but *bamobikidza*, they delivered him, from *bikidza*, to deliver, causative form of *bika*, to be delivered.

The Noun

On Substantives.—The noun-prefixes are¹: 1, *mo-* (*mo-*), pl. 2, *ba-*; 3, *mo-* (*mo-*), pl. 4, *mi*; 5, *dʒi-*, pl. 6, *ma-*; 7, *e-*, pl. 8, *bi-*; 9, *n-*, pl. 10, *n-*; 11, *lo-* (pl. 10, *n-*); 14, *bo-* (pl. 6, *ma-*).

mandele, a white man, pl. *mindele*; *lisu*, eye, pl. *misu* (*ma-isu*); *linu*, tooth, pl. *minu* (*ma-inu*). *eboko*, arm, pl. *maboko*; *ekolo*, leg, pl. *makolo*.

The prefix of the infinitive substantive is *bo-*. Remnants of locative classes are: 16, *wa* (B. *pa*) in *walo*? where; *wabo*, here; *wanamei*, yonder; *wantrwa* (*wa-nse-wa*), on the spot, immediately; 17, *o*, (B. *ku*), in *owo*, there, and in *-nowo* (*-na-owo*), the demonstrative

¹ According to Meinhof's order.

suffix. Diminutives are formed by putting *mwa-* (abbreviation of *mwana*, child) before the substantive: *mwandako*, a little house.

Gender is indicated by means of the words *leli*, male (pl. *bampeli*), and *mwadga*, female (pl. *badga*); with names of animals *ebembe* (pl. *bibembe*), is used for the feminine.

The Adjective.—The adjective-roots are, of course, few in number. They are: *-nane*, great; *-ti*, little; *-lamu*, good; *-be*, bad; *-lai*, long; *-kue*, short; *-beu*, fresh; *-dgito*, heavy; *-indu*, black; *-tane*, pale; *lambw*, sweet; *-oni*, new; *-kadgi*, strong; *-otu*, sharp; *-tunu*, blunt; *-tau*, soft; *-telu*, ripe. To those we added: *-to*, empty; *itr*, dry.

Concord: The adjective takes the prefix of the substantive it qualifies: *moto molamu*, a good man. cl. 9 has *e-*: *ndako enene*, a big house.

The Numerals.—The cardinals are: 1, *-awi*; 2, *-be*; 3, *-atu*; 4, *-nei*; 5, *-tanu*; 6, *motoba*; 7, *nsambo*; 8, *moambi*; 9, *dgibwa*; 10, *dzomi*. A decade, *lontuku* (pl. *ntuku*). 20 = *ntuku ibe*; 100, *monkama*; 1,000, *nkoto*. 1 to 5 are stems which take the concord, the others are substantives.

Concord: The numerals take the prefix of the substantive they determine. 9 = *e*, 10 = *i*; ex: one day = *mokolo mwawi*. *ndako jawi*, one house; *ndako itanu*, five houses.

The Ordinals.—The first man, is *moto wa bo*, the man of the front (*bo* = in front); the fourth man, is *moto wa banei*, i.e. the man of four (people).

The Pronoun

The Personal Pronoun.—Prepositional form. A, subject: 1st pers. sing. *na*, pl. *to*; 2nd pers. sing. *o*, pl. *bo*; 3rd pers., class 1 *a*, 2 *ba*, 3 *mo*, 4 *mi*, 5 *dgi*, 6 *ma*, 7 *e*, 8 *bi*, 9 *e*, 10 *i*, 11 *lo*, 14 *bo*. B, object: 1st pers. sing. *m*, pl. *ko*; 2nd pers. sing. *-ko*, pl. *ko*; 3rd pers. class 1 *mo*, 2 *ba*. The others are the same as the subject. Independent form. 1st pers. sing. *nga*, pl. *biu*; 2nd pers. sing. *je*, pl. *binu*; 3rd pers. sing. (class 1), *jo*. The others are formed from the prepositional pronoun subject + *ango*. Thus: class 2 *banggo* (*ba-ango*), 3 *mwango*, 4 *mjango*, 5 *dzango* (*li-ango*), 6 *mango* (*ma-ango*), 7 *jango*, 8 *bjango*, 9 *jango*, 10 *jango*, 11 *langgo* (*lo-ango*), 14 *bwango*.

The Demonstrative Pronoun.—There are three forms. 1: in *-bo*; 2: in *-na*; 3: in *nowo* (*na-owo*). The demon. pronoun is the same as the prepositional personal pronoun, except cl. 1: *o*. Thus *motu obo*, this

man here, pl. *batu babo*, etc., *mota ona*, *batu bana*, *moto onowo*, *bato banowo*. Emphasis is expressed by adding the suffix *-mai*, especially to forms in *-na*: *bato banamai*, those very people.

The Relative Pronoun, either subject or object is the same as the demonstrative prefix.

The Interrogative Pronoun.—Who?: *nda?* pl. *banda*. What?: *nde?* (no plural).

The Indefinite Pronoun.—*-oko*: some, certain; *-su*, other; *-nsa*, all; *-iki*, many.

On Possession.—Possession (origin, dependence) is expressed with a particle, composed with the demon. pronominal-prefix of the thing possessed and the unvariable element *-a*. The name of the possession is expressed first. The particle is put between the name of the possession and that of the possessor.

CL 1 *wa* (o-a), 2 *ba* (ba-a), 3 *mwa*, 4 *mja*, 5 *dga* (dgi-a), 6 *ma* (maa), 7 *ja*, 8 *bja*, 9 *ja* (ea), 10 *ja* (ia), 11 *la* (loa), 14 *bwa*.

Ex: *dgikongo dga mokondgi*, the spear of the chief; *ndako ja mondela*, the house of the white man; *belangiti bwa boj*, the blanket of the servant. If the possessor is a pronoun, the independent personal pronoun is used: *mbeli ja ngai*, knife of me (my knife); *lomposo lajango*, their skin; *lajango: la* (loa) refers to *lomposo* and *jango* to *ndzoku*, elephants. His child, is: *mwana waje* or *mwana wandi*.

The Verb

The final vowel of the stem is *a*, *e*, or *o* (o): *dzingga*, to love; *bete*, to beat; *sona*, to sew. There are a few monosyllabic verbs: *pa*, to give; *ba*, to climb; *ma*, to throw (a spear); *la*, to swear (an oath); *la*, to lay (a net); *ta*, to hit; *sa*, to blow (bellows); *ja*, to come; *wa*, to die; *kwa*, to take; *kwa*, to fall; *dgwa*, to get; *njwa*, to drink; *swa*, to bite; *le*, to eat; *le*, to let; *se*, to twist (a rope); *te*, to refuse; *fe*, to model (a paddle, a canoe); *ke*, to go; *na*, to rain; *to*, to germinate; *lo*, to be; *ko*, not to be.

Conjugation of the Verb tena, to cut

			Negative
Indicative: Simple tense	.	<i>na-tena</i>	
Present	.	<i>na-na-tena</i>	<i>na-ko-tena</i>
Present continuative	.	<i>na-na-ka-tena</i>	" " "
Habitual	.	<i>na-na-tena-ka</i>	" " "

			Negative
Indicative:	Successive	na-ika-tena	
	Indef. past tense	na-teni	na-i-tena
	Near defin. past tense	na-teni-ki	na-i-tena-ka
	Near continuative	na-ka-teni-ki	" " " "
	Remote def. past tense	na-a-tena-ka	na-ko-tena-ka
	Remote continuative	na-a-ka-tena-ka	" " " "
	Immediate future	na-(k)a-tena	na-ko-tena
	Near future	n(d)e-na-teni	n(d)e-na-i-tena
	Remote future	na-a-ka-tena	na-a-ko-tena
	Past tense	na-tena-ka	
Conjunctive	Present	na-tena	
Imperative:	Sing.	(o)-tena	w-a-tena
	Plur.	{ to-tena bo-tena	{ tw-a-tena bw-a-tena
	N. With emphasis -ka is added: o-tena-ka, etc. . . .		
Infinitive:	Present	botena	
	Future	ne-ka-tena	

Derived Forms

Applicative: -ela (ele): lamba, to cook; lambela, to cook for.

Causative: -idza, -ia: ila, to be finished; idgidza, to finish; leka, to pass; lekia, to allow to pass.

Reciprocal: -ana (ene, one): keka, to look; kekana, to look one to another.

Stative: -ama (ema, eme): dgiba, to shut; dgibama, to be shut.

Reversive: -ola (olo): dgiba, to shut; dgibola, to open.

Intensive: -ola (olo): tuba, to pierce; tubola, to pierce.

Repetitive: leka, to pass; lekaleka, to go to and fro.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE MAHĀBHĀRATA. For the first time critically edited by VISHNU S. SUKTHANKAR, Ph.D., with the co-operation of . . . other scholars and illustrated by SHRIMANT BALASAHEB PANT PRATINIDHI, B.A., Chief of Aundh. Fasc. 1, 2. Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute : Poona, Bombay printed, 1927, 1928. Fol.

The great enterprise of issuing a really critical text of the Mahābhārata is now well started. A first step was the interesting edition of the Virāṭa-parvan by Mr. N. B. Utgikar, which appeared in 1923. And now we have the first two instalments of the Ādi-parvan, comprising the opening cantos as far as xxi, 27a, prepared under the thoroughly competent editorship of Dr. Sukthankar, with a band of able coadjutors. For the first time in the history of Indian literary studies a number of manuscripts adequately representative of the multifarious recensions of the Great Epic has been collated (50 MSS. are tabled in the foreword to the first facsimile, and for the second six more have been added), and their readings have been applied for the construction of a critical text.

The task is indeed herculean. As Dr. Sukthankar shews, the Mahābhārata apparently was at first transmitted orally, and even when it had been written down, parts of it were still often conveyed *per ora virum*. These transmissions by word of mouth, naturally fluid and careless of accuracy, must have contaminated the written text and caused innumerable variations in it; and, even apart from such influences, the written tradition was liable to alteration at the hands of ancient editors, who made changes in the text sometimes to gratify their own fancy and sometimes to import into their own mss. readings from other copies which pleased them better. It is hence impossible to establish any universal archetype and to correct the text in accordance with the tradition derived thence. Indeed, the result may well prove, as Dr. Sukthankar confesses, that "a wholly satisfactory restoration of the text to its pristine form—even the late so-called śatasāhasrī samhitā form—may be a task now beyond the powers of criticism". All that can be done is "an eclectic but cautious utilization of all manuscript classes". The mss. may be grouped into families and the tradition of each family ascertained and evaluated; the relations of these traditions may be considered in regard to variant

readings ; and for the rest, those readings may be chosen which commend themselves by their intrinsic merits. All this has been most carefully done by Dr. Sukthankar, and the result is, in his own words, to "demonstrate that a considerable portion of the inherited text can be incontestably proved to be authentic and unimpeachable ; and that on the other hand certain portions of the "vulgate" can, equally indisputably, be shown to be spurious". A valuable conclusion.

L. D. B.

Three Books edited by ABDUL HAQ, Secretary of the Anjuman i Taraqqī e Urdū, Aurangābād, Deccan.

- (1) *ZIKR I MĪR*. 8½ in. × 5½ in. pp. 28 + 153. Aurangabad, 1928.
- (2) *INTIKHĀB I KALĀM I MĪR*. 8½ in. × 5½ in. pp. 45 + 201. Aurangabad, 1926. Rs. 2/8.
- (3) *QAYĀ'ID I URDŪ*. 8½ in. × 5½ in. pp. 5 + 22 + 301. Aurangabad, 1926. Rs. 2/8.

Zikr i Mīr is a book of great importance. Although mentioned in Sprenger's catalogue it is not referred to by any of the numerous Persian or Urdu *taẓkiras* of Urdu poets and no copy of it was known to exist. It is nothing less than the autobiography of Mīr Taqī Mīr, the great Urdu poet, written in Persian and completed in 1783. All lovers of Urdu will rejoice that so valuable a MS. has been discovered. It sheds a flood of light on the social and literary life of the time and corrects a number of current misstatements about Mīr. The most important perhaps concerns the year of his birth which is now found to be 1724, not 1713 as given in *Āb i Ḥayāt* and elsewhere. This makes him 86, not 97, when he died. The unhappy relationship which existed between him and *Khān i Ārzū*, the famous teacher of poetics, is clearly brought out. *Ārzū*, it appears, was the brother-in-law of Mīr's father, the brother of his first wife. Mīr was the son of the second wife. The actual MS. is dated 1808, two years before Mīr's death. That is the *tārīkh i kitābat*. The language must be judged by the standard of Persian as Indians write it. It is simple and unartificial, but in places becomes rhythmic and even rhymed.

Maulvī 'Abd ul Ḥaqq has contributed a very useful introduction in Urdu.

Intikhāb i Mīr is an excellent selection from the works of Mīr Taqī Mīr made by the learned Secretary of the Anjuman i Taraqqī e Urdū who has written a valuable preface on Mīr's poetry. About 150

pages are devoted to *gazals* and 36 to *maḡnavīs*. For these two works Maulvi 'Abd ul Haqq deserves our gratitude. If a vote of the Urdu literary public were taken as to the greatest of Urdu poets, Mir would probably stand first. At any rate he would rank in the first three along with Gālib and Anīs. Mir is a poet of sorrow and disappointment. It has been well said that Anīs makes us weep, but Mir himself weeps. Nearly all his poetry is lamentation. We understand it better when we read the *Zikr i Mir* reviewed above. The *Zikr* forms in fact a sort of commentary on his poems.

I cannot understand the editor's statement that Mir's *Nikāt ush Shu'arā* was written long after *Zikr i Mir*, for the former was written in 1752 and the latter in 1783. It is possible of course that portions of the *Zikr* were written in Mir's early life before *Nikāt ush Shu'arā* and that 1783 marks only the date of completion.

Qavā'id i Urdū is an Urdu grammar written in Urdu. There is an introduction of 22 pages. The Grammar, which is very carefully written, contains much interesting information. At the end is a section of 17 pages on prosody.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

KULLIYĀT I VALĪ. Edited by 'ALĪ AḤSAN AḤSAN MĀRAHRAVĪ.
 8½ in. × 5½ in., pp. 5 + 104 + 20 + 403 + 52 + 174 + 8 = 766
 in all. Aurangabad, 1927. Rs. 5.

In the prosecution of its task of advancing the cause of Urdu the Anjuman i Taraqqī e Urdū has brought out this edition of the works of Valī. The editor is the well-known writer Aḥsan Mārahraṇvī. The text is the result of a collation of eight MSS. There is a long introduction, which gives many facts about Valī's life and poems. One would have welcomed a critical estimate of his poetry and a comparison with his predecessors and immediate successors. In Valī we see the gradual process of Persianization and we prefer his early work when he had less polish but was a truer poet. If a second edition is called for, this thought should be worked out.

There are two appendixes; the first of 52 pages contains verses of doubtful authenticity, the second of 174 pages contains various readings. In the days of ignorance Valī received the title of Bābā e Rekhta, but there were scores of Dakanī poets before him.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

VAZA' I ISTILĀHĀT. By VAHĪD UD DĪN SALĪM. 8½ in. × 5 in., pp. 6 + 305. Aligarh. Rs. 3/12.

The death of the talented author of this work a few months ago meant a great loss not only to the Osmaniya University, in which he held the professorship of Urdu, but to the Urdu-speaking world. Though a Muslim and a Sayyid, he was a leader of the pro-Hindi movement in Urdu. He wrote this book to show what he considered the proper method of forming scientific terms. There are some who hold that, Urdu being largely Arabic, we should take these terms unaltered from Cairo and Beirut. Others are satisfied with an indiscriminate use of English, but Salim's school maintains that Urdu is essentially Hindi in its origin and that its terminology should be worked out on Indian, not Arabic lines. There is an exhaustive discussion of prefixes, suffixes, and methods of forming compounds. These are illustrated by innumerable examples. It is a striking piece of work on novel lines.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

THE SAURASENI AND MAGADHI STABAKAS OF RAMA-SARMAN (TARKAVAGISA). By Sir GEORGE A. GRIERSON, K.C.I.E., Ph.D. D.Litt., LL.D. (Reprinted from *The Indian Antiquary*, vols. lvi, 1927, and lvii, 1928.) pp. 56 ; 6 plates. Bombay, 1927-8. 4to.

Rāma Bhaṭṭācārya, entitled Tarka-vāgīśa from his proficiency in logic, composed not only a number of Sanskrit works on that cheerful science and on Bōpadēva's grammar, but likewise the *Prākṛta-kalpa-taru*, which summarises in three *śākhās* of crabbed verse his views on the grammar of the Prakrit dialects. This work is of value, and unluckily it has been preserved in one manuscript only, which is sadly corrupt. Hence the task of editing it is one of extraordinary difficulty, which scarcely any scholar but Sir George Grierson could accomplish ; and he is doing it *līlayā*, with admirable skill. He has now published with translation, notes, and indexes the greater part of two *śākhās* of the work. The *stabakas* of the 3rd *śākhā*, which deal with Apabhraṃśa, have been treated by him in vols. li-ii of the *Indian Antiquary* ; and these he has followed up with the 2nd *śākhā*, which describes the Śāurasēni Prakrit with its subdivisions (Prācyā, Āvantī, and Bāhlikī), Māgadhi, Ardha-māgadhi, Dākṣiṇātyā, and the eight *vibhāṣās*, of which Śākārikī, Cāṇḍālikā,

Śābarī, Ābhīrikā, Āutkalī, Vānāukasī, and Māndurikā are regarded as degraded offshoots of Māgadhī, while Ṭākkī is imagined to be a bastard of Śāurasēnī. To the text he has added marginal references to Mārkaṇḍēya's *Prākṛta-sarvasva*, a full subject-index, Sanskrit-Prakrit and Prakrit-Sanskrit indexes, and photographic plates of the relevant pages of the unique manuscript. The work is done with the felicitous learning which has placed him on a unique *pīṭha* in the sanctuary of Indology.

Rāma lived in comparatively modern times, and his knowledge of the dialects which he professed to describe was wholly drawn from books. Like his congeners, he was utterly lacking in scientific method and philological sense; he betrays this at the outset by his absurd statement that Śāurasēnī is derived from Māhārāṣṭrī. Probably none of the Prakrit grammarians whose works are extant is greatly superior to him. Their dicta are based upon the rules laid down by their predecessors for the formation of Prakrit words and upon such passages exemplifying those rules as they found in mss. of plays and a few other books; and their grammars were intended mainly to enable "literary gents" to write more plays, with the characters in them talking Prakrit according to prescription. They can hardly ever have tested their rules or added to them by studying the actual speech of the people; and late writers such as Rāma could not have thus checked the flexions recorded in their grammars, for long before their day these had become things of the past, if they ever existed. Yet these dull pedants have bequeathed to students of Indian philology a treasure of very great value: though their systems are often absurd and their constructions artificial, they have preserved from classical times a crowd of genuine old words and flexions which are of the highest importance in the investigation of Aryan vernaculars. Rāma's grammar is specially valuable, inasmuch as it and Mārkaṇḍēya's *Prākṛta-sarvasva* are the only surviving works of the Eastern School, which often differs materially in its teachings from the Western School, of which the choragus is the famous Hēmacandra. As Sir George says "When Rāma-śarman and Mārkaṇḍēya agree, we can be pretty sure that we know the teaching of the Eastern School on that particular point." But what of the cases where they disagree? A decision here is generally impossible. Sometimes both may be right; one may be recording the rule as laid down in the official tradition of the school, while the other may be reporting a form which he has actually found prescribed in another grammar or used in some ms. of a play. But

whatever its source, every datum of the grammarians deserves to be registered with exact critical care; and this is done by Sir George Grierson supremely well.

L. D. BARNETT.

JULIÁN RIBERA Y TARRAGÓ: *Disertaciones y Opúsculos*. Edición colectiva que en su jubilación del profesorado le ofrecen sus discípulos y amigos (1887-1927), con una introducción de MIGUEL ASÍN PALACIOS. 2 vols., pp. 756, 808. Madrid, 1928, 30 pesetas.

The *Festschrift*, a collection of learned papers written by the admirers and pupils of a professor, and bound together in one volume and dedicated to his honour, has somewhat gone out of favour in the learned world, and modern usage prefers to collect together the scattered shorter writings of the professor himself, and his pupils undertake the expense of re-publishing them in a convenient and readily accessible form. This has recently been done in Madrid to commemorate the jubilee of Professor Julián Ribera who attained the age of 70 in the present year; he was appointed Professor of Arabic in the University of Saragossa when he was only 20 years of age, and was transferred to the University of Madrid eighteen years later. His literary achievements are of permanent value to students of Islam and of Muslim Spain in particular, and as many of them have taken the form of contributions to learned publications not always easy of access, such as the transactions of the Royal Spanish Academy, of which he is so distinguished a member, they are very welcome in their present form.

The first place is given to a study of that attractive poet of the twelfth century in Spain, Ibn Quzmān, who like the contemporary troubadours of Provence wandered from castle to castle and subsisted on the liberality of his knightly patrons; he gave literary form to the popular speech, and his lyrics are written in a strange mixture of medieval Spanish and Arabic. For this species of lyrical verse in medieval Spain, arranged in strophes with characteristic combinations of rhyme and metre, Professor Ribera, in opposition to the majority of romanticists, has vindicated the origin of Provençal poetry.

Equally original and erudite is his account of education in Muslim Spain, for he was the first Arabist to demonstrate the freedom which the teacher enjoyed in Muslim Spain, in contrast to the intervention of the State in matters of education in the Muhammadan East. The

first volume also contains a detailed account of the methods of education, of libraries and book-lovers in Muslim Spain, and two lengthy studies of the literary activities of the historians, al-Khushanî and al-Qūṭiyya, both of the tenth century.

Another subject of investigation, in which Professor Ribera has been a pioneer, is that of Arabic music and its influence on the development of music in Europe, especially on that of the troubadours and the Minnesinger. In the second volume, several articles on this subject are put together, and they supplement his monumental work, *La Música de las Cantigas*, which appeared as the third volume of the sumptuous edition, brought out by the Royal Spanish Academy, of the Hymns of the Virgin composed by Alfonso X of Castile. A special section is devoted to articles on the history of the Arabs in Valencia. The latter half of the volume is taken up with articles on various current problems of modern Spain, such as education, the Morocco-question, etc.

The above account does not exhaust the varied interest of these finely printed volumes, and the thanks of all students of Islam are due to those who have caused them to be published in so convenient a form. They bear testimony to the recognition which his fellow-countrymen rightly feel is due to so distinguished a Spanish scholar, and his admirers in other countries would gladly have associated themselves with such a tribute.

An introduction by his colleague, Professor Miguel Asín Palacios, gives a summary of the literary activity of Professor Ribera, and an estimate of his efforts and achievements.

T. W. A.

PERSIAN LITERATURE: A Bio-bibliographical Survey. By C. A. STOREY. Section I: Qur'anic Literature. London: Luzac and Co., 1927.

The bibliography of Persian literature has been long neglected, and it has been left to two English scholars to supply the defect—first, Mr. E. Edwards led the way with his *Catalogue of Persian Printed Books in the British Museum* (1922), and now Mr. Storey has approached the problem from quite a different point of view. He proposes to make a survey of Persian literature under the headings of the subject-matter, and has begun in this first section with the commentaries and other compositions dealing with the Qur'ān; his arrangement

is chronological, and under the name of each author is given a brief sketch of his life, references to his work on the Qur'ān and to his literary activity generally, and to the libraries in which copies of the work described are to be found. The bibliographer, the librarian, and the student will be equally grateful to Mr. Storey for having lightened their labours, and the latter especially will be saved from many a weary search.

By a skilful choice of varying type, the use of the volume for practical purposes is much facilitated, and the author has hereby shown himself a worthy successor of the distinguished scholars who have occupied the post of Librarian in the India Office Library before him.

The completion of this important enterprise will be eagerly awaited, for by such a work the author will have earned the gratitude of all students of Persian literature and of Islam, and it will take its place among such works of reference as Lane-Poole's *Muhammadian Dynasties* and the *Encyclopædia of Islam*. It will provide guidance for generations of scholars, for many years must elapse before any similar work can be produced, and it may well be hoped that one of the immediate results of its publication will be to give a fresh impulse to the study of Persian in this country.

T. W. A.

THE POEMS OF NIZĀMĪ, described by LAURENCE BINYON. London :
The Studio Limited, 1928.

With the exception of the Shāh Nāmāh of Firdawsī and the works of Sa'dī, probably no work in Persian literature has been so frequently illustrated by Persian painters as the *Khamsah* of Nizāmī. The most splendid example of artistic effort applied to the illustration of these five romances is to be found in the copy of the British Museum, numbered Or. 2265, copied for Shāh Tahmasp by Shāh Maḥmūd Nishāpūrī between the years 1539 and 1543, and decorated by the most eminent of the Shāh's court painters. Eleven of these paintings were reproduced by Dr. F. R. Martin in 1912 in his monumental work, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey*. But this costly work is difficult of access, and made no attempt to produce the colour of the original pictures. Here, for the modest sum of thirty shillings we have fourteen full-page reproductions of the work of such great artists as Sultān Muḥammad, Mirak, Mir

Sayyid 'Alī, Mīrzā 'Alī, and Muẓaffar Alī, presented in the brilliancy of the original colours, so that distinctions of detail unrecognizable in the achromatic reproductions can here be easily studied, and the superb decorative effect of these masterpieces can be appreciated.

Mr. Laurence Binyon has published these paintings along with an illuminating study of the characteristics of Persian painting, a life of Nizāmī and of Shāh Tahmasp, for whose royal library this copy of the *Khamsah* was prepared, an account of the separate poems and a detailed description of each picture. No similar work has hitherto been published in this country, and the text is in every respect adequate to the subject-matter with which it deals. It may be confidently expected that this publication will have a wide circulation, and will draw attention to the treasures of art hidden away in Persian MSS. in this country, and it is to be hoped also that it will stimulate some young scholars to devote themselves seriously to the study of them.

As hereby the names of Persian painters and of the heroes of Persian romance are likely to become more widely known in this country than has hitherto been the case, some reference may here be made to one aspect of the matter which is of interest to the orientalist. As compared with the Sanskritists whose system of transliteration, fixed several decades ago, has been accepted even in popular literature, the students of Arabic and Persian have been unfortunate; not only have they failed to agree among themselves as to a system of transliteration, but they bewilder the general reader by the variety of spellings they put forward and thereby themselves hinder the growth of a wider interest in the subject-matter of their researches and studies. It is probably because this book is intended to attract the attention of the general public, that Mr. Laurence Binyon (though an official of the British Museum) has discarded the system of transliteration adopted by that great institution for Persian names, and has omitted all signs employed by orientalists for indicating a long vowel or for distinguishing consonants liable to be confused in their English transcription. Such signs are commonly regarded as eccentricities, and might therefore be expected to create a prejudice in the mind of the ordinary reader, especially as there is not a general agreement on the matter among orientalists themselves. One book after another dealing with the Muhammadan East is brought out by the Press, and the introduction explains the system of transliteration adopted, and in most cases it is an invention of the particular author

himself and illustrates his individual prejudices. It is not surprising that the general reader loses patience with such discordant guidance.

The last generation was familiar with the demand for an authoritative learned body that should adjudicate in such matters of spelling, as does the French Academy. We now have in this country an Academy of our own, and it has published a system of transliteration for Arabic and Persian, agreeing almost entirely with that adopted for several decades previously by the Royal Asiatic Society. But even one of the most distinguished members of the British Academy, the late Professor E. G. Browne, lent the authority of his great name to the use of accents instead of the line, which his colleagues are accustomed to use to indicate the long vowels, and unfortunately the publications of the Gibb Trust follow this regrettable idiosyncrasy of an eminent scholar and literary genius. But the accent has a long history behind it, and a meaning of its own quite distinct from that of a sign used to indicate a long vowel, and to use the one orthographic sign in place of the other only produces confusion, especially as the Arabic language has rules of its own for accent stress, and this can only by convention be indicated by the mark now unfortunately transferred to denote long vowels. Until oriental scholars themselves abandon this diversity of usage, they will continue to be looked at askance by their fellow-countrymen, and their studies will fail to be received within the circle of common interests. It is largely on account of the disagreement among orientalist themselves that the use of the few symbols employed in a scientific transliteration of Arabic and Persian appear to be uncouth to persons who nevertheless have no objection to writing François or Doré, and do not insist on spelling these names Francois and Dore because the alternatives appear strange. But Mirak must be written Mirak and Nâsir, Nasir. Consequently confusing varieties of spelling are perpetuated, to the bewilderment and disgust of the uninitiated reader and the retardation of the acceptance of the study of Muslim culture among the studies that profit by widespread interest and sympathy.

T. W. ARNOLD.

THE TRAVELS OF FRAY SEBASTIAN MANRIQUE. Vol. II. Edited by
Lt.-Col. C. E. LUARD. Hakluyt Society, 1927.

This second volume of Manrique's Travels (the first was reviewed Vol. V, p. 175 et seq., *supra*) should have been more interesting than the first. It contains the narrative of Manrique's voyage to Manilla

and Macao, then across India to Lahore, down the Indus to Lari-bandar, then back to Multan, and then, by way of Qandahar and Baghdad, to Damascus, Cyprus, and Rome. Here evidently was matter for observation of absorbing interest. But the good brother passes over many things with an unobservant eye. Doubtless this was due in part to the abhorrence with which he regarded pagan rites and customs; and though he was sufficiently moved by curiosity to watch from a screened gallery a feast given by Asaf Khan to Shah Jahan, and though he purports to describe Moghul finance and administration from his own inquiries and observation, his description of the first is but a jejune performance, and his account of the second is stolen from the pages of de Laet. As in the first volume his style is horrible. He can seldom say a plain thing plainly. And as in the first volume some of the notes are quite redundant. No person into whose hands the Hakluyt Society's volumes are likely to fall needs to be told that the Styx was a river of the classical Hell or that Aesculapius was the god of healing. But when all allowances have been made, the *Travels* remain a valuable document and the editorial work careful and solid.

Not the least instructive part of the present volume is that which relates Manrique's voyage to Manilla and Macao. Nothing could illustrate more clearly the perils of country navigation in those days. Manrique indeed reached Malacca from Goa without particular mishap but proceeded by a vessel that was not sea-worthy and was therefore almost overwhelmed by a storm between Malacca and the Phillipines. Again, on his way from Manilla to Macao his ship almost foundered in a typhoon. Returning to India on a Danish vessel Manrique was almost run aground. Three out of four of these short voyages were only completed by good luck.

In reference to India, Manrique's most interesting statement relates to the Taj Mahal, then in course of building. He tells us that when at Agra a thousand men were at work on the construction, and that the Italian Veroneo was the architect. On this point Father Hosten, who is a warm supporter of Manrique's accuracy, contributes a long note summarising the case for Veroneo. Colonel Luard, however, could not concur with this view. He thought that Veroneo's connection with the building was probably limited to the decorative inlay work; and observed pertinently that Veroneo was not an architect by profession, and that great technical skill was needed to plan such a building.

Another interesting episode describes the trouble that arose from one of Manrique's Muslim followers' killing a brace of peacocks in a village near Narayangarh in Bengal. The party was attacked by the villagers, and, on their complaint, arrested by the *shiqdar* of the pargana. The *shiqdar* was justifiably angry at the offence which had raised such a tumult within his jurisdiction, and Manrique had much ado to get the offender off with a mere beating. Though the village affected was small, the *shiqdar* was very anxious not to offend the villagers; and the story throws a striking light on the attitude of a minor Moghul official towards the Hindu population. Indeed, the Moghuls, in their wiser moments, like the servants of the East India Company, were strongly averse to arousing the religious feelings of the Hindus.

On the Moghul capture of Hugli from the Portuguese in 1632, Manrique, who then was in Arakan, has much to say. He ascribes it principally to the abduction, conversion, and marriage of a Muslim lady by Portuguese raiders from Arakan. Though not an eye-witness, Manrique certainly had been in contact with many who were, and his narrative is therefore important. To his account is appended additional matter, provided mainly by Father Hosten, including a long letter from Father Cabral, who had been actually present at the siege.

H. D.

BRITISH ROUTES TO INDIA. By H. L. HOSKINS. pp. xii + 464.
Longmans, 1928. 30s. net.

Dr. Hoskins's volume will fill a long-felt want. Till its appearance there was no volume to which the student could refer for an account of the manner in which the Suez route to India came into existence, or of the various attempts made in the nineteenth century to open up the Euphrates valley as a highway to the East. Dr. Hoskins has done his work thoroughly and well. He has worked through a considerable part of the Foreign Office papers, and some at the India Office; he has ransacked the printed literature on the subject, and he has besides examined a number of newspapers and other periodicals concerned with Eastern topics. The result is that he has been able to put together an exceedingly interesting narrative of the steps by which the Suez route gradually was developed into one of the world's great highways. The prevailing winds hinder the navigation under sail up and down the Red Sea except at certain seasons of the

year. Early projects, such as those of Warren Hastings, were doomed by the conditions of the time to failure. But the application of steam power to navigation transformed the problem. When therefore, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, paddle steamers began to navigate British and American waterways, men began at once to contemplate the possibility of reviving the ancient routes to the East by the Red Sea or the Persian Gulf. It was, however, a difficult matter. The early steam engine was feeble and extravagant of fuel; and no one could tell without actual experiment how it could be best employed in expediting communications between India and England. The enthusiasm of Johnston, Waghorn, and Taylor, however, produced a number of plans, eagerly discussed by the "Steam Committees" which were formed at the three presidencies in the twenties of the nineteenth century. Calcutta and Madras were bent, if possible, on establishing steam communication by way of the Cape, since this would not only avoid the inconveniences of trans-shipment but also minimise the advantages that would accrue to Bombay if the Suez route were adopted. In this the eastern presidencies were striving vainly against fate. Both the merchants and the government of Bombay were resolved upon demonstrating the advantages of a route which, if developed, would establish Bombay as one of the great ports of the world. Hardly had Captain Johnston and his associates painfully conducted the *Enterprise* in 1826, from Falmouth to Calcutta by the Cape in 113 days, when the Governor of Bombay ordered the building of the *Hugh Lindsay* specially designed to show the possibility of steaming from Bombay to Suez. This route, with the numerous places at which fuel could be stored and taken on board, was far better suited to the early marine engine than the long tracks of the Cape route. The experiment proved successful. In spite of the dislike of the Court of Directors, the Company was obliged to adopt the new methods of sea transport, and under the pressure of public opinion the overland route was at last established, mails being carried by Admiralty packets from Falmouth to Alexandria, and from Suez to Bombay by the vessels of the Indian Navy.

The story of this development and the later more elaborate organization of the route under the auspices of the Peninsular and Oriental Company makes exceedingly interesting reading; but even more important were the political complications that resulted from this transformation of international highways. The importance of the eastern Mediterranean rose high, since it had now become the vestibule

to eastern waters ; and when the French revived in the middle of the century the old project of cutting a canal through the isthmus of Suez English statesmen naturally regarded this as fraught with momentous and uncertain consequences. Hence the strong opposition of Palmerston and our endeavours to set up a rival route by renewing our inquiries into the feasibility of a Euphrates valley railway. Into the intricate developments that followed we cannot here enter ; but we think that Dr. Hoskins succeeds well in unravelling the tangled skein. As is natural, and perhaps inevitable, the narrative from time to time gives too strong an impression of English foreign policy being solely inspired by the need of protecting the route to India. The clue cannot be found in any single thread. But no one will deny that Dr. Hoskins has given us a thoroughly competent work on a matter of outstanding importance alike in the nineteenth century and since.

H. DODWELL.

THE STATE IN ANCIENT INDIA. A Study in the Structure and Practical Working of Political Institutions in North India in Ancient Times. By BENI PRASAD, 8vo, pp. vi + 580. Allahabad : Indian Press, Ltd., 1928.

Mr. Beni Prasad, at the present time a Reader in the University of Allahabad, some years ago made himself known by his careful and generally sound *History of Jahāngīr*. He has quite recently issued two bulky books, of which one deals with the theory of Government in post-Vedic India, the other one being the work which we have the pleasure of reviewing here. We should like to say at once that Mr. Beni Prasad also in this work reveals himself as a careful and conscientious scholar with a power for sifting evidence which is, unfortunately, not found in all those of his countrymen who have lately taken to writing the political and administrative history of Ancient India.

A work like the present one could scarcely be expected to be founded even partly on wholly new and startling materials. As a matter of fact the learned author has availed himself of the numerous sources to be drawn upon for his purpose, both the native and the European ones. And in using these sources he has as a rule shown a wise discrimination. It must also be emphasized that Mr. Beni Prasad is a scholar in possession of a very wide reading who knows not only the standard works on his subjects, but is also acquainted with the main contents of Western Oriental Journals as far as they are

of importance to his researches. As for the general principles laid down in Chapter I, they are on the whole remarkably sound, and we should like to recommend various writers—not only the countrymen of Mr. Beni Prasad—to take them into due consideration. Typographically the book is simple, but on the whole singularly free from misprints; a curious little slip on p. 159 has been duly corrected at the end of the work. The bibliography which runs through some thirteen pages is modelled on European principles, and the index is a full and quite valuable one.

So much for the general characteristics of the book. We shall now allow ourselves to indulge in a few casual remarks which are, however, in no way intended to detract from the general value of the work.

In Chapter II the author comes to speak upon the date of the Rigveda, and in general he assents to Max Müller that the period 1200–1000 B.C. is the safest date for the Maṇḍalas i–ix. This may be all very well, and we cannot refute, on any valid grounds, the conclusion that such a date should be considered the best one. But we must always remember that after all Max Müller's dates are simply founded upon calculations of the very flimsiest sorts. If, as the present writer thinks probable,¹ the Aryans began to invade India about 2000–1800 B.C., then the oldest hymns of the Rigveda may well go back to a far more remote time than 1200 B.C.

In the same chapter the author speaks of the character of kingship and in that connection he, of course, also hits upon the kingship of Varuṇa. We shall not enter upon a discussion of the author's treatment of Rigveda iv, 42,² but only allow ourselves to remark that, according to our opinion, the kingship of Varuṇa can scarcely be taken as the prototype of Vedic Aryan monarchy. To the present writer it seems evident—and no valid arguments to the contrary have become known to him—that the idea of a supreme monarchy as manifested in the kingship of Varuṇa (and Mitra) is of un-Aryan origin and closely connected with the ideas of absolute and universal sovereignty current among the peoples of Mesopotamia. The kingship of the Great King spread from Assyria and Babylonia to the Medes and Persians, and from the Iran of the Achæmenians it finally came to the India

¹ Cf. this *Bulletin*, IV, 167.

² Mr. Beni Prasad apparently attributes iv, 42, 1, to Varuṇa, but iv, 42, 3, to Trasadasyu. According to the native tradition, iv, 42, 1–6 are the *âtmaśruti* of Trasadasyu which is, however, impossible. Cf. my remarks in *Die Suparnaśage*, p. 96 sqq.

of Candragupta—or possibly even to that of the Nandas, for of them we, unfortunately, know next to nothing. On the contrary the institutions of the Aryans were purely feudal ones. We find the earliest Iranians as petty kings and feudal lords amongst the peoples of Mesopotamia and the frontierlands of Asia Minor, and the mounted hordes of the Scythians were undoubtedly organized along lines which were not unlike those of our own Middle Ages. The Greeks of the Homeric age know of a supreme war-lord, but he is only the *primus inter pares* of a crowd of boisterous princes who are only too often apt openly to defy his authority. We need scarcely mention the Celts and Teutons in this connection; and if the early Romans seem to form an exception it is that their institutions such as we know them are no longer of purely Aryan origin. Thus there is not the slightest ground for doubting that the Aryans when entering the north-west of India were a motley crowd of feudal clans led by warrior-princes of the type of Indra, strong in warfare, fond of meat and intoxicating liquor, and adventurous in love, even if possessing no very refined manners. The contrast between Indra and Varuṇa—for there undoubtedly is one—is exactly that between the headling of a roving and plundering clan and the mighty ruler of a well-ordered city-state. And of that contrast perhaps a faint echo reaches us through the verses of Rīgveda iv, 42.

Gautama's precepts (p. 67) concerning the land-tax being one-sixth or one-eighth of the gross produce, is aptly illustrated by the inscription of Rummindēi, according to which that village was made to pay one-eighth instead of the usual one-sixth.¹ When speaking of the *dharmaśūtra* of Śaṅkha-Likhita (p. 75) the learned author has apparently overlooked the paper by Ludwig, *VOJ.* xv, p. 307 sqq., according to which *Śaṅkhalikhita* was originally "written (by the Creator) on the frontal bone".

What exactly is meant by "a Kṣātriya of inferior birth" (p. 82) may not be quite so easy to define. Perhaps the Mauryas, known by tradition as low-castes, are such Kṣātriyas of a lower order. And besides, if the traditions concerning Paraśurāma be accepted, are not really all Kṣātriyas of more or less spurious birth? But the stories of Paraśurāma, one of the most unprepossessing figures of a rather disagreeable pantheon, although known to the Great Epic, are probably late and of Deccanese or South Indian origin. The tales of the ruthless

¹ Cf. Professor Thomas, *JRAS.* 1914, p. 391 sq., and Hultzsch, *Inscriptions of Aśoka*, p. 167, n. 3.

slaughter of the Kṣattriyas by Paraśurāma may in reality have something to do with the idea that no real Kṣattriyas exist in the south of the peninsula.

Uśanas, the Guru of the demons, according to the Mahābhārata told them that scriptures had no authority whatsoever unless they were supported by pure reason (p. 99). Kautīlya quotes the disciples of Uśanas as admitting only one science, viz. the *daṇḍanūti*, caring nothing for the Vedas and the philosophical systems. And it seems not improbable that the venerable teacher of the Daityas like Brhaspati, the Guru of the gods, was thought to have inculcated doctrines which come dangerously near to those proclaimed by the *nāstikaśiromaṇi* Cārvāka.

The trampling to death of criminals by elephants apparently is of old standing in India, being mentioned already in the Jātakas (p. 150), and everyone who has visited the Indian Museum in South Kensington is instantly reminded of an indescribable scene from the Akbarnāma, which at any rate makes us feel relieved that such abominations have now been stopped for good. The form *Mausikamos* quoted on page 16, and its identification with *Mucukarṇa*—a name otherwise unknown to the present writer—can scarcely be correct. For *Μουσικαρός* could not well be anything but **Mūsikāṇa*, whatever that may mean—the King of *Mūsika* or something else.¹

On pp. 315, 339, and 390 Mr. Beni Prasad comes to mention the dates of the *Mr̥cchakatikā*, of Daṇḍin, and of Viśākhadatta respectively. As for Daṇḍin, the paper by Professor Jacobi, *SBPrAW.* 1922, p. 210 sqq., might aptly have been quoted. As regards the *Mudrārākṣasa* and the *Mr̥cchakatikā*, the present writer feels fairly convinced that he has been about right in consigning them to the fifth and the seventh or eighth centuries respectively, cf. *JRAS.* 1923, pp. 585 sqq., 593 sqq.² In no case could the former drama be as late as Professor Jacobi and his supporters want it to be.

With these few remarks we bid farewell to Mr. Beni Prasad, wishing him every success in his continued activity as a research worker in the field of the political and administrative history of his native land.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ Cf. Lassen, *Ind. Altertumsk.*, II, 185 sq.; *CHI.* I, p. 377.

² The counter-arguments of Professor Keith (*Id.* II, 59 sq.), as usual, are no arguments at all, as they simply consist in denying evidence without adducing other that proves something to the contrary. Thus, when I find in *Śilupātavādha*, I, 47, an imitation of an expression in the final verse of the *Mudrārākṣasa*, Professor Keith finds that Viśākhadatta has instead imitated Māgha, etc.

ERGEBNISSE DER KGL. PREUSSISCHEN TURFANEXPEDITIONEN. Die Buddhistische Spätantike in Mittelasien von A. VON LE COQ und E. WALDSCHMIDT. Sechster Teil: Neue Bildwerke. pp. 90, 4 + 29 pl. Berlin, 1928.

The present writer has had the great pleasure of reviewing for this *Bulletin*,¹ vols. iii-v of Professor von Le Coq's monumental work on what he calls "Die Buddhistische Spätantike" in Central Asia. Already, with the appearance of the fourth volume, it seemed as if this magnificent publication had come to an end; such expectations, however, were baffled in a surprising and pleasant way by the issue of volume v in 1926. And that volume, splendid as it is, has now been surpassed by a still more extensive one, the sixth of the series. From certain allusions in the text, it seems that we have to expect still another volume, bringing new materials from the seemingly inexhaustible collections of Central Asian art at Berlin.

The preceding volumes have all been the work of Professor von Le Coq, and of him alone. But in the present one he has associated with himself a young German scholar, Dr. E. Waldschmidt, who has already acquired a well-founded reputation amongst his colleagues by his book on Gandhāra, Turfan, and Kutscha, as well as by the learned treatise, by him and Dr. Lentz, on *Jesus in Manichaeism*, which was published some time ago by the Berlin Academy. Dr. Waldschmidt is possessed of a good knowledge of Sanskrit and Chinese, besides being an archæologist; thus there can be no doubt whatsoever that he has taken up the work allotted to him in a state of complete preparedness to which the results of his achievements also bear eloquent witness. His task has been to compose about two-thirds of the text, which deals chiefly with the numerous pictures of Jātakas and Avadānas preserved at Qyzil and Kirisch and known already through the works of Grünwedel. To identify these pictures with the legends and tales found in various and unsystematic collections is a difficult and laborious business which sometimes must needs end in a *non liquet*. However, Dr. Waldschmidt has succeeded very well in most cases, and has made notable progress in comparison with his predecessor, Professor Grünwedel. He has been kind enough to quote with approval some of the modest proposals for such identifications put forth by the present writer in a little paper some time ago.² And although I am quite aware of the very limited value of those

¹ Cf. above, III, 814 sq.; IV, 348 sq.

² Cf. this *Bulletin*, IV, 493 sq.

casual proposals it is always a pleasure to find some of them endorsed by a scholar so much at home in this field of research as is Dr. Waldschmidt. He is to be warmly congratulated upon his excellent work, and it is certainly not an exaggeration to say that we are entitled to hope for still greater achievements from him.

Professor von Le Coq has himself undertaken to compose the descriptive text accompanying the twenty-nine magnificent plates at the end of the volume. It goes without saying that he has done this with his usual mastery of all the complicated details, and that we may even in this work draw benefit from his profound knowledge of everything connected with the history of dress, weapons, implements, etc. Professor von Le Coq is a man of deep learning, wide experience, and outspoken ideas. Of the upholders of a domineering Hellenistic element in the ancient art of Central Asia and the Far East he is the staunchest and most unflinching one. And though his ideas have met with but little approval in certain quarters, it seems safe to predict that they will come out victorious in the end. The recent French excavations in Afghanistan have undoubtedly gone a long way to prove the movement towards the north-east of the Gāndhāra art as well as the obvious similarities between the art of places like Bāmīyān and that of Central Asia; and we are as yet only at the beginning. We may congratulate Professor von Le Coq upon his steadfast adherence to ideas that seem alone to be historically sound and predict a splendid justification of such ideas in the future.

Of a general criticism of this work we can offer little or nothing, but we shall allow ourselves presently to indulge in a very few modest remarks concerning some details. But before entering upon them we should willingly dwell for one moment upon the exterior of this charming book. We confess to having seldom met with anything like it, never with anything wholly surpassing it. Print and plates alike are the very pick of what they could well be, and bear testimony to the high standard of German printing offices, a standard which could apparently scarcely be set higher.

The parts of the work upon which the present writer would like to dwell briefly are those containing the descriptions and identifications of the Jātaka and Avadāna pictures. A great number of these were already known from Grünwedel's *Alt-Kutscha* and *Altbuddhistische Kultstätten*; and Dr. Waldschmidt has here published many new and interesting parallels. Most of them, of course, illustrate the various acts of self-sacrifice perpetrated during former existences by

the Bodhisattva, topics that are mostly of a repulsive and even blood-curdling nature. It is curious to observe how often Brahmins play here the parts of the wicked creatures who ask for the Great Being's head, blood, marrow, hands, etc. It really seems as if there existed a conscious tendency to hold the chief supporters of the orthodox sacrificial religion up to scorn and hatred. The texts to whose tales these pictures form illustrations are mostly such as the *Divyāvadāna*, the *Kalpanāmaṇḍitikā*, the *Dsanglun*, Chavannes' *Contes et Apologues*, etc., and everyone who has made acquaintance with them, immediately recognizes in these little scenes their sombre and awe-inspiring descriptions of the terrible self-mutilations of the Bodhisattva.

With most of the new identifications proposed by Dr. Waldschmidt we heartily agree; and we willingly admit that the identification of Figure 143 with the *Vidhura paṇḍita-jātaka* which we formerly attempted¹ will have to fall. The words adduced by Dr. Waldschmidt from *JPTS.* 1909, p. 246, exactly fit this and the parallel pictures, and fix it beyond doubt that the scene belongs to the *Kalmāṣapāda*-story.

But we do not feel just as convinced in a few other cases. Thus, e.g. the scene in Fig. 3 (p. 10) cannot possibly be connected with the story of *Mahāprabhāsa* and the mad elephant, as here the animal is seen reposing quietly under a tree with the rider sitting on his back. Dr. Waldschmidt also declares it to be doubtful; but, unfortunately, no other identification has so far presented itself as acceptable.

Nor does the present writer still feel fully satisfied that the Figs. 7-9 do really depict to us the story of *Kṣāntivādin*.² But his doubts may well be set aside, as he has, unfortunately, nothing more likely to suggest. Besides, *Kṣāntivādin* is, of course, a popular topic with the Buddhist artists.

Figures 109 and 110 (p. 43) Dr. Waldschmidt describes as simply picturing the Bodhisattva plunging into an abyss in order to obtain a *subhāṣita*.³ This, however, does not seem very convincing. The Bodhisattva is seen plunging headlong from his throne amongst a group of coiled snakes with raised heads. It seems obvious that this is meant to illustrate some sort of self-sacrifice on behalf of the snakes. But where can we find a text that would form an apt commentary to such a scene?

¹ Cf. this *Bulletin*, IV, 498.

² Cf. this *Bulletin*, IV, 494.

³ Cf. *Rāstrapālapariṣcchā*, No. 3.

Nor does the *Nacca-Jātaka* fit the Figs. 206-7, where we see a peacock in company with a curiously decorated elephant. For we should undoubtedly expect one of these creatures to be the Bodhisattva, and this is not the case in the *Jātaka* quoted, where no elephant comes on the stage and the peacock is a foolish being. One might rather think of the *Mora-* and *Mahāmora-jātakas* (No. 159 and 491) if it were not for the elephant, which does not play a part there either. Thus the scene so far remains unidentified.

A few more quotations from previous literature may perhaps be added, at one or two passages.

For the *Śyāmajātaka* (p. 13) cf. also Beal, *JRAS.* 1871, p. 173 sq.; St. Andrew St. John, *ibid.*, 1894, p. 211 sq.; Charpentier, *VOJ.* xxiv, 397 n., xxvii, 94; Winternitz, *Literaturgeschichte*, ii, 369 sqq.; Oldenberg, *Goett. Nachr.*, 1918, p. 456 sq.; Marshall, *A Guide to Sanchi*, p. 73. As regards *Pradīpapradīyōta* (p. 22) it might be added that Grünwedel, *Altbuddh. Kultstätten*, p. 345, regards this picture as illustrating *Āśuketu* in the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprocchā*, No. 27. On *Sare-andada* (p. 23), cf. this *Bulletin*, IV, p. 502 sq.

Further parallels for the *Valāhassajātaka* (p. 54, n. 1) are the following: *Divyāvadāna*, p. 120 sq.; *Kāraṇavyūha*, 52 (cf. Burnouf, *Introduction*, p. 199); Beal, *Romantic Legend*, p. 332; and the ninth tale of the Jain *Nāyādhammakahāo*.¹ As regards the *Ruru-Jātaka* at Barhut, cf. also Huber, *BEFEO.* iv, 1093, and Pischel, *Sitzber. Pr. Akad. Wiss.*, 1905, p. 512. On the *Nyagrodhamyga*-story and its Western parallel, cf. Dr. Gaster, *JRAS.* 1894, p. 335 sq.²

In Figs. 181-2 (p. 57) we have scenes from the *Naḷupānājātaka* (No. 20) which seem exactly to tally with the story as told in the Pāli *Jātaka*. For in both pictures we see the monkeys drawing water from the pond by means of hollow reeds. It seems not quite unnecessary to mention this, which has been passed over in silence by Dr. Waldschmidt.

On p. 57 there is a translation of the verse 35 of the *Rāṣṭrapālāpariprocchā*. We, however, allow ourselves to doubt that the word *samucchraya* can be translated by "dwelling-place situated on high". The word here, as elsewhere in Buddhist scriptures, must mean "body"; the noble ape gives his life away to the hunter for some reason of which we are ignorant, but which we may some time hit upon in one of the ancient texts.

¹ Cf. Hüttemann, *Die Jāto-Erzählungen*, p. 19 sq.

² Cf. *ibid.*, 1893, p. 369 sq.

The chair described on p. 33 is interesting in so far that it is apparently the one called *vetrāsana* "cane-chair" in the Sanskrit literature. Cf. *Jātakamālā*, p. 138, 12; *Kumārasambhava*, 6, 53; *Nāṭyaśāstra*, 13, 208.¹

Finally, we should like to remark that Dr. Waldschmidt, who has otherwise made use of all available literature, does not seem to have noticed an excellent paper by Professor Foucher called "*Les Représentations de Jātaka dans l'Art Bouddhique*".² In that paper we find, besides other precious things, a list of the Jātakas dealt with here, together with indications of the appertaining pictures and the publications where they are to be found. From that list the notes of Dr. Waldschmidt may obtain some supplementary materials. Thus the *Chaddantajātaka* is also found at Bodh-Gayā, Sāñchī, and Pagan; the *Śibi*, ii, at Mathurā, Amarāvati, and in Gandhāra and China; the *Ruru* in Gandhāra; the *Kṣāntivādīn* at Benares; the *Kacchapa* at Bodh-Gayā, Mathurā, and Nālandā; and the *Valāhassa* at Mathurā, Boro-Boedoe, and Pagan. M. Foucher, on p. 19, also repeats his assertions concerning the *Maitrakanyakāvadāna*, which Dr. Waldschmidt seems to doubt (p. 38).

We wind up with repeated congratulations to Professor von Le Coq and Dr. Waldschmidt upon their brilliant achievement, and hope soon to have the pleasure of meeting with a new one of their charming volumes.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

A HISTORY OF PERSIAN NAVIGATION. By HĀDĪ ḤASAN. With a Foreword by Sir MUHAMMAD IQBĀL. pp. xiv + 176. London: Methuen and Co., Ltd., 1928.

That a large and magnificent volume could be written on Persian navigation is in itself a proof of its author's unstinted energy and devotion to the investigation of many and various sources. For most scholars would undoubtedly hold with the authority quoted in the preface that "the Persians were never a maritime people". The great poets of Persia, from Firdausī on, have expatiated with volubility upon the dangers of sea-voyage and the security of conveyance by land. Salamis is the Trafalgar of Ancient Greece, and although Xerxes—little as we know about him personally—was certainly no

¹ Cf. *JRAS.* 1923, p. 608.

² *Mémoires concernant L'Asie Orientale* . . . publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres sous la direction de MM. Senart et Cordier, iii. Paris, 1919.

Napoleon, there is more than one parallel between the war of the Greeks and Persians and the giant campaign between Britain and the continent dominated by the condottiere from Corsica. Nor do the attempts of Chosrau Parwiz or of the Omayyad and Abbasid Khalifs that followed in his tracks to capture Constantinople with the means of a navy inspire us with any great confidence in the naval efforts of the Sassanians.

However, Professor Hādī Ḥasan has, with painstaking energy, sifted his various sources and brought together ample materials to prove that while the Persians of the inland were at all times averse to seafaring, the tribes on the coast of the Persian Gulf have always been sturdy and well-equipped mariners, who piloted their craft not only across the water to South Arabia, but also into the seas of India and China. We have followed his exposition with great interest and sincerely congratulate him upon the good results he has achieved. His publishers, Messrs. Methuen and Co., are certainly also to be congratulated upon the elegant and attractive attire in which the work has been presented to the public.

The introductory chapter dealing with Persian navigation in legendary times is, of course, based upon totally fanciful materials, and gives no support for judging the extent of Persian acquaintance with seafaring and its perils. Also the chapter on Eastern trade conditions before the times of the Sassanians is far too short for its purpose, and partly out of touch with modern research. The excellent works of Mr. Charlesworth¹ and Mr. Warmington² might have been consulted with great advantage—though the second one did perhaps appear a little too late to be of real use to the author. But the four great chapters dealing with Achaemenian and Sassanian navigation, and with the seafaring craft of early Muhammadan times and of the period between the tenth and the sixteenth centuries are of real value and interest. Scholars hitherto do not seem to have paid much heed to the maritime activities of the ancient and mediaeval Persians; and Professor Ḥasan has merited our thanks by writing this interesting and in part fascinating book.

There are, however, some drawbacks which do not perhaps seriously vitiate the work, but ought still to be pointed out. For we hope that the learned author will pursue his researches in some cognate field

¹ *Trade Routes and Commerce of the Roman Empire*, Cambridge, 1924.

² *The Commerce between the Roman Empire and India*, Cambridge, 1928.

of investigation, and in that case it would be well to avoid a repetition of certain inaccuracies which are not quite in his favour.

Classical sources the author seems to know only at secondhand, viz. through translations. Now, translations may, of course, be excellent, and though we do not personally know all those used by Professor Hasan, it seems fairly obvious that they are. But for a purpose like this, translations, be they ever so excellent, are of next to no use; unless the texts themselves be at the entire disposal of the author he is apt to make more or less serious mistakes which would otherwise have been quite avoidable.

To quote only a few examples. The quotation, on p. 17, from Herodotus, i, 125, does not seem wholly intelligible, and can scarcely have been intended. On p. 28, we hear about "Ariabignes, son of Darius and Gobryas" which makes one feel somewhat uneasy; Herodotus vii, 97, of course, has: *ὁ Δαρείου παῖς καὶ τῆς Γωβρύεω θυγατρὸς*. On p. 32, we hear about a certain Boges—such was most probably his name—that he "burnt himself with his colleagues¹ on the funeral pyre"; but Herodotus, vii, 107, tells us that he *ἑσφαξε τὰ τέκνα καὶ τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τὰς παλλακὰς καὶ τοὺς οἰκέτας καὶ ἔπειτα ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ . . . ποιήσας δὲ ταῦτα ἑωντόν ἐσέβαλε ἐς τὸ πῦρ*. "Colleagues" here seems to be entirely out of place, and is apt to create a false impression. And examples like these could certainly be multiplied.

Nor is the book wholly free from other minor inaccuracies. Cambyzes (p. 19) scarcely committed suicide; the Behistūn inscription of Darius I tells us that *pasāva^b kanbujiya^b huvāmaršiyuš amariyatā*, and whatever that may mean it most probably does not indicate suicide.² Nor did his death occur in 521 B.C., but rather in the summer of 522 B.C. That the Parthian empire was founded by Mithradates I (p. 51) whose regnal dates (c. 170-138 B.C.) are besides scarcely acceptable, is news to all who thought it fairly common knowledge that it took its start with Arsakes and Tiridates in about 250 B.C. That the cave I of Ajanṭā has preserved a picture of an embassy from Chosrau Parwīz to Pulikeśin II was long held probable; it is, however, nowadays contested by the great scholar who has lately inspected the Ajanṭā frescoes.³ Finally—not to make a fairly unimportant list

¹ Italicized by the present writer.

² On this knotty problem, cf. Schulze, *Sitzungsber. d. preuss. Akad. d. Wiss.*, 1912, p. 685 sq., 1918, p. 336 sq.; Niedermann, *Zeitschr. f. vergl. Sprachforschung*, vol. li, p. 31.

³ Cf. Professor Foucher, *J.A.*, 1921.

long—we learn on p. 147 that Albuquerque captured both the King of Ormuz and the Hidalcão. But although he conferred upon the troops of Ismā'il Ādil Shāh a crushing defeat at Goa, not even the Portuguese historians have ever asserted that he led into captivity

O Hidalcão do braço triunphante.¹

This, perhaps, is the first great work of Professor Hādī Ḥasan. We congratulate him warmly upon his fair success, and wish that he may continue his valuable researches with what may be a still greater one.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

ZOROASTRIAN STUDIES. The Iranian Religion and various Monographs. By A. V. WILLIAMS JACKSON. Columbia University Indo-Iranian Studies, Vol. XII. pp. xxxiii + 325. New York: Columbia University Press, 1928.

Professor Williams Jackson, to whose unceasing activity Iranian, and especially Zoroastrian, studies owe so much, has in the present volume edited the original English text—necessarily provided with numerous alterations and additions—of his contribution to the *Grundriss* of Geiger and Kuhn on Iranian religion.² To this very valuable treatise he has added some papers of less extent, most of which were hitherto unpublished. The first one is an interesting paper on "The Zoroastrian Doctrine of the Freedom of the Will", the second one consists of a small collection of short notes dealing with Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism from various aspects. Of these later parts of the book we shall have little to say, except that we have read them with considerable interest and learnt several new details from them. The topic of the "Freedom of the Will" has, as the learned author himself admits, scarcely been dealt with exhaustively; however, Professor Jackson's paper will, as we sincerely hope, form a solid basis of future investigations into this fascinating field of research.

The exposition of Iranian religion by Professor Jackson—well-known since twenty-five years ago from the pages of the *Grundriss*—is remarkable for the general soundness of its views and the clear and even flow of its style. It cannot well be described as containing any startling innovations; and it would apparently be quite unjust

¹ *Os Lusíadas*, x, 72.

² Cf. *Grundriss der iranischen Philologie*, ii (1903), 612 sqq.

to accuse Professor Jackson of holding any heretical views in regard to Indo-Iranian religion. But then handbooks should not, as a rule, be given up to heresies; and the present writer has always felt deeply indebted to the author of the *Zoroastrian Studies* for the good guidance he received from several of his works when starting upon his own very modest studies of the Avestan language and the Zoroastrian religion. He now takes great pleasure in acknowledging once more his indebtedness after the perusal of this new book by Professor Jackson.

Zoroaster,¹ the Prophet of Iran, is to us a mysterious person like nearly all the sages of olden times. His time is unknown, though the Pahlavī tradition claims for him dates equivalent to 660-583 B.C., dates endorsed formerly and even now by Professor Jackson. The discussion of this knotty problem might have been somewhat fuller. Not only has Professor Meillet, in a little book otherwise quoted,² claimed for the Prophet a date that nearly coincides with those advocated by Anquetil Duperron and Professor Hertel. Professors Keith³ and Clemen⁴ have, as well as the present writer, contested the altogether insufficient reasons upon which Professor Hertel imagines himself to have proved that Zoroaster was still alive in 522 B.C. As for myself, I feel just as convinced now as before that the date of Zoroaster will be found somewhere in the neighbourhood of 1,000 B.C. Nor have the rather ludicrous assaults of Professor Hertel, in a pamphlet called "Die Methode der arischen Forschung" (1906), made me feel less certain about that. That scientific discussions should be carried on with arguments and not with invectives seems rather a commonplace, though at times one feels inclined to believe that it is not. It also seems clear that the unanimous tradition according to which Zoroaster originated in Western Iran, but preached his doctrine in Bactria, may well rest upon a sound foundation. In Bactria he found support at the court of a certain Vištāspa, probably a petty ruler, though raised by tradition to the rank of a mighty monarch. And the new doctrine which wholly denounced polytheism and bloody sacrifices, had to stand a violent persecution from the

¹ As for the name *Zarathuštra* it is, of course, still unclear (cf. p. 247 sq.) though I have personally no doubt that it means something like "the old camel" or "possessor of old camels". It is somewhat curious that the form *Ζωροάστρης*, which is undoubtedly the oldest transcription that we possess, gives no evidence for the doubtful internal -θ-.

² *Trois conférences sur les Gâthâ de l'Avesta, faites à l'Université d'Upsal*. Paris, 1925.

³ *I.H.Q.*, i, 4 sqq.

⁴ *Zeitschrift für Missionskunde und Religionswissenschaft*, vol. 40, p. 45 sqq.

priests of the old ritual and from the "Seythian" barbarians from beyond the Oxus.

The upholders of the old sacrificial religion are the *kavis*—colleagues of the old *Uśanas Kāvya*, the *purohita* of the *Asuras*—and the *karpans*, probably people connected with the *kalpa*, the ritual. Such persons undoubtedly belonged to the old sacrificial priests of the Indo-Iranians, perpetuated in India since the oldest times by the Brahmins who pressed the Soma, slaughtered the sacrificial animals, and chanted the hymns to the Vedic gods. In Persia they were represented at a later date by the Magi, to the Western world the arch-priests of necromancy and sortilege. That these Magi did for long try to uphold the old religion and withstand the Zoroastrian reform I do not in the slightest degree doubt, but at last they apparently had to yield. When or why they did it we do not know, only that they did. Brahminism in India took over from its rivals, Buddhists, etc., the attitude of abolishing bloody sacrifices and meat-eating and in a very clever way gradually absorbed its opponents. The Magi of Persia from sheer necessity may have adapted themselves to a modified Zoroastrianism that became deeply tinged with their own old doctrines and practices. It would be mere guesswork to suggest, as has already been done, that the revolution of Gaumāta was not wholly a political one, and that Darius Hystaspes through the massacre of the Magi broke also their spiritual resistance.

The religion of the Aryans chiefly consisted in worshipping the great powers of Nature, and may in general have been on the lines well-known from the passage of Herodotus, i, 131 sqq. This polytheistic creed Zoroaster himself violently opposed; but it may not be quite so easy to tell what were the details of his doctrine. The *Gāthās*, unfortunately, offer great difficulties to the interpretation, and numerous passages may still be said to be simply unintelligible. As for the later Avestan texts they undoubtedly contain purely Zoroastrian elements; but these are strongly mixed up with a jumble of doctrines and rituals which may not inadequately be described as containing the religion of the later generations of Magi. Besides, these texts are grammatically in a deplorable state. Whether we shall succeed in reconstructing what is called the *Arsacid Avesta* may be wholly left aside here as being fairly unimportant. For it seems perfectly obvious that no single part of this Avesta could ever be proved to go back directly to the teachings of Zoroaster himself.

But concerning certain fundamental doctrines of Zoroaster, there

can happily be little doubt. The Prophet was a fervent upholder of a monotheistic doctrine according to which there existed only one supreme God, *Ahura Mazdāh* "Our Lord Wisdom", or something like that. Of this God, Zoroaster is the prophet just as Muhammad is the prophet of Allah; and in his prophetship he had been instituted through a series of visions (*Yasna*, 43) to which he was brought by the archangel Vohu Manah just as Gabriel summoned the Arabian prophet into the presence of the very Highest. *Ahura Mazdāh*, however, has a twin-brother (*Yasna*, 30, 3 sq., cf. 45, 2), the Evil Spirit, the leader of the host of demons and sinners, who will hold his own until the final decision when the powers of Good will for ever annihilate their opponents. That good men—i.e. the adherents of the Zoroastrian religion—will finally inherit Paradise is sure and certain; and it is just as sure and certain that the upholders of Evil will be hurled into the boundless abode of torments and will in the end perish in the purifying stream of molten metal. Nor can Zoroaster, like Muhammad, be said to have been inaccessible to a "pious" joy, while contemplating the horrors that are in store for the unbelievers. The *Gāthās* further give ample indications that Zoroaster looked upon agriculture and the protection of kine as works promotive of piety and was staunchly opposed to the nomadic mode of life.

We have no sure means for ascertaining from what sources Zoroaster drew the inspiration of these fairly revolutionary doctrines. It may well be that there existed, within the Aryan religion, monotheistic tendencies of which we are not now aware; and it is certainly remarkable that Varuṇa, the Indian counterpart of *Ahura Mazdāh*, is some times looked upon by his adherents as the highest God, the other gods being only his humble satellites.¹ However, if Zoroaster was really a native of Western Iran, he may well have at an early period of his life come under the influence of monotheistic influences prevalent in neighbouring un-Aryan religions.

But we shall go no further with these somewhat perfunctory remarks. Before taking leave of the very useful work of Professor Jackson, to whom we wish to express once more our deep gratitude, we shall only allow ourselves a short remark upon one or two interesting details.

According to the Zoroastrian doctrine (p. 29) the abode of the

¹ On Varuṇa, cf. the interesting, but highly uneven and confused, work by Professor Guntert called *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* (1923); G. undoubtedly has advanced some rather striking ideas, but he is seriously hampered by his ignorance of everything Indian.

blessed is in the South, while Hell is situated in the extreme North. It is well known that Hindu theology has located the realm of Death in the South, while the North holds the abode of the gods and of the blissful Uttarakurus. It seems very difficult indeed to form an opinion of the relative primitiveness of these undoubtedly connected ideas. If, however, the Aryans penetrated into Iran and India from some more northerly home such as Central Asia¹ and carried with them from there a common idea of an abode of Death—turned by Zoroaster into an abode of Satan and his hosts—it seems probable enough that such a place was originally localized in the extreme North, the home of darkness and cold. That the Hindus should have inverted this idea and made Death reside in the sultry and pestiferous regions of the South does not seem altogether astonishing.

The arch-devil *Indra*, according to Zoroastrian theology, is the special foe of the archangel *Aša* (*Vahišta*).² The word *aša*-, whatever be its real phonetic value, is the equivalent of Skt. *ṛta*-, and *ṛta*-, of course, is the special possession of the great god Varuṇa, who is undoubtedly the Indian counterpart of Ahura Mazdāh. The suggestion is perhaps permissible, if nothing more, that the enmity of Indra towards *Aša* is in some way connected with the undoubted rivalry between Indra and Varuṇa in the Rigveda.

On p. 104, Professor Jackson speaks of the Avestan *pairikā*, the Persian *perī*. It would have been interesting to know his opinion concerning the contested etymology of this difficult word.³

And, finally, a mere question. In his chapter on Manichæism Professor Jackson (p. 188) mentions the well-known tradition, that the mother of the heresiarch Mānī belonged to the family of the Arsacides.⁴ Now it is quite true that the King of Kings Bahrām I, persecuted Mānī and condemned him to a most horrible death, partly for political reasons and partly because his doctrine appeared to the Persian clergy to be immoral, and a travesty of the Mazdayasnian religion.⁵ But may not blood-relationship with a dynasty that had been dethroned by the Sassanians have also formed a reason for annihilating a man who proved to be dangerous already from other points of view?

JARL CHARPENTIER.

¹ Cf. this *Bulletin*, iv, 147 sqq.

² Cf. Jackson, p. 49.

³ Cf. Wackernagel, *Festschrift E. Kuhn*, p. 161 n.; Gántert, *Kalypso*, p. 259 sqq.; Thurneysen, *Indogerm. Forsch.*, lii, 143 sqq., etc.

⁴ Cf. however, Flügel, *Mani seine Lehre und seine Schriften*, p. 119 sq.

⁵ Cf. also Labourt, *Le Christianisme dans l'Empire Perse*, p. 43.

A PORTUGUESE EMBASSY TO JAPAN (1644-1647). Translated from an unpublished Portuguese MS., and other contemporary sources, with commentary and appendices. By C. R. BOXER. pp. viii + 64. Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Co., Ltd., London, 1928.

It gives me great pleasure to write a short notice of this useful and interesting little book. For, although several monumental works have been presented to us by Father Schurhammer, S.J., Dr. O. Nachod, and others, materials that throw light on this comparatively obscure period of Japanese history are none too plentiful, and the present work of Lieut. Boxer's is indeed a welcome contribution.

The narrative of the Portuguese tells us that in January, 1644, King Dom João IV sent Gonçalo de Siqueira de Sousa to Japan as Ambassador, accompanied by two galleons, with a view to restoring "Friendship and Intercourse" that had been broken off between the two countries for more than half a century. Hampered by various difficulties and misfortunes, the Embassy reached Iwō-jima, near Nagasaki, on the 26th July, 1647, only to rouse the suspicions of the Japanese as being a mission sent for the propagation of the Christian faith or for trade. The calm and patience with which the Ambassador and his staff faced the ordeal of probable death made no favourable impression on the Japanese Government, which ordered them to leave in accordance with the Edict that had been proclaimed some years earlier, on the prohibition of Christian and trade missions from foreign countries. Thus with bitter resentment, the unfortunate Embassy left Nagasaki for the city of Macau on 4th September, of the same year.

The contemporary Dutch account, an extract of which is given in the Appendix, offers an interesting comparison with the Portuguese narrative, as it was compiled on the spot from day to day, whilst the latter was apparently drawn up some months later.

The reader may find for himself that the subject is well studied, and if the translation is not strikingly beautiful, it is due solely to the translator's endeavour to retain the accuracy of the original manuscript which, we are told, is "woefully deficient in both grammar and punctuation".

It is to be hoped that with his thoroughness Mr. Boxer will reveal still more details of the early relations between Japan and Europe.

S. YOSHITAKE.

CHINESE GHOULS AND GOBLINS. By G. WILLOUGHBY-MEADE.
London: Constable, 1928.

In this little book Mr. Willoughby-Meade makes no claim to scientific treatment of his subject, his object being, so he himself tells us, "to interest those who care for such things (ghost stories); but it is also an aim of the compiler to show, wherever possible, that the minds of the numerous but much abused and misjudged people of China differ in no important respect from any other races in the face of happenings which they do not understand. The Mediterranean peoples may truly and fairly boast of their ancient and original civilization, which has spread over the major part of the earth. Many of the writers, however, who glory in this not only do their best to belittle the culture of Eastern Asia—solely because it has not been proved to be of Mediterranean origin—but they go so far as to write of the East Asian as if he were a glaring anomaly, a bewildering exception to our generally received notions of humanity. It is in the hope of fighting—to the best of my power—against this narrow, unjust, and unscientific attitude that I have ventured beyond the limits of folk-lore into the region of anthropology, and have insisted, in season and out of season, upon the unity of the human race."

Certainly those who care for tales of devils, monsters, ghosts, vampires, and "things that go bump in the night", will find here a fine collection of folk-tales and legends admirably told. The author's explanations of the truths underlying the stories may be less acceptable, and to endeavour to unite East and West in the spirit-world is no easy task. Mr. Willoughby-Meade himself seems to be conscious of this when he writes: "In my views on *Totemism* I am prepared for criticism. Perhaps I have tried to prove too much; perhaps I am unduly inclined to accept an easy, obvious, and inoffensive solution to the dark mystery of the 'were-animal' myth. . . . In any event there must remain an element of mystery in the working of the human mind and in the tales told about it." In mystery lies charm, certainly in the telling of tales, and we prefer some of the stories to the explanations. Here, for example is a delightful tale which we feel needs no explanation beyond the empty wine-cups:

"There once lived in Peking two friends, Hsiung, an historiographer, and Chuang, a magistrate. They mostly spent their evenings together, one night in Hsiung's house and another in Chuang's.

" One night they were taking their wine together at Chuang's when the host was urgently called away, while Hsiung sat and waited for his return. To pass the time he poured himself out a cup of wine—and suddenly it vanished. He took another cup and filled it. A blue hand came from under the table and seized the cup. Hsiung was startled and stood up; whereupon a tall devil, all blue from head to foot, came from under the table. Hsiung called for help, but two servants who ran into the room saw nothing. The blue devil had vanished. Shortly afterwards Chuang came back and made fun of Hsiung. 'I bet,' said he, 'that you would not dare pass the night here.' 'Why not?' said Hsiung. So he prepared a couch and some bedclothes and fetched his sword. This weapon had belonged to a Tartar general, and had served him well in a campaign in the Ko-Ko-Nor. Chuang wished him good-night and left him.

" The autumn wind rustled and the moon gave a pale light, and a small lamp burned behind a green curtain, which shaded Hsiung's couch. He did not expect to be undisturbed and lay awake.

" Suddenly an empty wine-cup fell on the table, and then a second one. 'Hello, he's returning the empties!' thought Hsiung. Immediately afterwards a blue leg came through the eastern window, then an arm, an eye, an ear, half a mouth and half a nose. Through the western window came, at the same time, the other half of the mouth and of the nose, and a second ear, eye, and blue leg. They met in the middle of the room and joined together. The blue devil glared angrily at Hsiung, while an icy wind shook the curtain. Hsiung brandished his sword and made a dash at the demon, dealing it a heavy blow on the arm. The devil jumped out of the window, Hsiung after it. He had nearly reached it when the demon dodged behind a cherry-tree. Hsiung then went back to bed. Next morning Chuang, on his way to the room where Hsiung had spent the night, was seriously alarmed to see a track of blood in the garden. Hsiung, who was quite unhurt, related his adventure. Chuang had the cherry-tree cut down and chopped to pieces, and every piece of its wood smelt of wine."

The publishers, Messrs. Constable, are to be congratulated upon the production of the book and the illustrations. A copious and useful index is included, but the Bibliography leaves much to be desired.

E. D. EDWARDS.

THE MYTHOLOGY OF ALL RACES. Edited by CANON JOHN A. MACCULLOCH and GEORGE F. MOORE. Volume VIII: Chinese, by JOHN C. FERGUSON. Japanese, by MASAHARU ANESAKI. 8vo, pp. 416. Marshall Jones Company, Boston, Mass., 1928.

This is the eighth volume of a series of thirteen known under the general title of "Mythology of all Races", edited by Canon J. Arnott MacCulloch, D.D., for the Archaeological Institute of America.

Dr. Ferguson himself would describe his share of this book as an Outline of Chinese Mythology. Any exhaustive study of the subject would require many volumes and the author has adopted the safe and space-saving method of avoiding all comparisons between the myths of China and those of other countries.

The stories related have reference to the powers of nature, the origin of created things or the growth of governmental institutions. Dr. Ferguson takes as his starting-point Taoism, which has gathered round it almost all the mythological characters of Chinese history, and he stresses the fact that it was only after Taoism had become established as a religion that mythological subjects were emphasized. Of Taoism there are three stages—the first, ethical, the Taoism of Lao Tzū and his writings; the second, magical, centred round the person of Chang Tao-ling, who gave himself to the study of alchemy, and thus ushered in the stage of the development of the magical arts, a stage based on the *Book of Changes*, rather than on the work of Lao Tzū; the third, that of an organized religion, which began during the T'ang dynasty, in the seventh century A.D. In its religious aspect Taoism is an imitation of Buddhism, and to match the personages of the holy ones introduced by Buddhism from India, Taoism made a search of early Chinese history, with the result that Taoism is of purely Chinese origin, though Buddhist in form and in organization. Of the three religions of China, Confucianism confines itself to the great men to whose humane virtues was due established government, while Buddhism leads into the far fields of early Indian mythology, and it is in Taoism, says Dr. Ferguson, "that we find incorporated all the mythological characters of early China, and their theories of life and the universe."

After a chapter dealing with the early rulers of China, there follow, among others, chapters on Cosmogony and Cosmological Theories, the Spirits of Nature, Great National Heroes, and Occultism. The author has outlined the varied aspects of his subject in such a manner

that his work will be found of great service as a general guide to Chinese Mythology.

"The Yamato race," says Dr. Anesaki, "always believed in its descent from Heaven, and worshipped the Sun-goddess as the ancestress of the ruling family if not of all the people." No need, then, for the Japanese to seek for deities among their early rulers. This practical, perhaps prosaic, method of the Chinese was wholly foreign to the Japanese, always intensely susceptible to the impressions of nature, sensitive to the varied aspects of human life and ready to accept foreign suggestions. The wonder of the scenery of Japan tended, of itself, to create fairies, semi-celestial beings and strange genii, and when the mystic flights of Buddhism reached Japan they greatly influenced both its mythology and its folk-lore.

Dr. Anesaki divides the stories of mythology and folk-lore into four classes: (1) Cosmological myths and stories, (2) Products of the imagination, (3) Romantic stories, (4) Moral tales. With each of these subjects he deals in turn, as adequately as entertainingly.

Altogether, the work is one that should be of interest and assistance to students of China and Japan. In the production of the volume a high degree of success has been attained, particularly with regard to the illustrations.

E. D. EDWARDS.

FRIENDLY SIAM. By EBBE KORNERUP. Translated from the Danish by M. GUITERMAN: pp. xii + 256. London and New York: G. P. Putnam's Son, Ltd., 1928.

This book is the work of an experienced and observant traveller who spent long months in wandering up and down the country, and thus it has nothing in common with the too frequent type of modern travel book written by the tourist who steps ashore for a few hours from the luxurious liner at a great port, and then repairs aboard in the evening to record his impressions of the country in general for eventual publication. Mr. Kornerup, without presuming to be authoritative, gives a very good bird's eye view of what the visitor to Siam may see if he is something more than the ordinary tourist, and is prepared to spare the time and take advantage of the very varied means of locomotion which can convey him to all parts of the country.

Friendly Siam is an apt title for the book, for perhaps no country in Asia has such a ready welcome for strangers who come to her

shores in a spirit of sympathetic interest. An excellent railway system traverses the country in the chief directions, and there are comfortable hotels and resthouses in the chief towns, while the more ambitious traveller who wishes to tramp through the jungle or to fly over it, to wander on elephant-back or by buffalo-cart, or to float down rivers on rafts, as did Mr. Kornerup, will find every assistance afforded him.

Mr. Kornerup entered Siam by Siam's back door, walking over the mountains from Burma, and one would wish to know more about the journey than the short account which the author gives. Difficulties are great in opening up modern communications with Burma across the mountains and now that Siam is so easy of access by rail and sea from the south and east, one may perhaps be permitted to hope that that age-old track, across which invading armies and caravans used to pass, and early Christian missionaries penetrated to Siam, may for long be reserved for the more hardy and courageous traveller alone.

The author first takes us to Northern Siam, that mountainous land of teak forests and beautiful rivers inhabited by the Lao, fair-skinned cousins of the Siamese proper, and one of the most delightful races in the world. He sails for weeks down that magnificent stream the Mekong, visiting the remote French protectorate of Luang Prabang, inhabited by Lao, and separated, temporarily he hopes, by the Mekong from their brothers in Siam. Thence he makes use of an aeroplane to fly across the vast, ill-watered plateau of Eastern Siam, the least attractive part of the country. Another section deals with Southern Siam, that narrow neck of land through which the international express rushes twice weekly to Penang. This is the best developed portion of Siam, with macadamized roads, prosperous tin mines, rubber estates and the fashionable seaside resort of Hua Hin.

The last part of the book deals with Central Siam, a great rice plain with its network of rivers and canals, the true home of the Siamese, and the source of the country's wealth. Here are the picturesque villages of floating houses, the ruins of ancient capitals, and lastly the great modern city of Bangkok, with its western amenities, its seething Chinese commercial community, its royal palaces, and its glorious Buddhist temples. One might have expected a fuller account of these temples and of the ruined cities of Central Siam, since they are to many people the greatest attractions of the country.

Mr. Kornerup speaks of the Siamese as "perhaps the most human

of all the brachycephalic races", and it is this characteristic which makes them more easily understood by Europeans than are most Asiatics, so that the sympathetic traveller, though he speak no word of the language, may yet appreciate not only the point of view of the educated class in Bangkok, but also much of the life and thought of the yellow-robed monk and the primitive peasant that he meets up country.

The book is well illustrated with the author's photographs (though the inclusion of one or two incorrectly named pictures from Angkor is evidently a mistake), and the style would seem to suffer little in translation from the Danish. It is really the only recent book covering travel in all parts of the country, and as such should be an admirable introduction to Siam for the intending tourist. Old residents, too, even if they have not had opportunities for extended travel, may well find entertainment in its pages, and will appreciate better than anyone else such delightful stories as those of the Lao girl's anxiety over the lunar eclipse and the lovelorn princess at Hua Hin.

H. G. QUARITCH WALES.

MANUAL OF EGYPTIAN ARABIC. By Lieut.-Col. D. C. PHILLOTT, M.A., etc., and A. POWELL, B.L. pp. iv + 911. Cairo, 1926. 26s.

It is difficult to know where to commence a review of this work! The book is so bulky, and contains so much material that one feels that a critique that is not thorough must necessarily be unfair.

The book is a mine of idiomatic usage, betraying a profound knowledge of the language of modern Egypt and the mentality of the people, and yet is open to at least two serious criticisms.

The first is the system of transliteration, which may be suitable for Persian, but is certainly not suitable for modern Egyptian. I refer especially to the transliteration of ض by *z*, the ث (which usually becomes *t* in Egyptian) by *s*, the ج by *j*, and the classical representation of diphthongs, e.g. *bayt* for "house" which is invariably pronounced *bēt* in Modern Egyptian (see Introduction, page xv, para. (2)). Similar remarks can be made as regards the representation of the diphthong *aw*. It is this misrepresentation in the transliteration which renders the book so open to adverse criticism, and no amount of explanation in the preface can justify a misleading transliteration of a colloquial speech.

The authors in the preface say: "Stress, accent and intonation have to be learnt by ear and expressed by the tongue. Ordinary people cannot acquire these by means of symbols and musical notes however scientific, nor by elaborate drilling of lips and tongue, nor by book study alone."

Even if these remarks may be true, or partially true, with regard to any language, why make it still more difficult by adopting a misleading transliteration such as a *z* for a ض, or a *j* for a ج, when dealing with Egyptian Arabic? Again, in the preface it is recommended that "Lessons should as far as possible be read aloud to oneself." One might ask "How can the student do this if the transliteration does not represent the sounds of the colloquial?"

Helping vowels are very seldom shown in the text, though this is touched on (Introduction, page xxii). The authors in their preface acknowledge their debt to previous grammarians, and of modern colloquial authors mention Spiro and Willmore, but curiously enough have omitted to mention the late Canon Gairdner, who did so much for the modern language. This is a pity as, however much one may disagree with Canon Gairdner's very scientific phonetic system, it is impossible to ignore it. Possibly the remark from the Introduction quoted above refers to Canon Gairdner's system.

Many will agree with the authors in rejecting such a system, on the ground that it is too complicated, but no one can bring this charge against Willmore. In the opinion of the reviewer, it would have been better to have adopted Willmore's system except as regards his method of transliterating doubled consonants in such words as

طَيِّب and سَوَّاق by *ṭayyib* and *sawwāq*. The authors, one is glad to note, transliterate such words *ṭayyib* and *sawwāq* showing the doubled *y* and *w*.

Surely if the authors wished to preserve the etymology of the language in the Arabic, they could have attempted a phonetic rendering in Roman characters.

The second serious criticism is the admixture of literary and colloquial which must be considered an unsatisfactory feature. It would have been better to have kept to the colloquial, as Willmore and Gairdner have done, or to have at least explained the literary usages.

For example on page 38 one finds الكلب له اربع رجلين, a beautiful

touch of colloquialism showing the strange use of the dual and then in the next line هي حقوق ثابتة which is straight out of Thatcher. The expression on page 588 *warā al buḥūr* for beyond the seas is never used in the colloquial, the literary expression is *warā-l-biḥār*. In colloquial I am told the expression used is always *bilāl barra*.

لا بد من الذهاب *la budd min az-zihāb* is very literary except for the omission of the *a* in *budd* for *budda*. These are only a few instances. It is true that compared with the colloquial the literary examples are not numerous, but how is the beginner to know?

In a book of this size there are a number of misprints and errors which have been overlooked, but apart from these it would appear as though several phrases had been incorrectly caught.

In these examples I am following the authors' transliteration:—

Page 438, line 19, زي القاعدة *zayy al-qā'ida* for زي العادة *zayy al-'āda*. *Qā'ida* is a rule, but *'āda* a custom.

Page 624, ضربوا تدبير سيموا looks uncommonly like a mishearing of etc. دبروا تدبير *dabbarū tadbīr*, etc. I am told that *darab* would not be used in such a phrase, but that one could say عملوا تدبير على شان سيموه *'amalū tadbīr 'ala shān yisimmūh*.

Page 651, عن ابوه هو صياد على ابوه.

Page 418, استشير انا رايح استشار الحكيم or better still, أشاور. One should note that this word in Modern Egyptian would not be pronounced *ashāwir* or *ashāwar*, but with a shortening of the second *a*, which would make one think the word was of the 2nd form اشور.

Page 662, مش تحت خبر for مش تحت الخبر, i.e. omitting the article which has been mistaken for the helping vowel.

This phrase is familiar to me, though it is not so to all Egyptians. Possibly it is an expression used more in the South and the Sudan.

Apart from the literary usages referred to, it seems a pity that the authors have not distinguished between Lower Egyptian, Cairene, and Upper Egyptian. It is possible to class the first two together, as, except for an occasional difference in stress, they approximate one another; but Upper Egyptian, especially south of Assiut, is very different, and in many usages seems nearer to the language of the Sudan.

Having pointed out what seem to be the weak points in the book, it is with some pleasure that we turn to the other side.

The work contains 64 chapters or lessons—one wishes that the references were to pages and not lessons, especially as many of the cross references are wrongly given—and nearly every lesson contains a definite portion of grammar or vocabulary, and then sentences. Much of the grammar is too classical in a work of this sort, but otherwise very good indeed. The grammar is followed by a vocabulary and then the gem of the lesson, the sentences. No one who has not spent a lifetime in Egypt could have collected such a wonderful and varied assortment of idioms and bon-mots, and one can picture Mr. Powell—one feels that he alone could have had the experience to have supplied this part—in the Courts, in the trains, trams, fields, cafés, in short everywhere, culling these gems from the mouths of the natives and jotting them down in a notebook. Little touches such as

Page 78, احنا ايه في الايام "what day of the week is it?"

Page 425, "God protect me from (الطير دا) these teasing flies."

طير is usually applied to a largish bird, such as a kite.

This use of طير for a fly, which is the literal translation as the root means "to fly", is common in the Sudan as well as in Egypt.

Again, page 428, جا على عين الدمل فقعهما "He hit the right nail on the head (lit. he went right on the eye of the boil and squeezed it)," and on page 705, عاوزك في كلمه ورد غطاها "I want just one word with you" (lit. for one word and an answer, its cover).

Surely the part in brackets should be translated (for one word and the putting back of the cover). The word رَدّ here is a verbal noun, meaning "restoring" or "putting back". Otherwise the gist of the saying is missed, which, as I picture it, is just lifting the cover of a cooking pot for a moment. What could be more expressive?

Page 163. In contrast to *al baḥr shab'ān* "the river is deep", lit. "satisfied" or "full", note that in the Sudan the natives always say *al baḥ(a)r nāshif* "the river is dry" for shallow.

Attention is drawn to the following:—

Page 312, سَكْتْنَا لَهُ دَخَلَ بِحِمَارِهِ "we gave him an inch", etc. (lit. "we kept silent to him and he came in with his donkey").

Page 335, مَدَّ شَوْبَهُ, etc., "walk out a bit" (lit. "stretch out").

Page 372, "Come here, don't be silly, behave like a man" (خَلَيْكَ رَاجِلًا).

Page 396, كَانَ جَايَ لِي فِكْرُهُ أَضْرِبُهُ "I felt like hitting him".

Page 401, "He took to his heels and ran," which is expressed by سَحَبَ دِيلَهُ فِي سَنَانِهِ وَطَارَ, which, of course, refers to the way boys in Egypt hold up the skirts of their *gallabias* with their teeth to give them greater freedom to run. اتَدَفَّوْا طَيِّبَ أَحْسَنِ الدُّنْيَا بَرْدٍ *it-daffū ṭayyib aḥsan ad-dīnya bard* "warm yourself well as it is cold". Page 439.

Page 553, أَسْهَلَ لِلَّهِ إِنْهُ يَخْلُقُ وَاحِدَ جَدِيدٍ غَيْرَ لِي مِنْ كَوْنِهِ *ashal li'llah inn-uh yikhlūq wāḥid jidīd ḡhayr-ak min kōn-uh yiragga' fik* (authors' transliteration) "It would be easier for God to create a new man than to patch up such a cripple as thou."

One could go on pointing out little touches, such as on

Page 339, دَقَّ فِيَّ إِلَّا آكُلُ *daqq fiyy' illā ākul*, and on the same page لِمَ لِسَانُكَ *limm lisān-ak* (instead of the ordinary *uskut*) "hold your tongue" (lit. collect your tongue), and on page 704, عَدَّتْ الْبَحْرَ

وما اتبل ش 'adda al-bahr wa mā itbil sh "he got off scot-free" (he crossed the river without getting wet), and on page 707, رايح احاسب rāyih aḥāsib al qādī "I have to see a man about a dog", which literally is "I am going to make a reckoning with the Kādī", but the above examples will suffice to give an idea of the very idiomatic colloquialisms contained in these sentences.

This part of the work is a real contribution, as one feels that much of the rest of the book could have been compiled, but this part "No"—only personal contact with the people, and studious observation of their habits and methods of expression could supply this part. The other part of the lesson is taken up with an exercise, and under it the translation. This part is also excellent apart from the numerous misprints.

Lesson 63 contains some very useful and idiomatic usages of some of the commoner verbs and substantives, etc.

Lesson 64, Arabicisms, Proverbs, etc., and finally there is a collection of some excellent stories.

I should like also to draw attention to the remarks on page 106 on the use and misuse of ما عيش. It is singularly unfortunate for the native servant that when he apologizes for breaking a cup that the same phrase can mean "never mind".

Note the graphic use of the personal for the impersonal on page 147, المسمار مش عواز يطلع "the nail won't come out", where in a similar phrase in the Sudan, aba "refused" would be used.

To conclude, this *Manual of Egyptian Arabic* is not a book one can recommend to a beginner, but the advanced student will revel in the number and variety of the phrases and idioms.

Attached is a list, by no means exhaustive, of misprints and errors, and some more detailed criticisms.

INTRODUCTION

Page xiii. It is interesting to note the pronunciation of غ as ق in some parts of Upper Egypt. This pronunciation is so prevalent in the Sudan that the Education Department recently issued a brochure

explaining the difference in pronunciation between the two letters in classical usage.

Note 2 on page xv. But is the long *ā* in *Khān* ever pronounced as the *a* in "tram"?

Page xx (l) حَارَّ *hārr*^{un}.

It ought to be explained that as regards this rule, Modern Egyptian is even stricter than Classical Arabic. *Vide* proverb (41) on page 777,

الميت كلب والجانازه حاره, transliterated *al mayyit kalb wa-l-janāza hārra*. The last part would be pronounced *wa-l-gināza hārra*. Willmore has *hāra* "a quarter of the town" or "by lane", which does not make such good sense.

Page xxi (n.) (iii). Surely it would have been better to have said that the stress is generally on the penultimate, and must be so when two consonants follow the penultimate as in the instances quoted, *ūmdah* and *takāllim*, and is even thrown on to the penultimate in Modern Egyptian in such words as *madrāsa*, *maḥkāma*, see page xxii (vi). In the Sudan the stress would be on the first syllable in the last two instances, as in Upper Egypt.

Again, page xxi (n.) (iii) referred to, does not allow for a word like *ḥūkama* the plural of *ḥakīm*, where the stress would be thrown on to the first syllable as in "Canada".

Page 2, line 3, شفت واحد راجل, etc. Modern grammars all give *wāḥid* as the equivalent of the indefinite article in Modern Egyptian, but I am told that it is usually only applied to a species or class. The numerous tales given in Willmore and Elder's colloquial reader corroborate this. I find *wāḥid* given with *fallāḥ*, *gāḥil*, *hashshāsh*, *fiki*, *ṣayyād*, *shāmī*, *Muslim*, but not with *rāḡil*. I am inclined to think that the expression *wāḥid rāḡil*, which is so often heard on the lips of Europeans, has been picked up from Berberine servants.

Page 5. It is curious that the authors should write إمشى إجري as it is not so written in the classical or so pronounced in the colloquial. Willmore and his predecessors adopted this long *i*, but I note that Gairdner does not do so.

This long *i* has always puzzled me. Does the true sound come somewhere midway between short and long?

Page 8, line 9. The expression *kān fih ḥadd hināk* is more usual.

Page 9. Two misprints of **فِي** for **فِيهِ** in Arabic of (3) and (17).

Page 11, line 2. Misprint "singular" for "feminine".

Page 13, line 3. *Ta'ābīn* appears to be the usual plural in use for "snake".

Page 17, line 13. "To-night," etc., not "the night".

Page 21, line 4. The expression **رِجَالٌ طَيِّبَةٌ** does not appear to be in use, but expressions such as **هُمُ نَاسٌ حَرَامِيَّةٌ** *humma nās harāmiyya*, **أَوْلَادٌ عُصْبِيَّةٌ** *awlād 'usbagiyya*, which do not exactly mean "they are thieves" and "mischievous boys" but rather "they are a bad lot" and "boys inclined to be mischievous".

Page 23, line 18. It should be noted that if used predicatively, a plural can follow *kām*, as *kām bagarātak* "how many (are) your cows", *kām iyyām il usbū* "how many are the days of the week", where *kām* is short for *kām wāḥid*.

Page 27, line 19. *Wa-lā* means "nor", but *walla* "or".

Page 32, lines 22 and 24. *Alam* is "pain", not "grief", and *rukn* is "corner". The classical phrase **أَرْكَانُ الدَّوْلَةِ** is often translated "pillars of the state", but it is misleading to translate **رُكْنٌ** as pillar. See page 439, third sentence, where *rukn* as corner occurs.

Page 34, line 9. *Ṣuḥuf* is generally applied to newspapers (though the colloquial word used is *garā'id* or *garā'nīl*) and *ṣahā'if* to pages.

Page 37, line 3 (Arabic). **أَمَّا رَاجِلٌ طَوِيلٌ** without the article, "what a tall man?" evidently an error that has been overlooked, see page 687, first line.

Page 39. *Amīr* plur. *umarā*. Prince often means courteous in colloquial. *Dōl nās umarā* "they are courteous people".

Page 40. *Aqārib* classical, usually *qarā'ib* in colloquial "near relatives".

Page 43, line 19 (English). You would either have to say in Egyptian colloquial *fātima shāfituh* uncontracted, or *fatma shaftuh* contracted. In the Sudan *shāftuh* would be permissible, and possibly in Upper Egypt.

Page 51, line 19. *Bint liya* for *binti*, and the omission of the *bi-* to express the present continuous in page 45, line 6, يلعبوا, and page 55, line 6, يشتغلوا, is surely rather classical.

Page 71, line 9 (Arabic). *Tarbūsh* is generally spelt طربوش.

Page 81. مین الی قتله مین الی سرقه can only mean "who murdered him, who robbed him?" But "whom did he murder, whom did he rob?" would be مین (هو) سرق مین (هو).

Page 87 (f), fifth sentence. كان مین و مین من الضباط lit. "who and who of the officers were present? Such and such officers" would be فلان و فلان من الضباط.

Page 89, line 21. *Zayy-nā* could not be pronounced, a helping vowel is necessary *Zayy(i)nā*.

Page 97. Surely *i'mil ṣawāb* should be *i'mil sawāb (thawāb)*, Arabic ثَوَاب (not صَوَاب) means "charity", "alms".

Page 103, line 2 (Arabic). وفی should be فی; the و is apparently a misprint, also line 7 غیام should be غیم *ghiyam*.

Page 107. The word موت علی دا *da* seems to have crept in غفله.

Page 127. I am told that the phrase *ghasaluk fumm* is only used for clothes, not persons.

Page 136, line 18. رفضه misprint for رفصه.

Page 138, second sentence. قرشی misprint for قرش.

Page 139. قتلوه عن آخره looks like an attempt to set a classical phrase to a colloquial setting by using the active voice for the passive.

Page 140. أنا شربت برد. The Arabic is not completed.

I am not quite certain what is intended. I am told the phrase is unusual.

Page 151, line 4 (Arabic). *فِي تَعْلِيمِ الْعَرَبِي*, lit. this means "teaching Arabic" not "learning". If it is meant as a colloquialism, it should be explained, otherwise it is very confusing for students.

Page 154, last line but one. *تَغِيبَ* misprint for *تَضِيبَ*.

Page 164, line 8. *أَنْتَ* looks as though it were a misprint for *أَنْتِ*.

Page 179, fourth phrase, beginning *يَا شَيْخَ*; there are two misprints, *تَخَافَ* for *تَحْذَرُ* and *أَدَى* for *أَدَّى*.

Page 180, line 4. *Imta tiftah*. Is not this a preservation in colloquial of an original passive *tuftah*?

Page 207. *أَمْسَى*, misprint for *أَمْسَى*.

Page 220, line 17. *شَغَلَ* in the first form in colloquial means "to occupy". *أَنَا شَغَلْتُ الْاُودَةَ دَى* *ana shaghalt*, etc., "I occupied this room." *مَا تَشْغَلْنِيْشَ* "Don't worry me" is really a corruption of the 4th form, like *yimkinak* "you will be able" for *yumkinak*. The 2nd form *شَغَّلَ* means "to employ" or "work anyone".

Page 297 (Arabic) second line. *تَتَسَغَّلَ* misprint for *تَتَسَلَّلَ*.

Page 319, fifth sentence. *لَازِمٌ تَكْشِفُ كَشْفَ طِبِّى* *lāzim tikshif kashf ṭibbī*.

I was inclined to think that this was a survival of the classical passive, but I am told that it is not, but it seems to me difficult to explain otherwise. The real expression if the classical passive were used would be *يُكْشَفُ عَلَيَّ*.

Page 333. *Shamm al hawā* "to take the air", but the second

meaning given "catch cold" does not seem to be common. To catch cold is usually *khad hawā* or *khad bard*.

Page 355. *Mā yit'akkid-sh*, etc., seems to be a mistake for *mā yit'akkid-sh*. See page 359, line 15.

Page 365. In colloquial "forty past one" is usually *itnēn illa tūt*, not *wāhid wa silsay*.

Page 390, line 2. ما توجع ش راسك *'ma tūja'sh rāsak*. This is evidently the 4th form of the verb, classical *tūji'* becoming *tūga'* in colloquial. This is interesting, as, phonetically, it is what one would expect when the "j" sound is changed to a "g" sound.

Page 391, line 6. مَا تَنْفُضْ. The verb is نَفَضَ, possibly a confusion with the Persian pronunciation of ض.

Page 415, line 1. عليه misprint for عليه.

Page 417, fifth sentence. The difference between *yitūl* "to be long" and *yitcal* "to become long", so "grow" might be noted here. E.g. *lamma al guṭn yitcal* "when the cotton grows".

line 20, should be انا رايح مختار *ana rāyih muḥtar* for انا رايح أختار.

Page 419, line 11. خلصت misprint for خلصت.

Page 421. I am told that ساح never means overflow, but I see Spiro gives it.

Page 426, footnote. *Pisānak* misprint for *lisānak*.

Page 446. تَنْظُ misprint for تَنْظُ.

Page 462. انا مش ملاقيه *ana mash mallaqiya* for انا مش لاقية, which is, I am told, more usual.

Page 478, line 11. ما جات ش has been left out in error at the end of the phrase; otherwise it is not complete. Probably a printer's error.

Page 485, last sentence. حَقَّ I am told is not correct, but should be الحقيقه. *Haqqan* used adverbially occurs in the tale, page 860, line 14, and page 864, line 6.

Page 527, fourth sentence. *يجهز* should be *يجهز* for the sense

Page 556, line 6. *استأزوا*, misprint for *إشئأزوا*.

Page 566, line 9. The usual plural of *kātib* in sense of a writer or contribution is *kuttāb*.

Page 589, line 3 of Arabic. *لغيط* misprint for *لغاية*.

Page 590, line 5 of Arabic. *منتتره* misprint for *منتتره*.

Page 597, line 17. *Sakrūt* is more usual than *sukrūt*, I am told.

Page 599, line 16. The repetition of the previous sentence without the second *يا* looks like a printer's error.

Page 601, line 19. *Gharshay* evidently misprint for *ghirshi*, which is given correctly on page 668.

Page 603, footnote. *Zimma* misprint for *rimma*.

On page 630, last line but one. I am told that if one wanted to say "these horses of mine are fine", it would be *الخيول بتوعى* *دول عال*. In this case there would be no ambiguity.

Page 703, first sentence. *العبنى* *il'abnī* is evidently a mistake for *لآعبنى* *lā'ibnī*, the 3rd form, as this word occurs elsewhere in this sense. *Vide* page 256, second sentence, and page 488, line 2.

Page 707, last sentence. *لسان* *lisān* must be a misprint for *lisānu*.

In compiling these notes I wish to acknowledge my great debt to Nasim Eff. Simaan, head master of the Coptic school in Khartoum, who drew my attention to by far the greater number of the points I have remarked on. I wish further to thank my colleague, Sheikh Hāmed Eff. Abdel Kader, of the School of Oriental Studies, for many helpful criticisms, and for correcting a number of my own errors. It is to be hoped that these notes will be of use to the authors when they publish their list of corrections. I have tried to check my criticisms as far as possible, but must hold myself responsible for any errors or wrong interpretations.

G. E. ILES.

REPORT OF THE REJAF LANGUAGE CONFERENCE, 1928. Published by the Sudan Government, London, 1928.¹ Price 2s. net. pp. 55.

This Conference took place at Rejaf (Mongalla Province, Sudan) in April, 1928, under the chairmanship of Mr. J. G. Matthew, Secretary for Education and Health for the Sudan. It was attended by representatives of the Sudan, Uganda and Belgian Congo Governments, as well as by delegates from six different missions; and the report of its proceedings abounds in matter of the highest interest and importance. The objects of the Conference were:—

(1) To draw up a classified list of languages and dialects spoken in the Southern Sudan.

(2) To make recommendations as to whether a system of group languages should be adopted for educational purposes, and if so, what languages would be selected as the group languages for the various areas. . . .

(3) To consider and report as to the adoption of a unified system of orthography.

(4) To make proposals for co-operation in the production of text-books; and the adoption of a skeleton grammar, reading-books and primers for general use.

The deliberations of the Conference were greatly facilitated by the presence of Professor Westermann as linguistic expert, who, moreover, has made a special study of Shilluk, an important language in the area under discussion.

The languages finally decided on as "suitable for development" are the following: Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk, Bari, Latuko (Lotuko), Zande. It is a little disconcerting to read, in the following paragraph, that "Acholi and Madi are in a different category, as only a very small proportion of the people speaking these languages live in the Sudan. Literature for these languages must therefore be drawn from elsewhere." As one had been given to understand that Acholi is virtually a dialect of Shilluk, it might have seemed obvious that the existing Shilluk literature could be used for it.

The alphabet adopted by the Conference follows, one is glad to note, the system proposed in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures. With regard to one sound not provided for in the Memorandum, the "central vowel"

¹ Obtainable at the office of the Sudan Government, Wellington House, Buckingham Gate, S.W. 1, the Education Department, Khartoum, and the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, 22 Craven Street, London, W.C. 2.

(as *e* in the ordinary pronunciation of "the" or the French *e* in *me*, *le*), it is to be regretted that the sign \bar{e} is to be retained in preference to the α of the International Phonetic Association.

The classified list of languages spoken in the Southern Sudan (drawn up by Professor Westermann, as Appendix V), though admittedly still incomplete, is of the greatest interest. According to the note prefixed to this appendix, "Our present knowledge of the linguistic situation is not sufficient to justify a definite grouping of the various language units found in the Southern Sudan. Though certain languages are evidently related to each other, others seem to be isolated, while of a considerable number little more is known than the names. Dinka, Nuer and Shilluk are closely related in phonetics as well as in structure and vocabulary, and it is probable that Burun also belongs to this group. Similarly, Bari, Latuko and Dongotono are clearly interrelated, and while forming a group of their own, they also show a distinct affinity with the Dinka-Nuer-Shilluk group. Both groups are generally included in the term 'Nilotic' (not, I venture to think, a very satisfactory one)" "and it is one of the main distinctions between the two that Bari-Latuko-Dongonoto in certain points of grammar (e.g. the distinction of gender) show Hamitic features." (Bari is definitely classed as Hamitic by Meinhof, and the other two, if closely related, must belong to the same family. Latuko appears to share with the Hottentot languages (a branch very early separated from the main stem) the possession of a common gender. Does this feature occur elsewhere in the Sudan? and does it indicate an archaic type of Hamitic speech?) The six groups suggested are: Nilotic I, including Dinka, Nuer, Shilluk and Burun, Nilotic II (Bari and Latuko, etc.), Eastern (Didinga and Taposa), Madi, Zande and Western (Mundu, Baka, Kreish, Banda and some others, whose linguistic position is still undetermined). It is perplexing to find Kisii, which is distinctly a Bantu language, placed in the first group, among "dialects allied to Shilluk spoken outside the Sudan". It is one of the languages sometimes incorrectly called "Bantu Kavirondo," as Jaluó usually goes by the name of "Kavirondo".

This Report, the whole of which deserves careful study, marks a distinct advance in the organization of African linguistic research.

We have to congratulate ourselves on the appointment of Mr. A. N. Tucker, a student of this School, as Government Linguistic Expert for the Sudan. Mr. Tucker is a graduate of the University of Cape Town and has been engaged in study and research work here

for the past two years. He will proceed to the Sudan after completing his work for the Ph.D. (Lond.) degree. His paper on "The Spelling of Transvaal Sesuto" has, unfortunately, not reached us in time for notice in this issue of the *Bulletin*. A. W.

THE GURKHAS. By W. BROOK NORTHEY and C. J. MORRIS. 8½ in. × 5½ in. pp. xxxvii, 282. John Lane. 18s.

This book, which is illustrated by 69 photographs and a skeleton map in colour, gives a clear impression of Nepal and its peoples. The word Gurkha or Gorkhā, taken from the old town of Gurkhā situated in the very centre of the country, is derived from the name of the national patron saint, Gorakh Nāth. The Gurkhas are properly the dominant Khattri race, but the volume before us describes all the principal tribes and the whole of the country. There is a good introduction of 22 pages by General C. G. Bruce, followed by three chapters on the History of Nepal. The next section deals with the people as a whole, their languages, religion, government and customs, and contains a chapter on slavery. Sections III, IV and V are a detailed account of the country and its chief tribes.

The chapter on languages is written by Professor R. L. Turner; it gives an up-to-date summary of what is known about them, unfortunately very little in the case of the Mundā and Tibeto-Burman languages. Our information about these comes from the writings of Brian Hodgson, Sten Konow, and more recently J. Przyluski. Nepali happily is well known. Important truth is often revealed by accident. We have an example of this in the phrase "early sound-charges" on p. 71. These words so clearly express a great fact that we shall not willingly let them die. Perhaps Professor Turner will write a new version of *The Charge of the Light Brigade* and call it *The Charge of the Aryan Sounds*. It will explain the survival of certain sounds and the mutilation or disappearance of others.

The photographs are well chosen, some of them are very beautiful. There is a short Bibliography in alphabetical order. It would be well perhaps to put in a separate section the books dealing with language; the works of Konow and Przyluski should be mentioned. There are two indexes, one of Nepali words, the other of subjects and people, but neither Index takes account of General Bruce's Introduction. Altogether *The Gurkhas* is a fine piece of work well written and full of information.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

LEMUNDU. Ua Sangua ku E. K. SETH-SMITH, ua sangua mosi Kuan-jama ku G. H. BRIDGES. London: S.P.C.K. (Sheldon Press), 1928.

This is a translation by the Rev. G. H. Bridges, of the Rev. E. K. Seth-Smith's life of Ramon Lull (1235-1315), the Catalan scholar-mystic and missionary to the Moslems of North Africa. The intrinsic interest of the story makes it eminently suitable for circulation among the class of African readers for whom it is intended; but the point more immediately concerning us is the language of this version. Kwanyama (the orthography adopted by the German and Finnish missions would seem to have been preserved in the text before us, probably so as not to disturb the associations of the existing literature) belongs to the very distinctive group of languages spoken in the Mandated Territory of South-West Africa. Other prominent members of the group are Herero and Ndonga; the more northerly dialects of the latter tend to shade off into the languages of Angola, of which Mbundu is the most important, while these, again, have numerous links with those of the Lower Congo, on the one hand, and with Luba and Lunda on the other. A handbook of Kwanyama was produced, many years ago, by the veteran Brincker, and another, more recently, by Tönjes, who is also responsible for a dictionary and for a useful general account of the country and people (*Ovamboland*, 1911). But, so far, nothing of the sort has appeared in English; it is therefore gratifying to note that the Anglican Mission established in the Territory within the last few years is devoting serious attention to the study of the language. In addition to *Lemundu* (a real boon to native teachers and scholars whose thirst for reading is phenomenal), the same publishers have issued with the imprimatur of the Archbishop of Capetown, a version of the South African Provincial Catechism (*Okatekisimusa nehongelo lizupi*) and *Omambo nomaimbulo ongeleka* (Services and Hymns). Other publications emanating from the same source are: in Luganda, *Ebyafayo eda enyo* (Ancient History), by the Rev. H. T. C. Weatherhead, M.A., and *Ebisavira Abagiriza* (Hints to Teachers—with English version *en regard*); in Swahili, *Augustino Mtakatifu* (a life of St. Augustine), by Canon Samuel Sehoza, of Zanzibar; in Sesuto, *Apolose, Lengosa la Molimo*, a translation of the Rev. A. B. Lloyd's *Apolo of the Pygmy Forest*, executed by two native teachers and sponsored by Canon Woodward of Bloemfontein; and a Hymn Book in Yao.

This notice would be incomplete without a word on the excellent series of *Little Books for Africa*, published at the low price of 2d. (a few

double numbers at 4d.) and primarily intended for the growing number of Africans who understand English, though many of them will be equally attractive to readers in this country. Such are *Chaminuka* (a striking legend current among the Mashonaland natives, fitly re-told by a poet), *Africans All* (both by the Rev. A. S. Cripps) and *Nomalizo*, the English version of a charming story written some years ago by a Xosa, E. S. Guma. Other numbers offer much varied entertainment as folk-lore from Uganda (*The Leopard and the Goat*, and *Nsangi and the Apes*), elementary astronomy, natural history (*The Migration of Birds and Fishes*) and biographies of Florence Nightingale, St. Cyprian, Khama, Thothmes the Third and St. Perpetua.

A. W.

TEXT BOOK OF ZULU GRAMMAR. By CLEMENT M. DOKE, M.A., D.Litt.
Being the Supplement to Volume III of *Bantu Studies* (September, 1927). pp. 341. Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand Press.

Dr. Doke has, if we may once more employ the well-worn cliché, "supplied a long-felt want." Since Colenso's *First Steps in Zulu* went out of print, there has really been no satisfactory Zulu grammar in English; and that work, excellent as it is, is, on the one hand, apt to be found difficult by the beginner, and, on the other, suffers from the lacunæ inevitable in what was, more or less, a pioneer work. Points which Colenso but tentatively suggested, e.g. the tones, which he was probably the first to notice, have now been treated with commendable fulness; indeed the phonetic section of the work before us is the most thorough study of Zulu sounds yet made. In particular, Dr. Doke has determined the true nature of the "implosive *b*", hitherto erroneously written *bh*. Meinhof had already called attention to the fact that voiced consonants are never aspirated in Bantu languages, and had come to the conclusion that the sound in question was *b* with glottal stop. Dr. Doke has shown, however, that the glottal stop, in Zulu, is only found with voiceless consonants, for which he prefers the term "ejective". The grammatical significance of tone in Zulu is an entirely new point, except in so far as it had been observed to differentiate between the second and third persons of the verb. (In Sechuana, it had already been minutely studied by Professor Daniel Jones.) Dr. Doke, avoiding the (happily obsolescent) error of attempting to fit the structure of a Bantu language into the

conventional framework of European grammar, makes the very just observation that "it is the complete words and not the individual parts composing words, which must be considered as parts of speech". (This point of view is not entirely novel; it was suggested many years ago, by the late D. C. Scott). His distinction between "Parts of Speech" and "Formatives" would appear to be a sound one, though the hitherto accepted sense of the latter term has undergone some modification, stems and roots being (quite logically, according to the definition) classed as "formatives". It naturally follows that Dr. Doke does not favour the "disjunctive" mode of writing adopted, for instance, in Sesuto books, where all the component parts of a word (or "unit of speech" to use Scott's phrase) are printed separately, as though each had an independent existence, which is not the case. His scheme of "Parts of Speech" also (p. 35) one cannot quarrel with, except that there seems no sufficient reason for distinguishing between Adjectives and what he calls "Relatives" (pp. 101-107)—which are to all intents and purposes adjectives, though differing slightly in the mode of their agreement. The fact that some of these are noun-stems and others, probably "primitive root-forms", does not affect "the work which they do in the sentence", which seems (according to p. 34) to be the criterion of "a part of speech". Another case of distinction carried to unnecessary lengths and tending to perplex, occurs on p. 108, under "Types of Possessives".

Under "Verbal Derivatives" we find several forms not hitherto recognized in Zulu grammars, e.g. the "Extensive" in *-ala* (but surely it is a mistake to include *lala* and *sala* among them?), the Stative in *-ama*, the Reversive in *-ula*, etc. The arrangement of Moods and Tenses may seem at first sight unnecessarily complicated; but it is essential to mark shades of meaning previously overlooked. The particles *sa* and *se*, usually removed for separate treatment, are here given a definite place in the conjugation of the verb, as the "Progressive" and "Exclusive" Modes of each tense. ("Within the different moods, tenses are sub-divided according to the *mode* of the action. There are three of these modes . . . (1) *Simple*, indicating an action in no way qualified . . . (2) *Progressive*, indicating an action which has been going on in the past and still continues, e.g. *ngisathanda* "I still love" and (3) *Exclusive*, indicating an action which has not been going on hitherto, e.g. *sengithanda* "I now love".)

I cannot but think that Dr. Doke's new terminology is, in some cases, more confusing than illuminating. There may be sufficient reason for

calling the subjunctive the "Dependent Mood"; but it is not easy to accept the statement that "participle" is "a term which is quite out of place" and to substitute for it the term "Situative Mood". In such a sentence as *Sahlangana nomuntu evela ngapambili* "We met a man coming from in front", *evela* is certainly, in function, what we understand by a participle. That its use is far more elastic than that of the English or the Latin participle is no argument against the adoption of the familiar term, which after all conveys to my mind at least, a clearer notion than the one substituted for it. The peculiar idiomatic use of some verbs as auxiliaries (e.g. *ka*, *buya*, *ponsa*) in quite a different sense from that which they have when used independently, is a very interesting point in Zulu, and probably in other languages (certainly in Ganda). But surely Dr. Doke is mistaken in saying that "most of the auxiliary verbs are irregular in form". Those he quotes (*-buye*, *-fike*, *-ke*, etc.) are recognizably contracted perfects of *-buya*, *-fika*, *-ka*, etc. *Simze*, which seems to be defective, is a possible exception. The "Radicals" (the words variously called by previous writers "descriptive adverbs", "onomatopoeias", "vocal images", etc.) are very fully treated in the fourteenth chapter and their importance in word formation duly recognized. Is it quite accurate, by the bye, to say that "there is no real parallel in English to the radical descriptives"? Surely verbs like "flop", "bang", "bump" and expressions like "pell-mell", "hugger-mugger", etc., have a similar origin. It is a noteworthy point—if, as seems probable, we can regard these "radicals" as the primitive elements of speech—that they are by no means all monosyllables: those of two syllables would seem to be at least equally numerous; and there are even some of three and four syllables.

Four chapters are devoted to Syntax, and an interesting appendix gives the names of the thirteen lunar months, the points of the compass (chiefly determined by winds: we have north-east and north-west, south-east and north-west, but no north or south), and the times of day and night—very minutely indicated, as is usually the case with the primitives.

Dr. Doke's work should be certain of an appreciative welcome and a wide circulation, at all events in South Africa.

A. W.

KAMBA FOLKLORE. I: Tales of Animals. With Linguistic, Ethnographical and Comparative Notes. By GERHARD LINDBLOM. (Archives d'Études Orientales, publiées par J. A. Lundell, vol. xx, 1.) pp. 110. Uppsala (Appelberg), 1928.

Dr. Lindblom, during his stay in East Africa, collected a large number of texts in Kamba, a Bantu language which has hitherto scarcely received sufficient attention. The book under review contains thirty tales; the remainder, some fifty in number, have yet to appear, together with a quantity of proverbs, riddles and songs. The original text is given, unfortunately, in the Swedish dialect alphabet, which differs in some particulars from that of the International Phonetic Association; but the student who is not deterred by the slight amount of trouble involved in identifying the sounds, will find himself amply rewarded. Dr. Lindblom's introduction contains some useful hints for would-be collectors of folk-lore, in particular it is well to remember the virtually universal objection to telling tales by daylight. He divides his material into three categories: animal stories (comprising the present instalment); "tales about ogres, giants, etc.", and "episodes from the life of the natives". The Zulu *izimu* or cannibal ogre (*dzimwe* in Nyasaland¹ *zimwi* in Swahili) here appears as *eimu*: it is a little surprising that Dr. Lindblom should hesitate to identify this word with the Duala *edimo*, denoting a similar being. The animals chiefly figuring in the stories are "the hare, the hyena, the lion, the elephant, the baboon, the crow, the cock or the hen, and the tortoise". This, on the whole, accords with what has been observed among other Bantu peoples, though I fail to recall any story about a crow, with the exception of the well-known example in Steere's *Swahili Tales*. For most of those given here I have several parallels among my notes—some of which Dr. Lindblom mentions, though he might have added, in connection with the latter part of No. 21, a Pokomo story (see *Folk-lore*, 1913) in which the hare procures animals for the lion to kill by calling them to a dance, during which he shows them "teeth sprouting from the ground". But in this case the teeth are those of the lion, who has let himself be buried for the purpose. Nos. 22 and 23 introduce the baboon, a creature which, Dr. Lindblom says, "seems to appear amazingly seldom" in East-African folk-lore, "and when he does it

¹ In Nyanja folk-lore *dzimwe* sometimes means the elephant—a fact at present unexplained—while at others it is defined as "a big spirit", or as also rendered, "a bogey".

is in the first place among agricultural tribes." This, as he says, is easily accounted for by the constant necessity of guarding their crops against the plundering baboons. He does not refer to the story, current among the Wanyika in Kenya Colony (and recorded, in a slightly different form by Velten, in Swahili, from Tanganyika) of the baboon who disguised himself as a human being, married a woman, and supplied his relations with food from her gardens till, growing idle, he neglected them, and they came forward and exposed him.

No. 6, "The Hyena and the Cock," in which the Cock pretends that he cuts off his head and sends it away, when in reality he puts it under his wing to go to sleep, has, as Dr. Lindblom points out, numerous parallels, in some of which it is the hare that is cheated—less fittingly, one would think, than the Kamba hyena, except that the Giryama treat it as the tragic climax to their *Épopée du Lièvre*: the Cunning One meets his match at last. Many other points of interest call for notice, but enough has been said to commend the book to the attention of anthropologists, folk-lorists, and "Africanists" in general. It is to be hoped that the rest of Dr. Lindblom's material will see the light before long.

I regret that it has not been possible to give the extended notice they deserve to the valuable papers published by the Ethnographical Section of the Stockholm Museum, of which Nos. 1-7 have reached us. These are all in English, with the exception of two: "Einige Details in der Ornamentik der Buschneger Surinams" and "Die Schleuder in Afrika und anderwärts." In the remaining numbers, Dr. Lindblom treats of the use of stilts, "fighting-bracelets" (and finger-rings, as used among the Galla, Turkana and others), the spiked wheel-trap, and the use of the hammock in Africa. All these studies are completely documented and full of interest. The subject of knots, interlacing, etc., which is shown to have had some magical significance in all ages and countries, is discussed by Dr. Lindblom and Ernst Manke in an article reprinted from *Ymer*, under the title "Knutar, Flätningar och Växt-slingor ('vines') i Magiskt Bruk". Less technically special is a short paper reprinted from *Völkerkunde*: "Einige 'Parallelen' zum Alten Testament aus Kavirondo (Kenya Colony)." The parallels in question are (1) the Kakamega legend of a man who struck a river with his staff and passed through dryshod; (2) stones used for sacrificing carried on the shoulder (cf. Joshua iv, 5); and (3) a snake raised on a staff by the *mganga*. Dr. Lindblom knows only two other examples of (1) viz. those mentioned by Sir James Fraser in *Folk-lore in the Old Testament*;

but the tradition also exists in Nyasaland and is there connected with Zwangendaba's crossing of the Zambezi in 1825.

A. W.

DIE WUTE. LEBENSHALTUNG, KULTUR UND RELIGIÖSE WELTANSCHAUUNG EINES AFRIKANISCHEN VOLKSSTAMMES. Von J. SIEBER. pp. 114, 10 plates and 10 illustrations in text. Berlin: Dietrich Reimer, 1925.

It is much to be regretted that this valuable account of a little-known people has, for some reason, failed to reach us till now. The author has had a lengthened experience as a missionary among the people he describes and, moreover, has studied anthropology and comparative psychology sufficiently to apprehend the meaning of the facts he records and to arrange his material in a systematic fashion. The Wute are a Sudanic-speaking tribe in the Central Cameroons extending southward as far as the Sanaga River. In 1915 they numbered between thirty and forty thousand, but as the population even then appeared to be declining, this figure probably does not represent the actual state of things. In fact, "der Wute-Stamm ist sichtlich in der Degeneration begriffen—ein absterbendes Volk". It is all the more important that this record should have been made while it was still possible, especially as it seems doubtful whether any of the Wute culture, material or moral, has survived the world-war. The special reasons for the decay of this tribe—in contrast with the strong vitality of some other African races—are not apparent, but there are indications that it is a state of decay and not one of arrested or inchoate development.

The social organization of the Wute is of the patriarchal type, yet the prominence of the maternal uncle (known by a special name, *lâ*, while the paternal uncle is *ta tene*¹) is to be noted. Totemism exists; the principal totems are the leopard, the buffalo and the elephant. (The name of the latter, *nju*, is distinctly suggestive of the Bantu root.) The leopard seems to occupy a special position—the eating of his flesh (the Wute, unlike some other tribes, have no objection to the flesh of carnivorous animals *per se*) is forbidden to the whole tribe, not merely to the members of his totem-clan. Marriage inside the totem-clan is theoretically forbidden, but this prohibition—like some other generally recognized rules of conduct—is largely disregarded in practice.

¹ *ta* = father.

The were-wolf (or in this case were-leopard) belief, so widely distributed, has here some peculiar features: the soul of a person killed, and partly eaten, by a leopard enters into the animal, who then becomes a *nyem* ("man-leopard"), able, presumably, to take human shape at will.

The account of Wute religious ideas is interesting, but regrettably concise. It is not made clear in what respects their notions about the soul differ from those of the Bantu (as stated on p. 88). The two souls *nehe* the shadow, and *mē* the spirit certainly seem to correspond to the *roho* and *koma* recorded, long ago, by Krapf among the Wanyika of East Africa. A few specimens of folk-tales are given (a larger collection was contributed by Herr Sieber to the twelfth volume of the *Zeitschrift für Eingeborenensprachen*)—among them the well-known legend of the chameleon, which, it may be noted, introduces the serpent as the hostile power who falsified the message of immortality. The serpent also figures in the similar Galla legend (where the messenger however, is a bird, not the chameleon), and has there been attributed to missionary influence—but this can hardly be the case with the Wute, who were untouched by missions till within the last twenty years.

Professor Westermann contributes an introduction to the book.

A. W.

AN ENGLISH-TSWA DICTIONARY. Compiled by the REV. J. A. PERSSON, of the Methodist Episcopal Mission, Portuguese East Africa. pp. 249, 7½ × 5. Inhambane Mission Press, 1928.

Tswa is a Bantu language, spoken by a branch of the great Thonga nation, in the inland country to the west of Inhambane. The immediate neighbourhood of that port is occupied by the Tonga tribe (not to be confounded with the Thonga—see Junod, *Grammaire Ronga*, p. 3¹) whose language should probably be placed in a distinct sub-group, including Chopi and Lenge. (Lenge, sometimes erroneously identified with Chopi, is an archaic form of speech, only known to some of the older women, of which Miss Earchy has collected some valuable notes.) Attention may be directed in passing to an unaccountable confusion in Sir Harry Johnston's *Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages* (vol. i, p. 281), where Chopi, Tswa, Lenge and

¹ "Pas plus loin qu'Inhambane, une peuplade, se rattachant probablement au groupe tchopi, s'intitule aussi tonga, et près des chutes du Zambèze se rencontre la tribu des Ba-Tonga ou Ba-Toka, dont le P. Torrend a fait connaître récemment le langage." He might have added the Atonga of Lake Nyasa.

Hlengwe (according to Junod, a dialect of Thonga) are treated, at least tentatively, as a single language, while the Inhambane Tonga is not noticed—unless, indeed, it is identical with No. 69 “Shengwe”.

Tswa (sometimes disguised under the spellings Sheetswa and Xitswa, which represent two different renderings of the 7th class-prefix) can be studied in various publications of the Inhambane Mission Press, which has issued, among others, a complete translation of the Bible. Mr. Persson's Grammar (1919) is admittedly a provisional piece of work, and, as such, extremely useful; but one hopes that he may yet find time to prepare a revised and enlarged edition.

Meanwhile he has produced this very useful English-Tswa Dictionary, which he modestly describes as a first attempt, adding, “If another edition is found to be necessary, it will probably show considerable improvement, that is, if we co-operate in bringing it about. I shall be very pleased to be informed of any mistakes and omissions.” To detect these would require far more prolonged study than is possible to the average reviewer; but one might be permitted to point out that it would be desirable to revise the preliminary remarks on pronunciation in the light of recent phonetic research. There may be typographical difficulties in the way of substituting *ŋ* for *ñ* and *j* for *x* (perhaps the latter is necessary in books circulating in Portuguese territory), but we should like to see a more particular account of the way in which sounds are produced. Is *kl*, for instance (as in *klatuko* “a ford”) the same sound as Zulu *kl*, described by Dr. Doke as an “ejective velar lateral affricate”?¹ “*Ŝ* and *Ž* represent Fricatives peculiar to the languages of Portuguese East Africa and Southern Rhodesia² and are difficult to explain in print. They can be learnt only by careful examination of how they are produced by the native.” This is the sound described by Professor Daniel Jones as “labio-dental” (“it has the tongue-position of *θ*, *ð*, combined with strong lip-rounding), by Dr. Meinhof as “labio-alveolar”, and sometimes colloquially known as “the whistling *s*”. For this the International Phonetic Association adopted the symbols *σ*, *g*. It is not provided for in the Memorandum of the International Institute of African Languages and Cultures, being, no doubt, reserved for further consideration, along with other special South African sounds. (It must also be remembered that it probably exists in several variations.) The Zulu

¹ E.g. *Kl'weba* “scratch”, spelt *xweba* in Colenso's Dictionary and *rweba* in Bryant's. It has also been written *lx*.

² Also found in Venda (North Transvaal).

lateral *l* (usually written *hl*) occurs in Tswa—as in *hlahla* “cut through a thicket” (found with much the same meaning in Zulu); one would like to be clear whether Mr. Persson’s *dl* (as in *ndlala* “famine”) is the voiced sound of the above (Zulu *k*, in most books written *dhl*, as in *indhlala*), or whether, as stated by M. Junod for Ronga, it is a combination of *d* and *l*: “prononcez comme *de là*, le *e* étant élidé”. It may be worth noting that, while the Ronga verb “to kill” is *kudlaya*, the corresponding word in Tswa is *kudaya*.

A needful warning is supplied in Mr. Persson’s preface: “[In] any Bantu language . . . there exist very few words which can be said to have exactly the same meaning as the corresponding words in English . . . I have tried to group Tswa words which express the meanings of the English word printed in bold type, and the student is warned against choosing any one of these and using it as if it were an exact translation . . . A glance at the word ‘Cut’ will show the importance of the method here adopted.”

The example given further illustrates an observation often made, as to the paucity of *general* terms in the Bantu and other relatively primitive languages. Here we have over twenty words signifying different modes of cutting, e.g. “cut down a tree” (and a distinct expression for “cutting down trees a couple of feet above the ground”), “cut down branches from a tree”, “mince”, “cut open a boil”, “cut the hair”, “cut open a slaughtered animal”, etc., while the nearest approach to a general term is *tsema* “separate by cutting”.

A. W.

NIGERIA UNDER BRITISH RULE. By SIR WILLIAM NEVILL M. GEARY.
pp. 312, portrait and map. London: Methuen, 1927.

This is a belated notice of a most valuable book of reference. It is not precisely easy reading, but everyone interested in the affairs of West Africa will find that it repays a considerable amount of trouble. Sir William Geary is an old African resident—having gone out to Sierra Leone in 1894 and remained, in various legal capacities, on the West Coast, for several years, and, in spite of the sinister reputation of that Coast, he professes himself quite willing to go back, and appears, personally, to have suffered little inconvenience from the climate. “My rule of health was live well, don’t funk, and when fever comes lie still in bed till temperature drops and appetite reawakes.” The

history of Southern Nigeria (now amalgamated with the northern territory, as the Dominion of Nigeria) is here traced from its inception as the Colony of Lagos, annexed in 1861. This annexation was preceded by ten years of "consular rule"—a singularly difficult and harassing period for the consuls concerned. Lagos had previously been—probably from the sixteenth century onward—"a slavers' stronghold where the native king and chiefs sold slaves to Portuguese and Brazilian slave-traders, who gave it the name of Lagos". The annexation was effected by means of a "treaty of cession", obtained (it is not denied, under pressure) from King Dosumo and his chiefs; the reasons given for this step being "that the permanent occupation was indispensable to the suppression of the slave-trade in the Bight of Benin, and that it would give great aid and support to the development of lawful commerce and check the King of Dahomey's slave-raids".

The complications arising out of the slave-trade and consequent inter-tribal wars continued to cause difficulties for many years, and the gradual reduction and pacification of the hinterland is described in Chapter II. It must be remembered that these difficulties were the heritage of at least three centuries, during which European nations had carried on the trade and instigated, or at least encouraged, the tribal wars.

The two following chapters deal with operations in the Niger Delta, the establishment of the Niger Coast Protectorate in 1884 and the annexation of the Cameroons by the German Government. The Niger Company's charter was revoked in 1899, and the Protectorate of Southern Nigeria constituted, with which Lagos was incorporated in 1905. The two Protectorates of Southern and Northern Nigeria were amalgamated in 1914. On the whole, in the author's opinion, the Niger Company "did its work successfully . . . and one doubts whether, in 1886, the Government would have prepared, and Parliament passed, a vote for taking up the Niger as a Crown Colony".

Among many points of interest which space forbids one to quote, not the least is contained in Appendix I, where the case of the unfortunate Ja Ja is temperately though sympathetically stated. The lion's statue (to quote *Æsop's fable*) so seldom gets erected that the impartial reader is bound to be grateful for every effort in this direction.

A. W.



NOTES AND QUERIES

An English edition of Professor Meinhof's *Lautlehre der Bantusprachen*, prepared with the assistance of Dr. van Warmelo, will, it is hoped, shortly be published.

The late David Clement Scott's *Cyclopædic Dictionary of the Mang'anja* (= Nyanja) *Language* (1892) has for some years been out of print. It is, with some faults, a most valuable work, and indispensable to every one concerned with Nyasaland. It has now been thoroughly revised—with the addition of several thousand words—by the Rev. Dr. Hetherwick, late of Blantyre, and will be issued during the present year from the press of the Religious Tract Society. This highly desirable publication has been made possible by a subsidy from the Government of Northern Rhodesia.

We are asked to print the following.—EDITOR.

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11. The prizes will be awarded and distributed every January. The names of the prize-winners will be published in *Africa*.

DASTUR-I-'USHSHĀQ. By FATTĀHĪ.

Some of the reviewers repeat the charges of obscurity and "puerilities" which Rieu made against Fattahi's earlier work, the *Shabistan-i-Khayal*. May I be permitted to quote two passages from this poem which, at least in my opinion, are not open to these criticisms?

1. An example of "Question and Answer", p. 119, l. 15 :—

ز عمر خویشان حاصل چه دیدی	بگفتش عمرها زحمت کشیدی
بامروز از رسم حاصل همانست	بگفتا دی شد و فردا نهانست
کجا آمد ترا در دیده خوشتر	بگفتا دیده عالم سراسر
بوقت خود بهشتی یابم از ناز	بگفت آنجا که یابم وقت خود باز
کدامین گل بعشرت یافت بوئی	بگفت از گلشن هر آرزوئی
زرخود ریخت برگ عیش بخريد	بگفت انکس که بازار بقا دید
بگفتا دیدن رخسار زیبا	غرض گفتا چبود از چشم یبنا
بگفتا با جوانان کامرانی	بگفتا چیست مقصود از جوانی
بگفتا جان بر جانان سپردن	بگفت از عمر چبود مهره بردن
بگفتا زیر پای شاهد مست	کجا مرگ نکو گفتا دهد دست
بگفت از کس که دارد غم کساری	بگفت از غم که باشد بر کناری
بگفت از همدی باشد غمی نیست	بگفتا زاتش غم خرمی نیست
بروی دوست گفتا جام احمر	بوقت گل چه باشد گفت در خور
بگفتا یار بی اغیار دیدن	بگفتا چیست گل بیخار چیدن

2. The description of *غیر* Envy, p. 255, l. 15 :—

رقیب دیو فرزندی پری وار	شنیدم داشت از ابنای سگسار
جز او گرزشت گوئی زشت گوئی	بد اختر دختری کز زشت خوئی
سیاهی پیش او آب حیاتی	سیه نابی چو آتش بسی ثباتی
برخ قایم شده خرطوم فیلی	رخ او بر بساط آورد نیلی

بروی همچو دود از بینی زشت	دم آتش فشان کرده چو انگشت
دو سوراخ وی از بینی بیدار	چو زیر تیغ کوه تیره دو غار
عجب کهنی که در وی چشم اصحاب	ندیده جز سگ مرده زهر باب
دو ابرویش که بر وی بی فرح بود	بر ابری تیره گون قوس و قزح بود
بهیئت گشته زار عیش را داس	دو طاق از صفه اش ایوان کاس
دو چشمش چون دو چشمه لیل بی آب	هوا همچون فرح زو گشته نایاب
دو گوشش از درازی گوش تا گوش	دهانش از فراخی دوش تا دوش
یجای زلف پرچین بر جینش	فتاده عقدها برم چو چینش
بران لوح جبین استاد تقدیر	عبوساً قطریراً کرده تحریر
دو ابرو چون کجک بر جبهه فیل	دو لب همچو نهنگ از لجه نیل
دران دریا یجای در و مرجان	شبه با کهربا هر سو پریشان
سگی جز مردی زو کم نبوده	ز سگ زاده ولی مردم نبوده
چنان در ساحری بودش دم گرم	که کردی آهن و فولاد را نرم
برویش مرد اگر خوردی سقنقور	گرفتی در مزاجش طبع کافور
اگر خندان ره دوزخ گرفتی	جهنم را بدم در یخ گرفتی
چو بگذشتی بسان ابر در وی	همیارید برف از سردی وی

This recalls the description of the Witch Errour in the first canto of the "Faery Queene". Fattāhī as an allegorist and Euphuist has much in common with Spenser. On the other hand, the reference to "Hell freezing" in p. 257, l. 7, has quite a modern and Occidental touch.

R. S. G.

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BULLETIN

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PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

STUDIES IN CONTEMPORARY ARABIC LITERATURE

By H. A. R. GIBB

III. EGYPTIAN MODERNISTS

THE period 1914-1919, though one of relative quiescence, marks a turning-point in the development of modern Arabic literature, but, in spite of the coincidence of dates, the European war was not responsible, either directly or indirectly, for initiating the change. The new element by which the change was brought about was the rise of a distinctive Egyptian school of writers, which, from small beginnings in the years immediately preceding the war, gathered strength in the interval, and emerged into sudden prominence on the resumption of literary activities. To understand the significance of this movement we must look back for a moment at the situation as it was about 1912. At that time, as has been seen, there was a sharp opposition between two contrasting schools of thought in Arabic letters; on the one hand were the modernists, almost all Syrians, and Christian Syrians at that, headed by the new Syro-American school; on the other were the classicists, who still clung to the medieval Islamic tradition, and who were dominant in Egypt and in Muslim Syria. Between the two extremes were varying intermediate grades, including several writers who individually exercised considerable influence, but did not form a body sufficiently united in method or aim to counterbalance either of the opposing schools. The most prominent of these intermediate figures were Ġurgī Zaydān and

Manfalūṭī, but, as the preceding study has shown,¹ neither Zaydān nor Manfalūṭī, in spite of their great gifts and popularity, could establish a definite literary movement. Zaydān's writing was too colourless and didactic, and Manfalūṭī was too superficial in thought and too strongly inclined to the classical tradition in style, to attract readers who sought in Arabic literature something comparable to the books with which they were familiar in the languages of the West.

The outcome of this state of affairs was that the sympathies of the educated reading classes were attracted to those Syro-American writers who by their boldness and originality had established themselves as the leaders of the modernist movement, and who thus gained a predominant position in neo-Arabic literature, in spite of the violent attacks of the classicists.² It is unnecessary at this point to enter into a full discussion of their views and literary methods, since they have been made the subject of an admirable article by Professor Kratchkowsky in *Le Monde Oriental*.³ Within the last ten years, however, their leadership has been challenged, and on the whole successfully, by the new Egyptian school.⁴

The beginnings of the new school date from the foundation of the newspaper *al-Ġarīdah* in 1907, as the organ of the now defunct "Popular Party" (*ḥizb al-ummah*). The tone of the new journal was set by its political director, Aḥmad Luṭfi Bey as-Sayyid, under whose influence *al-Ġarīdah*, unlike its Egyptian-edited contemporaries,

¹ *BSOS.*, v, pp. 311-22.

² Not only amongst Muslim traditionalists; the organ of the Jesuit Fathers, *al-Machriq*, repeatedly indulged in violent diatribes against them from the pen of the late Père Cheikhō, e.g. against Jibrān 1912, 315-16; 1923, 487-93; 1924, 555; against Rayḥānī 1909, 716-18; 1910, 389-92, 703-10; 1922, 746; 1924, 478-9, 623-9, 755-7.

³ *Die Literatur der Arabischen Emigranten in Amerika*, xxi (1927), 193-213; see also on Rayḥānī, Jibrān, 'Abd al-Masīḥ Ḥaddād (the editor of the New York Arabic journal *Al-Sayekh* [*as-Sā'ih*]) and Mikhā'il Na'ima, his introduction to the Chrestomathy of modern Arabic Literature (*Obratoy Novo-arabskoi Literatury*, Leningrad, 1928), pp. xv-xviii. Professor Kampffmeyer has rendered a valuable service by publishing a German translation of this preface in *MSOS.*, xxxi (1928), pp. 180-99; the passage referred to is on pp. 191-4. Here also attention may be called to the German translation of an introductory study by Professor Kratchkowsky referred to in a former article in this series (*BSOS.*, iv, 747 note), published by Professor Kampffmeyer under the title of "Entstehung und Entwicklung der neu-arabischen Literatur" in *Die Welt des Islams*, xi (1928), 189-99. A summary of other studies by Professor Kratchkowsky on the work of Amin ar-Rayḥānī is contained in the same issue, pp. 179-80.

⁴ The last of the late Père Cheikhō's articles on modern Arabic literature (*al-Machriq*, xxv (1927), pp. 941-9) contains a list of contemporary Muslim poets and prosewriters, but shows an unusual number of inaccuracies in detail.

Mustafā Kāmil's *Liwa*, with its purely political aims, and the conservative *Mu'ayyad*, opened its columns to the social and literary reform movements of the day. Round Luṭfi Bey as-Sayyid gathered the young Muslims of the new generation in Egypt, who were not only inspired by the growing nationalist ideals, but who had been more thoroughly educated on western lines than their predecessors, and had in many cases absorbed much of the spirit of western culture through prolonged contacts with it during student years, for the most part in France. The aspiration of these young writers was to see their country not only politically free, but able to take a worthy place in world-civilization. At the same time, they were Muslims, but Muslims in whom the legacy of Muḥammad 'Abduh was working towards a new adaptation of the fundamental positions of Islām to the demands of modern life and thought. Deeply conscious of the present contradiction, they were yet convinced that it could and must be resolved, not by a return to the past, nor, like the Syro-Americans, by cutting adrift from the past, but by the slow process of education and reform, and it was to this task that they felt themselves called. *Al-Ġarīdah* thus served as the training ground of some of the most prominent members of the new school, including Muḥammad Ḥusayn Haykal, at that time a law-student in Paris, and afterwards the principal mouthpiece of its ideals.

Down to 1914, however, the new movement was still in its infancy, and overshadowed in its own country by the Syrian writers and the nationalist-conservative movement. The war put a temporary stop to most of its outward activities. *Al-Ġarīdah* suspended publication, though its place was to some extent taken by the weekly *as-Sufūr*, edited by 'Abdal-Ḥamid Ḥamdī, a former member of the staff of *al-Ġarīdah* and subsequently one of Haykal Bey's collaborators in *as-Siyāṣah*. The movement nevertheless continued to grow in strength, and at length came to fruition during the early post-war years. Two important steps in its advance were marked by the reorganization of the Egyptian University, with Luṭfi Bey as-Sayyid as its Director,¹ and the formation of the Liberal Constitutional party, with its organ *as-Siyāṣah* founded in 1922 under the editorship of Ḥusayn Bey Haykal. Through these two organizations, which were moreover in fairly close touch with one another, the scattered forces of education and reform were enabled to concentrate and co-operate, and thus to

¹ On the Egyptian University, see *al-Machriq*, xxvi (1928), pp. 284-8.

gain an increasing influence over Egyptian public opinion. At the same time the increased vigour of the nationalist movements in the Arabic East as a result of the war, and the enthusiasm which they generated, not only gave fresh driving force to the activities of the new school, but gained for their writings universal sympathy in the Arabic lands, as the literary exponents of the aims and ideals with which all, in greater or less degree, were imbued. Though in the political sphere they were temporarily overborne by the extremest elements in Egypt, and were often constrained to yield to force of circumstances, educated circles in all the civilized Arab lands were impressed by their activities and earnestness, as by the closer contact with the realities of the situation and truer reflection of their own aspirations which the Egyptian writers showed, in contrast to the detachment of the Syro-American writers,¹ and were sympathetically attracted by their stand upon the common ground of the Muslim and Arabic heritage.

It is true that, taken singly, none of the elements which have gone to make up the Egyptian school, and few of its ideals, were new or original in modern Arabic literature—a fact which goes some way to explain the obscurity of its beginnings. It is equally true that to speak of these writers as a school is to use a misleading, though convenient, term, since not only do they fall into various sub-groups, but the individual writers show such wide divergencies of methods, background, and temperament, that their association appears to be largely haphazard. Yet in practice they do form a group as well-defined, for instance, as the Syro-Americans, amongst whom similar individual differences are found, in that certain distinctive aims and characteristics are shared by them all, to greater or less degree. All of them are striving to give greater depth and range to modern Arabic writing, and to rescue it from the fluent superficiality to which a literature based on journalism is peculiarly liable. Most of them aim at applying modern aesthetic and literary criteria to the rich stores of old Arabic literature, as well as to modern productions, and so at bringing out all that they can contribute to the building-up of a new civilization. They are distinguished also by a new comprehensiveness, in which the sharpness of the old antagonism between modernist and classicist has been blunted, and made to serve the purpose of creating a new literary technique, which shall be in harmony

¹ Ar-Raybhānī, who was resident in Arabia and Syria during this period, forms of course, an exception.

with modern aims and standards, and yet preserve the familiar rhythms of Arabic. They have already achieved thus much that the old wrangles of classicists and modernists on points of linguistic usage have lost their meaning, and have given place to a fresh alignment between conservatives and liberals on the fundamental principles of culture. From the literary point of view, what now determines the extent to which any writer is a modernist is not the superficial features of his writing but the answer which he gives to the question, how far Arabic literature is to draw its sole or main inspiration from traditional Islamic sources. But there can scarcely be found one Muslim Egyptian writer of note who rejects the Islamic past entirely, in the manner of the Syro-Americans; it is in fact one of the distinctive features of the Egyptian school as against the latter, that even the most modernist amongst them aim at what Jibrān Khalil Jibrān has scornfully called "patching the outworn garment".

None of these characteristics, however, is necessarily or in fact limited to Egyptian writers. The appropriateness of the description "Egyptian school" lies not so much in the fact that the leaders of the new school are all Egyptians, as in the gradual emergence of a further feature which they have in common, a feature which is difficult as yet to define and liable to assume exaggerated prominence. At present it may perhaps be termed "Egyptian particularism", which shows itself in a tendency to think in terms of Egypt rather than of the Arab world. Egypt, they feel, is still a part of the Arabic-speaking world, but has nevertheless to create its distinctive culture, and to make its distinctive contribution to literature and thought. In certain spheres of popular literature, and more especially in the drama, this attitude is still more explicit, and goes the length of using as a medium the colloquial Egyptian dialect. It is not surprising that the other Arabic-speaking countries try to shut their eyes to this—from their point of view—unwelcome tendency amongst modernist Egyptian writers.¹ Yet the tendency is there, and is increasingly marked, partly by reflection from the political situation, and partly as a result of the new interest and pride in the ancient Egyptian civilization, which has been deliberately cultivated by the leaders of the Egyptian nationalist movement. At the present moment, the strength of this feeling varies greatly from writer to

¹ Syrian writers sometimes refer to it, with a touch of half-humorous deprecation, as a kind of modern *مصريولوجية* ("Egyptology").

writer, but it may eventually prove a decisive factor in the development of neo-Arabic thought.¹

The majority of modernist Egyptian writers fall naturally into two groups, one composed of writers whose western background is mainly French, the other of writers who have been more strongly, though not exclusively, influenced by English literature. Of the former group the principal mouthpiece is Muḥammad Ḥusayn Bey Haykal, now editor of *as-Siyāṣah*, which, together with its weekly edition started in 1926, has become the leading organ of liberal thought amongst Egyptian Muslims, rivalling in this respect the old-established Syrian-owned *Ahrām* and *Muqattam*. It was only comparatively recently that Dr. Haykal began to devote himself to journalism.² His first large-scale publication was a notable incursion into the field of imaginative literature, a novel of Egyptian peasant-life, entitled *Zaynab*, published anonymously in 1914.³ For some years after this he was absorbed in legal practice, but in 1921 he published the first two parts of a study on the life and works of Rousseau.⁴ Since 1922 the editorship of the *Siyāṣah* has left him little time to give to more elaborate literary tasks, and his only later publications in book form so far are a collection of essays and studies reprinted from various journals, under the title of *In Leisure Hours*,⁵ and a narrative of his visit to the Sudan at the opening of the Makwār dam, entitled *Ten Days in the Sudan*.⁶

It is less through his books, however, than through his journals⁷

¹ An interesting counter-movement to this tendency is furnished by the formation (in 1922) of the "Oriental League" (الرابطة الشرقية), which aims at strengthening the links between all the peoples of Asia and Africa in the face of European aggression, and at present yokes many of the modernist writers discussed below in a somewhat uneasy fellowship with "moderates" and "conservatives". Since 1928 the League has issued a journal under the same title, edited by Ahmad Shafiq Pāshā, the general tone of which is hitherto pronouncedly "modernist".

² In sketching the careers of the writers mentioned in this article, I have had to rely almost entirely on the indications contained in their own publications.

³ زينب. مناظر و اخلاق رقيقة بقلم مصري فلاح. Ḡarīdah press, n.d. A second edition was published in 1929; of this I have not yet seen a copy.

⁴ جان جاك روسو حياته وكتبه. I have not seen a copy of this book.

⁵ في اوقات الفراغ. 'Asriyah press, n.d. [1925]. See an analysis of the contents of this book in *MSOS.*, xxix² (1926), 242-4.

⁶ عشرة ايام في السودان. 'Asriyah press, 1927.

⁷ The daily *Sinasa* (as the name is spelt on the cover) is an ordinary newspaper of six or eight pages. The weekly *Sinasa*, on the other hand, is a literary review, generally of 28 pages, about 2,000 words to the page, containing articles of literary, social, legal, historical, or other interest, translations of foreign articles, reviews of literature, art, and drama, essays, and short stories. Since the political *coup d'état* in 1928, the articles on internal politics have been discontinued.

and his own descriptive articles and studies, that Dr. Haykal exerts the great influence which he enjoys throughout the Arabic world. His first and immediate object is to discipline the Arabic language into a flexible idiom which will express the thoughts and ideals of modern civilization. Long ago it was borne in on him that the vocabulary of Arabic put it at a disadvantage compared with the language of Western Europe. "I used," he has written, "to rebel inwardly when I found myself unable to express in my own language what I felt in my heart and pictured in my mind's eye, and the shape of its French or English expressions formed themselves in my imagination."¹ This is a service which the journalist is peculiarly fitted to render, and it is partly with this object that Dr. Haykal exercises his pen week by week in long descriptive and critical essays, in which the capacity of Arabic for expressing delicate shades of meaning are tested and supplemented.² Language is but an instrument, which must be kept "polished" or it becomes rusty; considerations of "classical" usage must not be allowed to stand in the way of adaptation to modern ideas. "The true *adīb*," so runs his creed, "is not the person who is familiar with obscure and antiquated words, but the person who can clothe beautiful ideas or fine shades of thought or imagery... in a garment, through which their beauty and originality can be perceived. The simpler the words, the sweeter they are to the ear, the nearer to the heart, and the more attractive to the mind."³

¹ *As-Sinasa* (weekly ed.), 13th August, 1927, p. 11, cols. 1-2. The period referred to is about 1912. In the issue of 23rd July, 1927, p. 10, col. 2, the same idea is more fully expressed in the present tense:—

فقد اتسعت المدارك ودقت درجات الشعور واصبحت ترى بين المبل لشخص ومحبته وبين العطف على شخص والاشفاق عليه وبين النور والكراهية وبين الحجل والخوف وبين التردد والجلبين درجات متميزة من الاحساس تدركها النفس ادراكا دقيقا وتعتبر بعض اللغات عن كل منها تعبيراً يحدد لها تمام التحديد ثم ترى نفسك مطالباً اِذاً ذلك في اللغة التي تكتب بها—وهي اللغة العربية—فتشعر بالعجز وترى: «بعد طول المجهود وكثرة الكلام انك قلت شيئاً عادياً وان احسن ما في نفسك بقي فيها مختبئاً».

(The last words are a quotation from Qāsim Amīn.) Farther on in the same article (col. 4) he extends this demand for modernization to the syntactical construction of the sentence, which requires to be adjusted to meet modern methods of reasoning and feeling.

² See, for example, his description of a sunset: في اوقات الفراغ pp. 252-4. In this, he holds, is the true purpose of the study of classical Arabic literature: *as-Sinasa* (weekly ed.), 1st June, 1929, p. 3.

³ 207. في اوقات الفراغ.

The working out of a new technique, however, is in his view no more than a preliminary step to a wider aim, which is shared by all the leaders of the Egyptian school. In the existing cleavage between writer and public they see the gravest danger to the future of Egyptian literature. One cannot help sympathizing with al-'Aqqād when, in a moment of despondency, he cries, "Readers in Egypt are all in one of three groups: readers of novels and brain-ticklers (*nawādir*), readers of [classical] Arabic literature, and readers of Western literature."¹ Each writer in his own way is trying to bridge the gap, and to raise the standard of literary taste in Egypt. They feel that the wider public would willingly come to their side and second their efforts, if only some inner contact could be made.² To Dr. Haykal the only sure method of achieving unity is to work for the development of a truly national culture. At present there is no indigenous culture in the Arab lands—nothing but sham antique and imitations of the West.³ This national culture is not to be achieved by pseudo-antiquarianism: "The Arab peoples and the Arabic language have plunged irrevocably into the race, and are preparing their shoulders to bear the whole civilization of humanity, in all its manifestations of science, art, and literature."⁴ Nor can it be achieved by disregarding the past.⁵ In realizing this aim both modernist and classicist must co-operate; otherwise victory will rest with the Syro-Americans, and Islamic culture will vanish.⁶ The task will be long and arduous. It calls for the labour and self-sacrifice of generations; premature haste, the besetting sin of the Orient of to-day, can lead only to disaster.⁷ Meanwhile, something may be done by familiarizing the reading public with the principles of objective criticism and teaching it, if not to think for itself, at least to turn its attention, not in the first place to the language of a writer, but to his ideas and thoughts, and only secondarily to his methods of expression.

Though Dr. Haykal often speaks in this connection of Arabic culture as a whole, and frequently insists on the need of strengthening the

¹ *al-Fuṣūl* (see below, p. 461, n. 2), 121.

² See an article by Dr. Haykal in the journal *al-Hadīth* of Aleppo, vol. ii (1928), No. 1, p. 45.

³ في اوقات الفراغ. 20.

⁴ *Ibid.*, 372.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, 376.

⁷ *Ibid.*, 372-4.

cultural ties between the Arabic-speaking peoples,¹ he believes that each Arabic-speaking country will in due course develop a literary life of its own.² His own hopes and energies, consequently, are centred mainly on the creation of a modern Egyptian culture.³ In all his writings, from the first fervent dedication of his early novel *Zaynab* "To Egypt", there glows an intense love of his country. Scarcely any other modern writer shows such interest in the ancient history of Egypt, and the pride which he so often expresses in the ancient East is really a pride in the achievements of ancient Egypt. So strong is this feeling in him that it results in a certain jealousy of the Arabs, and a peculiar insensibility to ancient Arabic literature; indeed, he has confessed that since 1910 he has ceased to pay much attention to it.⁴ He complains that Egyptian literature and thought are neglected in the Egyptian University, and of the absence of Egyptian feeling in the writings of both classicists and modernists.⁵ Yet with him this Egyptian feeling is totally distinct from the effervescent froth so prominent since 1919 among a section of Egyptians. Though he shares, as deeply as any man, their political aspirations, and though he has exploited, as he was perhaps entitled to do, the inflamed national sentiment for his own purposes, he realizes that no enduring political progress is possible without a social and intellectual regeneration which is as yet only in its beginnings. The men and women of this generation are precursors, and upon their success in effecting a change of mind in the rising generation depends the future of Egypt.

In this aim Dr. Haykal finds his closest collaborators among his former colleagues in the new Egyptian University, and a number of

¹ See, for example, his invitation to establish a Pan-Arab congress (مؤتمر الشرق العربي) in *as-Siassa* (weekly ed.), 8th December, 1928, p. 6.

² في اوقات الفراغ, 363.

³ He totally scents, however, the idea expressed by some writers of advanced modernist views (e.g. by Niqûlâ Yûsuf in *as-Siassa* (weekly ed.), 2nd February, 1929, p. 13), that the germ of the future Egyptian literature is to be found in the poetry and songs of the people.

⁴ *As-Siassa* (weekly edition), 25th June, 1927, p. 10, col. 1; cf. في اوقات الفراغ, p. 372. It is fully in conformity with this feeling that he should regard the Arabs as foreign invaders of Egypt, much as the average Englishman looks upon the Romans in England (see the article cited in the following note). The same idea animates a group of younger writers who are beginning to advocate the recognition of "Pharaonic literature" as the only true basis of a national Egyptian literature.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 360-1. The argument for a chair of Egyptian studies is developed more fully in *as-Siassa* (weekly edition), 22nd December, 1928, pp. 5-6.

the teachers in the higher training colleges. Though their work is by its nature more concentrated, and does not lend itself as a rule to literary productions other than technical manuals, it is none the less important in its bearing on the future of Egyptian literature. To them also this is an age of preparation rather than achievement, "an age of translation, not of composition," in the words of Luṭfī Bey as-Sayyid, Director of the University and the present Minister of Public Instruction. But one teacher at least, Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn, has created for himself in modern Arabic letters a position as prominent as that occupied by Dr. Haykal, in a manner which often contrasts oddly with the moderation and supple methods of his colleague.

Tāhā Ḥusayn was born into a home which preserved all the traditional features of up-river village life. At an early age his sight was completely lost, and he was destined for a theological career. After the usual elementary instruction in the village *kuttāb* he was entered as a student at al-Azhar and spent some years there, in the course of which he acquired a thorough grasp of Arabic from the linguistic side. Under the guidance of Shaykh Sayyid b. 'Alī al-Marsafī he began to show a special partiality for Arabic literature, and subsequently continued his studies under European professors in the newly-founded Egyptian University. Here he was initiated into modern western methods of literary criticism and historical study, and rapidly threw off the prejudices and cramped outlook of the Azharite. The firstfruits of these studies was a thesis on Abu'l-'Alā al-Ma'arrī,¹ in the introduction to which he already displayed his characteristic audacity by attacking the methods of teaching Arabic literature in Egypt. During the war years he studied at the Sorbonne, specializing in French literature and literary criticism, and in classics. His university career, after a narrow escape from disaster on account of an impetuous criticism which gave some offence in Egypt,² closed in 1919, with the production of a doctoral thesis on Ibn Khaldūn.³ On his return to Egypt he was appointed to the new chair of Classical (Greek and Roman) History at the Egyptian University, and on the reconstitution of the University was transferred to the Professorship of Ancient Arabic literature, which he still holds.

¹ ذكرى ابي الملا. Hilāl press, 1915, reprinted 1922.

² See في الادب الجاهلي pp. 3-4.

³ Subsequently translated into Arabic by another hand: فلسفة ابن خلدون
الاجتماعية tr. 'Abdallāh 'Inān, together with a translation of an article on Ibn
Khaldūn by von Wesendonk. I'timād press, 1343/1925.

At the very outset of his teaching career the new Professor had need of all his natural courage. His appointment gave the signal for the opening of a campaign directed against him and his work on the part of all the conservative educational elements in Egypt. Although he was already, as has been seen, *persona ingratissima* to the shaykhs, the main attack was directed against the new Chair, probably the first of the kind in any Muslim institution. For although every student of the Middle Ages is aware of the debt which Islamic civilization owed to Hellenism, it was a debt which the Islamic world never recognized, and in any case that æsthetic legacy of Greece which so profoundly influenced the evolution of modern Europe had found no acceptance in the Orient. Even when the modern westernizing movement gained momentum in Egypt and Syria, and passed from the stage of translation to that of imitation and closer study, it was only the outward modern manifestations of western thought and literature that were studied. Gradually the history of European thought began to be better appreciated, but the foundations still remained unknown. The first attempt to familiarize the Arabic world with something of the classical literary background was made by Sulaymān al-Bustānī in his translation of the *Iliad*.¹ The attempt was perhaps premature, and the subject ill-chosen. Epic poetry has never attracted the Arab, whose language lacks even a suitable metrical scheme for poems of such length and quality, and the technical difficulties were enhanced by the necessity of transliterating and fitting into Arabic metre all the Greek names. The result was that Bustānī's translation was appreciated more as a *tour de force* than for the intrinsic qualities of either the original or the Arabic version.² Egypt, striving after western democracy and western science, remained ignorant of and indifferent to, even a little contemptuous towards, their source.

¹ See *BSOS.*, iv, p. 751; *MSOS.*, xxxi², p. 188; *Mijallah al-Majma' al-'Ilmi*, v (1925), pp. 249-52.

² The following comment represents, in spite of its extreme partisan character, the view of conservative opinion:—

اما شعر الاغريق الذى يفضله المجدد على الشعر العربى وينمى على العرب نيلهم له وترك الاقتباس من معانيه . . . فقد كنا نجعله قبل ان يترجم لنا سليمان افندى البستاني الالباذه نظما . . . فلما اطاعنا على الالباذه وهى اعلى شعر الاغريق ومفغرتهم التاريخية حكمنا بان اجدادنا لم ينشؤوا شعرهم ورا' ظهورهم الا انهم وجدوه دون الشعر العربى فى حكمه وسائر معانيه وانه على ذلك مشوه بالخرافات الوثنية التى طهر الله عقولهم ومخيلاتهم منها بالاسلام (*Manār*, xxvii (1345), p. 397).

This paradox was brought vividly home to Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn. His students at first showed some hostility to the new imposition, as they regarded it, but gradually his eloquence and enthusiasm began to effect a change. Now he came boldly forward with the claim that if Egypt was to gain self-respect and was to progress in the ways of modern life, she must go to school and begin again with the foundations. In a series of works intended for the general public¹ he stressed again and again the necessity of classical studies as the basis of a living culture. "We cannot live in this age demanding all the political and intellectual independence enjoyed by the peoples of Europe, while we remain dependent on them for all that nourishes the intellect and the feelings in science, philosophy, literature, and the arts."² It might perhaps have gone hardly with him had the attention of Egypt not been distracted by the political crisis through which it was passing; as it was, however, he found strong support in a section of educated opinion and especially among his own colleagues. Indeed, at this very time, the Director of the University, Aḥmad Luṭfi Bey as-Sayyid, was engaged in a translation (from the French) of the *Nicomachean Ethics*, which appeared in 1924.³ But if the political situation eased his path, it also affected the success of his propaganda, and with his transference to the Chair of Arabic literature, the projected continuations of his classical studies came to an untimely and regrettable end. It is too soon yet to say that the effort to bring classical studies to bear on Arabic literature has failed; it is to be hoped at least that the Professor's example of enthusiasm for learning and intellectual courage has not been lost on the rising generation.

Even after his transference to Arabic studies, however, Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn was not to find himself in smoother waters. Following up his principle of introducing modern French methods of critical study into Egypt, he began to apply a sort of Cartesian analysis to Arabic literature, with results which became more and more radical. So far

¹ (1) *مصحف مختارة من الشعر التمثيلي عند اليونان* (Introduction to Aeschylus and Sophocles, with extracts in translation). Tijāriyah press. pp. 225. 1920.

(2) *نظام الاثينيين لارسططاليس* (Translation of Aristotle's *Athenian Constitution*, with an introduction). Hilāl press. pp. 163. 1921.

(3) *قادة الفكر* (Sketches of Greek and Roman thinkers, reprinted from *al-Hilāl*). Hilāl press. pp. 132. 1925.

² *Suḥuf Mukhtārāh*, p. 9.

³ *علم الاخلاق الى نيقوماخوس*. Govt. press, 2 vols., 1924 (J. E. Sarkis, *Bulletin Bibliographique*, 1920-1926, No. 562). See also Haykal, *Fi awqāt al-farūgh* pp. 157-63.

from emulating Dr. Haykal's cautious adaptation of European methods to the existing level of general education in Egypt, he jumped down the throats of the conservatives, and at length carried the method of philosophic doubt to a point for which Egyptian opinion was totally unprepared. His gradual progress towards radicalism can be traced in the first two series of studies which he published on Arabic poets¹; on the publication of the third, however, entitled *On Pre-Islamic Poetry*,² such an outcry was raised that the book had to be withdrawn, and a process for heresy was begun against the author.³ Again his good fortune saved him from the worst effects of his audacity, and the result of the attempted persecution of the conservatives was only to enhance his popularity and prestige with the liberals, and make him the idol of the students. Nothing daunted, therefore, he republished the work, slightly revised as a concession to public opinion, and considerably enlarged, under a different title (*On Pre-Islamic Literature*) in the following year.⁴

Scholastic though all these works are, they form an important contribution to contemporary Egyptian literature, not only by their qualities of style and method, but by the skilful way in which the needs of a wider public are kept in view. The style is peculiar in the sense that, being dictated, not written, it presents characteristics, such as frequent repetition of phrases, which belong to oratory rather than to prose. Yet the happy choice of words, the smoothness and facility of the argument, and the humorous and masterly handling of the subject, give it an attractive quality which is rarely equalled in Egyptian writing. Nevertheless, it is in their educational aspect that the main value of these studies lies, and whether or not all the

¹ حديث الأرواح (so called, because originally published in *al-Sigāsah* on Wednesdays): 1st series, Tijāriyah press, pp. 326, n.d. [1925]; 2nd series, Govt. press, pp. 150. 1344/1926; critique by M. Kurd 'Alī in *Mijallah al-Majma' al-'Ilmi* (Damascus), v (1925), pp. 147 ff. The reader will note the reminiscence of the *Causeries du Lundi* in the title.

² في الشعر الجاهلي. Govt. press, pp. 183. 1344/1926. The book was not sequestrated, but the issue was bought in and withdrawn from circulation. See on this book Lammens, *L'Islam* (Beyrouth, 1926), pp. 242-3; English trans. by Sir E. D. Ross (London, 1929), pp. 223-4.

³ It should be borne in mind that the Egyptians had taken over the French view of university professors as salaried servants of the State.

⁴ لجنة التأليف والترجمة والنشر. Published by the لجنة التأليف والترجمة والنشر, l'tiniād press, pp. 376. 1345/1927. Reviewed by Professor Margoliouth in *JRAS*. 1927, 902-4. Both these works have provoked a whole series of rejoinders by writers of the conservative school. An interesting discussion of the issues involved will be found in *al-Machrig*, xxvi (1928), 195 ff., and xxvii (1929), 434 ff.

conclusions to which Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn has come are accepted, the wide influence which he enjoys must in due course lead to the strengthening in Egyptian thought and literature of the principles for which he stands.¹

It is not only in virtue of these works, however, that Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn occupies an outstanding position in contemporary letters. Outside the sphere of his professional studies, he has found the time to make fairly extensive contributions to periodical literature, among which may be mentioned the lengthy critical analyses of modern French plays, published in *al-Hilāl*, a number of which have been reprinted in book form.² In 1922 he issued a translation of Gustave le Bon's *Psychologie de l'Education*.³ Much more important from every point of view is the literary autobiography, entitled *Al-Ayyām* ("Days"), a work which is justly praised for its depth of feeling and for the truth of its descriptions, and has a good claim to be regarded as the finest work of art yet produced in modern Egyptian literature.⁴

Together with the writers already mentioned there are a number of others who belong to the same group, but are less prominent in the world of letters. Amongst the other professors at the Egyptian

¹ It is for this reason, of course, that Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn is the object of the most bitter attacks in conservative and reactionary circles. As a specimen of the outrageous criticism and slander to which he is subjected, the following passages from *al-Manār* (xxvii (1345), pp. 387-8), apropos of *Fi'l-Adab al-Jāhili*, may be quoted here, with apologies to him for reproducing such odious—and at the same time ludicrous—personalities:—

جمعية تجديد الاحاد والزندة والاباحة المطلقة

الفالدكتور طه حسين استاذ تجديد الاحاد والاباحة في الجامعة المصرية غير الرسمية
فالسرية كتيباً... هذا الاعمى البصر والبصرة... يريد به تجريد أمتهم من الدين واللغة
والنسب والادب والتاريخ ليجدهم بذلك فيجعلهم امة اورية!! بل طعة الدول الاورية،
كما جدد نفسه وبيته بتزوج امرأة غير مسلمة وبسببته اولاده منها باسمه الاقربى رغبة عن
الاسماء العربية القديمة والجديدة واحتقاراً لها، وقد حدثنا الثقة عن احد اصداقائه واساتذته
انه قال: لا مانع بحول دون اقناعنا المصريين بسيادة الانكليز وحكمهم الا الدين، اى
فلا بد من ازالة هذا المانع.

The student will note an interesting example of the survival of traditional methods of Arabic historiography in the last sentence!

² قصص تيميلة. Tijārīyah press, 1924. The series *بين العلم والدين* published in *al-Hadīth*, vol. i (Aleppo, 1927), is also of interest.

³ روح التربية. Hilāl press, 1922.

⁴ Published in *al-Hilāl* between December, 1926, and July, 1927. I hope to deal more fully with this and with Dr. Haykal's novel *Zaynab* in a later article.

University, several, including Maṣṣūr Bey Fahmī, Dr. Aḥmad Amīn, Dr. Aḥmad Dayf,¹ and Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Abd ar-Rāziq, are known to a fairly wide public. The last named,² whose masterly introduction to the French translation of Muḥammad 'Abduh's *Risālat at-Tawḥīd* is familiar to European scholars, probably stands in the truest line of development from Muḥammad 'Abduh, as a modernist who yet holds firmly to the bases of Islamic tradition. At the opposite extreme to him is Maḥmūd 'Azmi, sub-editor of *as-Siyāṣah*, and the most advanced of all Muslim Egyptian modernists.

The same school of thought is represented also amongst the teachers at other higher colleges, and though in most cases their individual influence is bounded by their immediate students and their particular subject, yet cumulatively their effect on the evolution of Egyptian taste is considerable. It extends still further into the ranks of more popular writers, who, whether or not they make any claim to familiarity with French literature, show in their output the influence of their contacts with French thought. As Lord Cromer observed twenty years ago,³ French culture has exercised a peculiarly powerful attraction on educated Egyptians, and while there is nothing regrettable in this fact itself, the study of Egyptian literature shows that it is open to question whether its effects have been altogether good.

The reasons for this criticism lie in the attraction of Egyptian writers and readers towards particular currents in French literature, rather than towards French literature as a whole. It could hardly be expected that Egyptians should feel any natural sympathy with the productions of the classical school, while, on the contrary, there is a real kinship between the spirit of Arabic literature and the works of the Romanticists. The previous article has shown how strongly Manfalūṭī fell under the influence of such writers as Chateaubriand, and in this Manfalūṭī was by no means exceptional. The range of better-educated Egyptians has widened, but the student cannot help noticing how often the names of Rousseau, Alfred de Vigny, de Musset, and Hugo recur, and still more how widespread is the

¹ Dr. Dayf is joint-author of two remarkable novels of Egyptian life published in French, entitled *Mansour* and *El-Azhar*. On his study of Spanish-Arabic literature (بلاغة العرب في الآداب) see *MSOS.*, xxix, 240-1.

² He is a brother of 'Alī 'Abd ar-Rāziq, whose book on *Islam and the Principles of Government* (إسلام وأصول الدين)—on which see Lammens, *L'Islam*, pp. 121-2 = English trans., pp. 109-10—created such a sensation in Egypt in 1925.

³ *Modern Egypt*, vol. ii, p. 236. (One volume ed., p. 643.)

admiration for Anatole France, even among the best of the Egyptian writers mentioned above.¹ When one considers what might be the fruit of this inoculation with the more negative and sceptical sides of modern French culture, one can sympathize with the fear of the conservatives that the influence of European studies is wholly destructive. Fortunately, however, among the leaders of the liberal school, these tendencies are balanced by a wider grasp of the vital and constructive process within which the European reader is able to give the Romanticists their fitting place. There are even one or two writers who stress the doctrine of progress through suffering,² though they fail to convey a vivid impression of actuality.

An important share in the propagation of healthier and more constructive elements of western thought is taken by the second group of Egyptian modernists, those writers whose European background is mainly English. The reason for this is not to be sought in any comparisons between French and English culture as a whole, but rather in the fact that the English writers with whom Egyptians are most familiar—Shakespeare, Carlyle, Dickens, Tennyson, Bernard Shaw—are essentially writers of a healthy and constructive outlook. The leading literary figures in this group are 'Abbās Maḥmūd al-'Aqqād and Ibrahīm 'Abd al-Qādir al-Māzinī. The gap which separates al-'Aqqād from the majority of those already named is fairly wide, and has unfortunately been widened by political differences, though the latter of course cut across all literary divisions. Al-Māzinī occupies a more intermediate position, but in the controversies to which they, in common with many others, have devoted a disproportionate share of their energies, he is distinguished by a vigour which amounts at times to violence.

In their literary careers al-'Aqqād and al-Māzinī have developed along closely similar lines. Both of them began as poets of a modernist type,³ whose lyrics are inspired by definite subjective emotions, and not in any way influenced by the traditional methods and subjects of Arabic poetry. At the same time, that is from 1912 onwards, they

¹ Cf. *MSOS.*, xxix, 257.

² e.g. Muhammad Ṣabī, ادب وتاريخ (Govt. press, 1927), pp. 296-300.

³ For the early productions of al-'Aqqād see Sarkis, *Dict. Émérge. de Bibliographie Arabe*, col. 1347; for al-Māzinī, *ibid.*, col. 1608 (where the date 1333 given for his *Diwān* is an error for 1333; the edition itself is undated). Al-'Aqqād's *Diwān* was republished by the Muqatafat press, 1928; his introduction to al-Māzinī's *Diwān* is reprinted in *المطالعات*, pp. 274-80.

engaged in a certain amount of poetic criticism, which led up to their joint publication in 1920-21 of vigorous critical essays on such leading literary figures of the conservative school as Manfalūṭī and the poet Aḥmad Shawqī, under the misleading title of *ad-Diwān*.¹ Their subsequent publications consist of collections of articles of different dates, reprinted from various journals, and ranging over a wide field.² In general they share the aims and characteristics already noted as common to all the Egyptian modernists, and do not hide their conviction that a literary revival, reflecting a revolution in the ideas and outlook of the people, is a necessary preliminary to a full revival of national life, and that it is the present task of the writer and thinker to guide the people towards the formulation and achievement of their national contribution to civilization. But both of them stand appreciably nearer to the conservative position than either Dr. Haykal or Dr. Ṭāhā Ḥusayn; they are less insistent on the evolution of a purely Egyptian culture, and lay more weight on the grafting of congruent European elements on the Arabic stock in order to produce a modernized Arabic-Islamic culture.³ One of the main features of their work, consequently, is a careful study of such poets as Ibn ar-Rūmī and Mutanabbī, and the valuation of their productions somewhat on the lines of Hazlitt.

Yet in spite of a certain general similarity of aim and methods and even of subject, there is a marked difference in tone, no less than in style, between the work of al-'Aqqād and that of al-Māzinī. Hitherto al-'Aqqād appears by far the more original writer and his work leaves the more satisfying impression.⁴ The keynotes of his writings are Freedom and Truth. These are the things of which Egypt stands in

¹ الديوان. كتاب في النقد والادب. Ten parts were planned, but only two appear to have been issued.

² Al-'Aqqād: (1) الفصول. Sa'ādah press, pp. 296. 1922/1341. (Summary of contents in *MSOS.*, xxix² (1926), p. 242.) (2) المطالعات. Tijāriyah press, pp. 310. 1924/1343. (3) المراجعات. 'Asriyah press, pp. 276. n.d. [1926]. (Summary of contents in *MSOS.*, *ibid.*, pp. 241-2; review by M. Kurd 'Alī in *Mijallah*, etc., vi (1926), pp. 334-5.

Al-Māzinī: (1) حصاد الشهيم. 'Asriyah press, pp. 473, n.d. [1925]. (2) قبض الریح. 'Asriyah press, pp. 222, n.d. [1928].

³ This is to be taken as a general statement, of course; in specific essays here and there al-'Aqqād may appear more radical than Dr. Haykal.

⁴ On 'Aqqād see also Professor Kratchkowsky's Introduction, xviii-xix (= *MSOS.*, xxxi², 194).

greatest need.¹ Freedom lies in the power of the mind to overcome obstacles; to begin by seeking political "freedom" is to begin at the wrong end. Truth is the reality behind the outward shows of life, and truth and freedom issue in beauty. "Without love of beauty there is no freedom"; the mind of Egypt hitherto is symbolized by the cultivation of the soil of Egypt—entirely given up to necessary and materially useful things; but now there is a growing appreciation of beauty and art.² The larger number of al-'Aqqād's essays, outside those devoted to purely literary criticism, are given up to the elaboration of these ideas.³ It is in this reaction to the views of the realistic school that the chief importance of his work as a prose writer lies. The same conceptions underlie his literary methods. "Literature and the arts are the highest expression of freedom."⁴ The object of literature is not to amuse or entertain, but to widen the reader's hold on life.⁵ The writer of natural genius (*matbū'*) is one who follows his natural bent without seeking to copy others.⁶ But it is not enough to present a faithful picture, a mere photograph; the writer must be an artist who strives after an ideal of beauty. Simplicity alone is not the supreme art in style; it is not to be demanded of a writer that his language should be easy to everyone.⁷ In accordance with this principle al-'Aqqād has forged for himself a style which is peculiar in contemporary Arabic literature, a style which is elaborate and rather of a western type in texture, yet slightly archaic in language, and which demands the utmost concentration on the part of the reader. Some such new form of expression he feels to be necessary for his purpose, since old Arabic had no real literary style, what did duty as such (excluding works dealing with plain recitals of fact) being in reality rhetorical in its origin and manner, and open to serious

¹ For this reason he protests against the prominence given to the ideas of Anatole France by writers of the French school (المطالعات, 232 ff.). The principal weakness which he discerns in the Egyptian character is frivolity and lack of seriousness, and it is perhaps symptomatic of his English background that the remedy which he proposes for this weakness should be *real* play—exercise of the body as well as of the mind (ibid., 272-3).

² المطالعات, pp. 54-7.

³ e.g. المراجعات, 48-89.

⁴ Ibid., 79.

⁵ المطالعات, 1-9; cf. المراجعات, 22.

⁶ المطالعات, 227. This, of course, is aimed at the conservative school.

⁷ المراجعات, 90-9.

criticisms.¹ True renovation must, however, be based on a thorough grasp of classical Arabic²; the writer who has acquired this mastery may then at his own will enrich it by the adaptation of congruent elements from other languages.³ Unadorned statement is not literature; only that is worthy of the name which expresses thought in a garb of beauty and dignity.

Al-Māzinī shares al-'Aqqād's views on "freedom", but not his artist's idealism. He is at heart a realist, whose vision is, however, tempered by a touch of fantasy. His earlier literary essays are for the most part straightforward in subject and manner, and scarcely call for special remark. It is more interesting to follow up the evolution of his style. In his earliest work⁴ he is still strongly influenced by the classical Arabic style, though his treatment of the subject is determined by his English reading. The post-war essays in the same collection show a marked improvement in the direction of simplicity and concentration; the style resembles on the whole that of Dr. Haykal and other modernist authors, the choice of words is careful, but there is no attempt to imitate al-'Aqqād's elaborate syntax and rather studious diction. In his next book,⁵ however, the tone of his writing has begun to change. It is altogether lighter, gayer, and more sparkling, and in a few passages the essay form is exchanged for short sketches and dramatic dialogues. It seems as if al-Māzinī had realized that the literary essay was not his real bent, and was beginning to find his feet in a new form of composition. Since 1928 he has regularly contributed to the weekly *Siyāṣah* and other journals sketches and dialogues written in this crisp and witty style, and there can be no question that as a definite contribution to imaginative literature, in which modern Arabic is still exceedingly weak, these rank much higher than his critical essays. Whether he will eventually take the next step, and emerge as an

¹ المطالعات, 229-30.

² Cf. his criticism of Jibrān, not only for his language, however, but also for the poverty of his ideas, though he admits the poetic insight of some passages (*al-Fuṣūḥ*, 46-9).

³ المراجعات, 100-8. See also his analysis of modern Arabic literary movements in his letter of acceptance of membership of the Arab Academy; *Mijallah*, etc., vi (1926), pp. 548-50.

⁴ A study of Ibn ar-Rāmlī written in 1913-14, reprinted in *حصار الهيم*, pp. 298-346.

⁵ قبض الربيع (see above, p. 461, n. 2). The greater part is devoted to a criticism of Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn's *حديث الجاهلي* and *في الشعر الجاهلي*.

Arabic novelist, remains to be seen,¹ but there is none among the modern Arabic writers mentioned so far who possesses, at least from the point of view of style, better qualifications.

The place occupied by German literature in this revival is still restricted, though in view of the numbers of Egyptian students in Germany it may be expected to expand. References to Goethe, Schiller, Nietzsche, and so on are frequently found in the pages of the essayists, but there is little evidence of any real influence exerted by German thought on Egyptian writers. It is interesting, however, to see how the distinction between the two groups observed above maintains itself in relation to German literature. Al-'Aqqād is attracted to Kant,² and frequently discusses Schopenhauer and Nietzsche, while the French school is attracted rather to the romantic writers. From the latter group emanates the only notable translation yet made of a German work, Goethe's *Werther*, and that itself on the basis of French translations.³

Within the ranks of the Egyptian modernists whose activity has been discussed up to this point there are, of course, varying degrees of western adaptation. Shaykh Muṣṭafā 'Abd ar-Rāziq and Professor Maṣṣūr Fahmy are still to a large extent in touch with conservative feeling; al-'Aqqād and Dr. Haykal are less so, while Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn inclines still more to the left. The extreme left wing of Egyptian modernism, however, is formed by another group, composed hitherto largely of Egyptian Christians, in which the principal figure is Salāmah Mūsā, the present editor of the monthly journal *al-Hilāl*. Salāmah Mūsā first came into prominence by his writings in defence of the theory of evolution and of socialism, which he had studied during some years of residence in England.⁴ His post-war publications consist so far of collections of essays, reprinted from *al-Hilāl* and other journals, and dealing not only with literary matters, but with such subjects as Malthus, the Ice Age, psycho-analysis and the subconscious mind

¹ He has spoken of this possibility in *as-Siassa* (weekly ed.), 27th April, 1929, p. 5.

² المطالعات, 249-59.

³ آلام فرز. Translated by Ahmad Hasan az-Zayyāt, with an introduction by Dr. Tāhā Ḥusayn. 1342/1924. See on this, and on other translations from the French by az-Zayyāt, *MSQS.*, xxix², 248.

⁴ For his earlier works see Sarkis, *Dict. Enc.*, col. 1038. The first exponent of the Darwinian theory in Arabic was the Syrian, Dr. Shibli Shumayl (Shumayyil), on whom see *al-Machriq*, 1926, p. 526; for his writings, Sarkis, cols. 1144-5. His work met with very little response in Egypt, and it has fallen to his disciple Salāmah Mūsā to prosecute it with more success. Needless to say, the theory of evolution is still very gingerly handled in ultra-conservative circles.

(الواعية الحقة), and especially with evolution.¹ His favourite authors are Bernard Shaw and H. G. Wells; like them, he speaks his mind out fearlessly, and even provocatively, on subjects which even the most advanced of the Muslim modernists treat with caution. Perhaps the best example is furnished by his essay on Monotheism,² in which he argues for the naturalistic origin of *tauhid* and boldly applies the doctrine of evolution to religion. His attitude to Arabic literature and literary style is characterized by the same boldness and vigour of thought. In both classical and contemporary Arabic literature he finds a lack of sound knowledge and of contact with the facts of life, and while at first he was content to allow the classical tradition some share, though a subordinate one, in the formation of a modern Arab culture,³ in his latest writings he pronounces for complete severance from the past.⁴ English and French style he declares roundly to be better than Arabic style, and he has made it his aim to produce what he calls the "telegraphic" form of writing, "in which the words do not outnumber the ideas."⁵ But while he is distinguished from his Egyptian colleagues by his more extreme views (though to the European they are often the ordinary views of an educated man), he is, unlike the Syro-American school, careful to observe in his writings the familiar rhythms of Arabic. The "vulgarity" of language, for which he is violently criticized in certain quarters, amounts to no more than the taking up into the written language of a few popular words, which serve his purpose better than unfamiliar classicisms.⁶ Yet he is not entirely a partisan of the "Egyptian culture" school; on the contrary his aim is to bring Arabic thought generally into line with western thought. Like his predecessor Gurgī Zaydān, his work is rather didactic than literary, but it may be said with truth that he is the worthy successor of Zaydān in the altered circumstances of present-day Egypt. His popularity with,

¹ حرية الفكر وإبطالها في (2). مختارات سلامة موسى (1). 'Asriyah press, n.d. [1924]. (2) حرية الفكر وإبطالها في (2). Hilāl press, 1926. (3) اليوم والغد. 'Asriyah press, n.d. [1927]. I have not seen a copy of this book. There is a violent criticism of it by Cheikho in *al-Mashriq*, xxv (1927), p. 967.

² مختارات, pp. 98-103.

³ "For each look backwards we must look forward twice": *Ibid.*, 51.

⁴ See his articles *قطعة الماضي* in *al-Hadith*, vol. ii, 32-4, and *الشرق والغرب* in *ar-Rabitah ash-Sharqiyyah*, vol. i, No. 2 (Dec. 1928), 46-50.

⁵ مختارات, p. 8.

⁶ See his article on the literary use of Egyptian colloquial terms in *al-Hilāl*, July, 1926.

and the influence which his work exerts on, a section of the rising generation of Egyptians, both Muslim and Christian, show that he is a factor to be reckoned with in the evolution of modern Egyptian thought and literature.¹

If it is asked to what, after all, this literary activity in Egypt amounts, the answer will not be found merely by reckoning up the number of productions, which will bear comparison, from the point of view of interest or profit, with those of any other country. It must be judged, not from the standpoint of a highly-developed western literature, but in relation to its background, audience, and environment. It has brought into Arabic literature new values and ideals, towards which it strives to direct the political and cultural aspirations of the Egyptians, and which at the same time link it up with the thought of the civilized world outside. These writers have shown that it is not only possible, but, humanly speaking, certain, that in due course a body of Arabic literature will be created which will express the distinctive contribution of Arabs and Egyptians to modern civilization, not as imitators of an alien culture, but as members of an original and vigorous organism, in the same way that Russian literature has expressed the distinctive contribution of the Russian genius. All of them are conscious that they stand at the beginnings of this development, that they are precursors of that newer Arabic literature yet to be, but each seeks to bring to it his own offering of experiment and thought. They know that what they are expressing is not the feeling of the people as a whole, but the views of a small minority who are striving, with increasing success and a strong assurance of ultimate victory, to convert and educate the people. In this alone they see the hope of the future, and their part is to unify, broaden, and extend the influence of these forces. For their final aim, as al-'Aqqād has well said,² is not to create an intellectual culture, a culture of decadence and mere words, but a natural culture, a culture of progress.

ADDITIONAL NOTES

p. 459, n. 2. On Shaykh Mustafā 'Abdar-Rāziq see now *al-Hilāl*, August, 1929, pp. 1162 ff.

p. 463. As this article is in Press, the issue is announced of a selection of al-Māzini's dramatic sketches and essays under the title of *منشوق الدنيا* ("The Peepshow"). Taraqqī Press, 1929.

p. 464, n. 3. A translation of Goethe's *Faust*, by Professor Muḥammad 'Awad, of the Egyptian University, is now announced, with a preface by Dr. Tāḥā Ḥusayn.

¹ According to his own statement (in *al-Hadīth*, vol. II, pp. 285-6) 45,000 copies of his books have been printed.

² Introduction to his collected *Dīwān*, p. 8.

THE EARLIEST ACCOUNT OF 'UMAR KHAYYĀM

IT has hitherto been supposed that the earliest allusion to 'Umar Khayyām is that contained in the *Chahār Maqāla* of Nizām-i 'Arūdī, which was written in A.H. 552, and the second allusion in point of date that contained in the *Nuzhat al-Arwāḥ* of Muḥammad Shahrāzūrī, written about the middle of the seventh century. The latter account was edited, together with a subsidiary Persian version and Russian translation, by Professor Zhukovsky in *al-Muzaffariya* (St. Petersburg, 1897, pp. 327-31). Now this account of 'Umar was taken almost verbatim, but with several extensive omissions, from the *Ta'rīkh Ḥukamā' al-Islām* of Zāhīr ad-Dīn al-Bayhaqī, which was composed before A.H. 549, and therefore antedates by some years the notice in the *Chahār Maqāla*. We are indebted to Professor Weil for the kind loan of the unique manuscript of this work, now in the Berlin University Library (Petermann, ii, 737), from which the following notice has been extracted.

E. D. R.

H. A. R. G.

الدستور الفيلسوف حجة الخلق [Fol. 66b]

عمر بن ابراهيم الخيام

كان نيسابورى الميلاذ والآباء والأجداد وكان تلوأبى على
فى إجزاء علوم الحكمة الا أنه كان سىء الخلق ضيق المطن وقد تأمل
كتابا باصفهان سبع مرات وحفظه وعاد الى نيسابور وأمله فقوبل
بنسخة الأصل فلم يوجد بينهما كثير تفاوت وطالعه الجوزاء
والشمس وعطارد على درجة الطالع فى ح من الجوزاء وعطارد
صمبى والمشتري من التثليث ناظر اليهما وله ضنة بالتصنيف [f. 67a]

والتعليم ولم يكتب تصنيفا الاختصرا في الطبيعيات ورسالة في الوجود ورسالة في الكون والتكليف وكان عالما باللغة والفقه والتواريخ وقيل دخل الامام عمر يوما على شهاب الاسلام الوزير وهو عبد الرزاق بن الفقيه الأجلّ أبي القاسم عبد الله بن علي بن أخ نظام وكان عنده امام القراء ابو الحسن الغزال وكانا يتكلمان في اختلاف القراءة في آية فقال شهاب الاسلام على الخبر سقطنا فسئل الامام عمر عن ذلك فذكر وجوه اختلاف القراءة وعِلل كل واحد وذكر الشواذ وعِللها وفضل وجهها وا حدا على سائر الوجوه فقال امام القراء أبو الحسن الغزال كثّر الله في [f. 67b] العلماء مثلك اجعلني من أمة أهلك وارض عني فاني ما ظننت أن واحدا من القراء في الدنيا يحفظ ذلك ويعرفه فضلا عن واحد من الحكماء وأما أجزاء الحكمة من الرياضات والمعقولات فكان ابن يجمدها ودخل يوما عليه الامام حجة الاسلام محمد الغزالي وسأله عن تعيين جزء من أجزاء الفلك القطبية دون غيرها مع أن الفلك متشابه الأجزاء وأنا قد ذكرت ذلك في كتاب عرايس النفايس من تصنيفي فأطال الامام عمر الكلام وابتدأ من أن الحركة من مقولة كذا وضم بالحوض في محل النزاع وكان من دابة ذلك الشيخ المطاع حتى قام قائم الظهيرة وأذن المؤذن

فقال الامام الغزالي (جَاءَ الْحَقُّ وَزَهَقَ الْبَاطِلُ) وقام ودخل
الامام عمر يوما [f. 68a] على السلطان الأعظم سنجر وهو صبي
وقد أصابه الجدري فخرج من عنده فقال له الوزير مجير^١ الدولة
كيف رأيته وبأى شئ عالجته فقال له الامام عمر الصبي مخوف
ففهم ذلك خادم حبشى ورفع ذلك الى السلطان فلما برأ السلطان
أضمر بسبب بفض الامام عمر وكان لا يحبه وكان السلطان ملكشاه
ينزله منزلة الندماء والخاقان شمس الملوك ببخارى يعظمه غاية
التعظيم ويجلس الامام عمر معه على سريره وحكى الامام عمر
يوما لوالدى وقال انى كنت يوما بين يدى السلطان ملكشاه
ودخل عليه صبي من اولاد الأمراء وأدى خدمة مرضية فتعجبت
من حسن خدمته في صغر سنه فقال لى السلطان لا تتعجب فان
فرخ [f. 68b] الدجاجة اذا تفقأت يبيضته يلتقط الحب بلا تعليم
ولكنه لا يهتدى إلى بيته سبيلا وفرخ الحمامة لا يلتقط الحب إلا
بتعليم الزق مع ذلك يصير حماما هاديا يطير من مكة الى بغداد
فتعجبت من كلام السلطان وقلت كل كبير ملهم وقد دخلت
على الامام فى خدمة والذى رحمه الله فى سنة سبع وخمسمائة
فسألنى عن بيت فى الحماسة وهو ولا يرعون أكناف الهوينا

إذا حلوا ولا روض الهدون فقلت الهوينا تصغير لا تكبير له
 كالثرى والحميا والشاعر يشير إلى عز هو لا، ومنهم يعني لا يُسْفَوْنَ
 إذا حلوا مكانا إلى التقصير ولا إلى الأمر الحقيق بل يقصدون
 الأشد فالأشد من معالي الأمور ثم سألت عن أنواع الخطوط
 القوسية فقلت أنواع الخطوط [f. 69a] القوسية أربعة منها محيط
 دائرة ومنها قوس أعظم من نصف دائرة فقال لوالدى شنشنة
 أعرفها من أخزم^١ وحكى لى ختته الامام محمد البغدادى أنه كان
 يتخلل بخلال من ذهب وكان يتأمل الالهيات من الشفا فلما وصل
 إلى فصل الواحد والكثير وضع الخلال بين الورقتين فقال ادع
 الأزكياء حتى أوصى فوصى فقام وصلى ولم يأكل ولم يشرب
 فلما صلى العشاء الأخيرة سجد وكان يقول فى سجوده اللهم تعرف
 أنى عرفتك على مبلغ امكانى فاغفر لى فان مرفتى اياك وسيلتى
 اليك ومات

THE MASTER AND PHILOSOPHER, THE PROOF OF THE PEOPLE, 'UMAR
 IBN IBRĀHĪM AL-KHAYYĀM.

He was a Nishāpūrī by birth, as also were his father and his
 ancestors. He was the disciple of Abū 'Alī in the various branches
 of philosophic studies, but was withal a man of disagreeable character
 and peevish temper. Having studied a certain book in Iṣfahān
 seven times and memorized it, he returned to Nishāpūr and there

dictated it. It was afterwards compared with a copy of the original, and very little difference was found between them. His horoscope was Gemini, the sun and Mercury being in the ascendant. .¹ He was niggardly in both composing and teaching, and wrote nothing but a compendium on physics, a treatise on Existence, and another on Being and Obligation, though he had a wide knowledge of philology, jurisprudence, and history.

The story is told that the Imām 'Umar one day entered the presence of the wazīr Shihāb al-Islām, i.e. 'Abd ar-Razzāq, son of the great jurisconsult Abu'l-Qāsim 'Abdallāh ibn 'Alī ibn Akh Nazzām. With the latter was the Imām of the Koran-readers, Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzālī,² and the two of them were discussing the different readings of a certain verse of the Koran. Shihāb al-Islām said "Now we have lighted on the expert", and questioned the Imām 'Umar on the point. Thereupon 'Umar not only enumerated the conflicting readings of the readers with the objections to each one, but also related the unsupported traditions and exposed their faults, and then proceeded to argue for the superiority of one reading over all the other readings. The Imām of the Readers, Abu'l-Ḥasan al-Ghazzālī, exclaimed, "May God multiply such men as you among the learned! Make me one of the familiars of your house and grant me your favour! I never thought that anyone in the world, not even any of the readers, could memorize and master the whole of that, let alone one of the philosophers."

In the mathematical and metaphysical branches of philosophy he was a thorough master. One day the Imām, the Proof of Islām, Muḥammad al-Ghazzālī, visited him and questioned him on the greater prominence of one of the polar sections of the celestial sphere than of the other sections, although the sphere itself is symmetrical. (I have discussed this point in my own book *'Arā'is an-Nafā'is*.) The Imām 'Umar made a discourse of inordinate length, beginning with the statement that movement belonged to such and such a category, but dealt very meagrely with the point under discussion—for such was the usual way of this much-revered shaykh. At length the mosque attendant whose duty it was to give the signal (to the mu'adhdhin) at midday rose to his task, and the mu'adhdhin

¹ A line of supplementary astronomical data has been omitted.

² In Zhukovsky *al-Ghazzālī*, but see Sam'āni, *Kitāb al-Ansāb*, fol. 407b, l. 4 from foot. Al-Ghazzālī's *kunya* was Abū Ḥāmid.

issued the call to prayer, whereupon the Imâm al-Ghazzâlî quoted "The truth has come and falsehood has passed away", and went off.

The Imâm 'Umar one day visited the Great Sultan Sinjar during his boyhood, when he was suffering from an attack of smallpox. When he came out the wazir Mujîr ad-Dawlah said to him, "What do you think of him and how have you treated him?" The Imâm 'Umar replied to him, "The boy is dangerous." The words were caught by a negro eunuch, who brought them to the ears of the Sultan. When the Sultan recovered he entertained a secret feeling of hatred for the Imâm 'Umar and disliked him, whereas the Sultan Malikshâh used to number him amongst his boon companions and the Khâqân Shams al-Mulûk at Bukhârâ used to show him the greatest honour, so much so that he would seat the Imâm 'Umar beside him on his divan.

The Imâm 'Umar once told the following story to my father. One day, he said, I was with the Sultan Malikshâh when a boy came in, one of the children of the amîrs, and did homage to him most gracefully. I marvelled at the elegance of the salutation in one so young as he was, but the Sultan said to me, "Do not be surprised; a young chicken, when its egg is broken, sets about pecking at grains without being taught, but it cannot find its own way to its nest, while a young pigeon does not peck at grains until it has been taught through being fed from the bill, but in spite of that it grows into a pigeon which can direct itself and will fly from Mecca to Baghdâd." The Sultan's words impressed me greatly, and I said, "Every one of greatness is guided by instinct."

I myself once visited the Imâm on behalf of my father (may God have mercy upon him) in the year 507, and he asked me to explain a verse in the *Hamāsah* which runs¹:

Nor do they pasture, when they alight, on the flanks of quietude
nor in the grove of meekness.

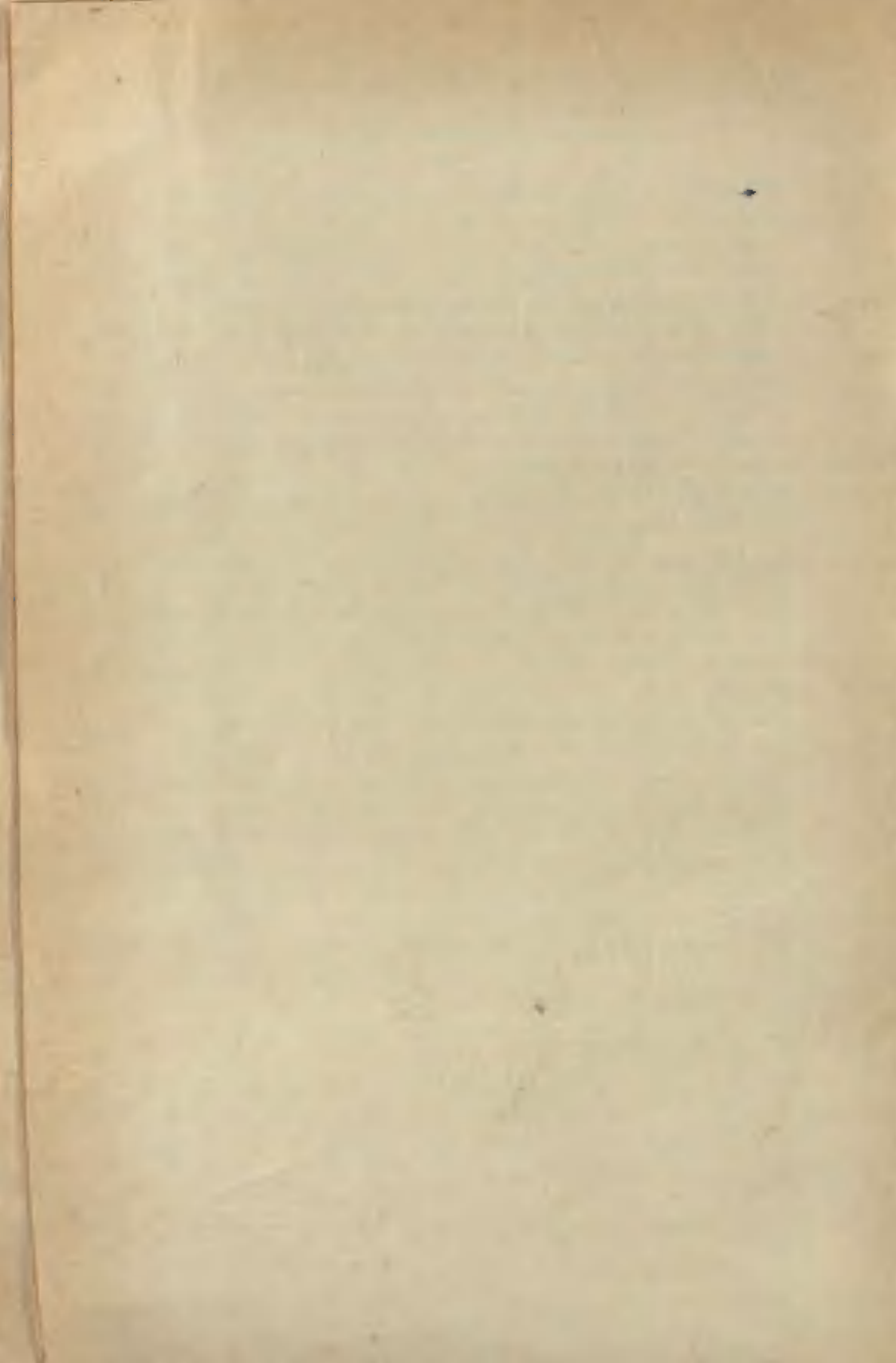
I said "*al-huncaynā* is a diminutive with no corresponding form of magnitude, just like *ath-thurayyā* and *al-ḥumayyā*. The poet intends to indicate the might and invincibility of this tribe; his expression means 'when they encamp at any place, they do not stoop to weakness or ignominy, but aim at ever more glorious deeds'." Then he asked me how many kinds of segments there are. I replied, "Four kinds, including the circumference of the circle, and a segment greater

¹ *Hamāsah*, ed. Freytag, i, p. 15, l. 1.

thap a half-circle." Turning to my father he said, "A chip of the old block."¹

His son-in-law, the Imâm Muḥammad al-Baghdādî, told me that he used to use a golden toothpick. He was studying the metaphysics in [Avicenna's] *Shifâ*, and when he came to the chapter on "The One and the Many", he placed the toothpick between the two pages and said, "Summon the righteous ones that I may make my testament." He then made his testament, arose and prayed, and neither ate nor drank. When he prayed the last evening prayer he prostrated himself, saying as he did so, "O God, Thou knowest that I have sought to know Thee to the measure of my powers. Forgive my sins, for my knowledge of Thee is my means of approach to Thee," and died.

¹ Literally "A character familiar to me from Akhzam", a proverbial saying on which see Freytag, *Arabum Proverbia*, i, 658, No. 20.



PERSIAN SUFIISM

BEING A TRANSLATION OF PROFESSOR ZHUKOVSKY'S INTRODUCTION
TO HIS EDITION OF THE *KASHF AL-MAHJŪB*

[The following is a translation of the preface to the late Professor Zhukovsky's edition of the Persian text of Hujwiri's *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, which was published posthumously in Leningrad in 1926.

Professor Zhukovsky was already at work on this critical edition when Professor R. A. Nicholson brought out his well-known translation (Gibb Memorial Series, vol. xvii, 1911) which was based on the Lahore edition of 1903. This translation was also provided with an admirable introduction, but seeing that it is out of print and that Zhukovsky's work is inaccessible to those who do not know Russian, the editor thinks he will be rendering a service to students of Persian Šūfiism in publishing an English translation of Zhukovsky's preface. The translation, which has been made by Mr. Sidney Jerrold, contains only the literary portions of the Russian original. A considerable amount of textual criticism and discussion of sources have been omitted as being of no interest to those who have not the text before them.

Wherever possible, the translations from the Persian have been taken from Nicholson's English versions, as this was obviously more satisfactory than re-translating the Russian renderings.

E. D. R.]

THE work before us is one which Eastern connoisseurs and authorities with good reason esteem most highly : Jāmi in his *Nafahāt al-Uns* describes it as being among the "important and well-known books" in the domain of Šūfiism, and as containing "a large quantity of subtle and exact research" ; and Dara-Shukukh, the author of *Safinat al-Aaliyā*, speaks of it as follows :—"Of the books on Šūfiism in the Persian language there is none so well composed as the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*," and "no one can say anything against it".

The author of the present work, Abdu'l Hasan al Jullābī al Hujwiri al Ghaznawī, as his *nisba* indicates, came from the most easterly part of Khurasan—the town of Ghazna. His family was distinguished for asceticism and piety ; he was of the Hanifite school, and lived in the fifth century of the Hijra.

Unhappily we do not possess a single source setting forth his life circumstantially and consecutively ; we do not even know the date of his birth or of his death. Although Jāmī and Dara-Shukukh assign him a special place in their biographical collections, they confine themselves, especially Jāmī, to very brief extracts from *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, and they do not give any biographical facts of their own, but only throw some light, and that a dim one, upon the last period of his life in India, on the authority of sources, inaccessible to me, in the latest Indian *tazkira*, *Khazinat al-Asfiyā*. We must, therefore, content ourselves with those casual and fragmentary sidelights upon himself which appear between the lines of his work.

From a careful examination of these valuable indications scattered throughout his work, we learn that Jullābī's teacher was Abū'l Abbas al-Shaqānī, a man of great and varied attainments who had frequented many Shaykhs. To him Jullābī bore great affection which was returned with real tenderness. "In no class, says Jullābī, have I met a man who respected and venerated the religious law more than he."

Shaqānī was one of those Shaykhs who did not repudiate the famous Hallaj. He is accurately portrayed in the words of Abū Sa'id al-Mayhanī, which he addressed to a certain Sayyid of Nishāpūr who was offended because Abū Sa'id had seated Shaqānī higher than the said Sayyid : "If you are loved it is for Muhammad, but if they love him (i.e. Shaqānī) it is for God's sake."

Jullābī's spiritual guide along the *tarīqat* was Abd al-Faḍl Muḥammad b. al-Hasan al-Khuttalī, a pupil of Abū'l Hasan al-Husri, who was a pupil of Abū Bakr al-Shiblī, the pupil of the founder of a sect Junayd al-Baghdādī. As opposed to Bayāzīd Bisṭāmī the head of the Tayfūris, who preached full intoxication under the influence of the love of God, *sukr*, Junayd stood strongly for sobriety—*saḥw* ; hence Khuttalī said : "The state of intoxication is children's play, but the state of sobriety is the place of Nirvana for men." Khuttalī was very skilled in the exegesis of the Qu'ran, and possessed a rich store of traditions of Muhammad. For sixty years he avoided his fellow men, and lived for the most part in Syria, in the desert recesses of Mount Lukāin. He died in Bayt al-Jinn not far from Damascus. Jullābī received his dying words : "My son, know that in all places the author of the conditions of good and evil is God the great and glorious ; therefore it is not fitting to give way to anger at his action, or to bitterness of heart." Khuttalī, although he wore the same identical garment for fifty-six years, constantly patching it, did keep to the distinguishing

dress and ways of the Ṣūfis; and in general he was harsh and stern with people who fought over customs and precepts. It was he, possibly, who inspired Jullābī with indifference as to dress. "There are people," he said, "who are not troubled about distinctive clothing: if God has given them an *'abā* they wear it; if a *qabā* they likewise wear it. If he has left them naked, they remain so. I, Ali b. 'Uthman al-Jullābī, approved this rule, and have observed it on my journeys. A more inspiring man I have never met."

Besides Khuttalī, Jullābī had other guides who all were followers of Junayd. A stormy period preceded the entry of Jullābī on the *path*.

"Once, in the territories of 'Irāq, I was restlessly occupied in seeking wealth and squandering it, and had run largely into debt. Everyone who wanted anything turned to me, and I was troubled and at a loss to know how I could accomplish their desires. An eminent person wrote to me as follows: 'Beware lest you distract your mind from God by satisfying the wishes of those whose minds are engrossed in vanity. If you find any one whose mind is nobler than your own, you may justly distract your mind in order to give peace to his. Otherwise, do not distract yourself, since God is sufficient for His servants.' These words brought me instant relief."¹

It is not known at what time, but probably after his renunciation of the pleasures of this world, Jullābī experienced a severe trial of his faith. He says: "After God had preserved me for eleven years from the dangers of matrimony, it was my destiny to fall in love with the description of a woman whom I had never seen, and during a whole year my passion so absorbed me that my religion was near being ruined, until at last God in His bounty gave protection to my wretched heart, and mercifully delivered me."²

The many-sided development of Jullābī was fostered in a material degree by his travels, and in his time he travelled much. He visited many parts of the Musulman world, and thus came into contact with leading religious men and Ṣūfis of his day—true and false representatives of different schools and sects—and debated with them questions in which he was interested, and striving the while to determine the merits of those with whom he talked. In such manner he acquired that varied and vivid material which he used later in his stories of different Shaykhs and generally in his broad and illuminating judgment of divers questions and Ṣūfistic teaching.

¹ Nicholson, *Kashf al-Mahjāb*, 345.

² Nicholson, *Kashf al-Mahjāb*, 364.

[Jullābī travelled extensively throughout the Islamic world, from Syria to Turkestan.]

We will now glance at the persons he met in his wanderings, and whom he more than once mentions in his work.

At the very head of these, so to say, stands Abu'l Qāsim 'Alī Gurgānī. In the days when Jullābī was an ardent young man, the former represented "the pole around which all [people] revolved"; towards him were bent the heart of "all who were striving towards the audience chamber of God", and on him leant all "seekers"; each of his pupils might serve to ornament the whole world; "he was the touchstone for good and bad coins." Through three links he traced back to Junayd Baghdādī, and belonged to those shaykhs who recognized Husayn b. Mansur Hallaj. Jullābī turned to Gurgānī for the solution of doubts, entrusted to him his secret thoughts, and discussed with him sundry matters. At Tus he asked him, for example: "What is the least that may justify a dervish in calling himself poor?" Or, "What are the rules of intercourse with people?" One day, during a burning narration by Jullābī of his "visions", Gurgānī conveyed to him that "no man can escape from the bonds of imagination, hence he must be humble and put away every relation save that of humanity and submissiveness. From that time", says Jullābī, "we had many secrets together." Gurgānī sent his pupils to be perfected to Abū Sa'īd al-Mayhanī, who knew his virtue, and called him "Master" one day at Tus before a gathering of dervishes. This is the same Gurgānī who, as the tradition runs, excused himself from reciting the prayers over Firdawsī's body.

After Gurgānī we come across the name of Abū'l Qasim al-Qushayrī, the well-known Nishāpūr *imam* who died in A.H. 465. From him Jullābī heard the following opinion on the question of poverty and wealth: "Each of those present said something and showed his preference for one side or other of the question, but I prefer that which God prefers for me, and if He gives me riches I will not be heedless of Him as though I were the master of my wealth; and if he keep me poor I will not crave for wealth or be quarrelsome." Qushayrī records his opinion of Abū'l Ḥasan al-Khurqānī as follows: "When I came to the province of Khurqan my eloquence and gift of speech left me for veneration of that Saint and it seemed as though I were shorn of my own holiness." Qushayrī also told about the condition of a certain Tabarānī, and likened a Ṣūfī to a spasm in the side.

Qushayrī we meet again in the Mayhana sage's circle, *imams* of

different schools, great men of faith and Ṣūfis. At first he was not on good terms with Abū Sa'id and opposed him fundamentally on certain questions; but later, helped by his own pupils who had frequented Abū Sa'id, he changed his view and often went to the discussions which the Mayhanī held for help on questions which were troubling him. At one of these sittings Qushayrī heard Abū Sa'id make an historical utterance: "There is in my cloak nothing except God." He took part with him in the dervishes' rites, and after the death of Abū Sa'id he spoke of him with great gratitude and veneration: "If we had never seen the sage, we should have had to study Ṣūfism from books." Abū Sa'id called Qushayrī "the teacher of teachers".

Jullābī was not uninfluenced by Khwaja Muẓaffar Hamdan. At Nishapur he heard him elucidate the question of "the perishable and the eternal". Muẓaffar pointed out the harm in being led away by the chanting of the dervishes. Hearing, after one trial, that the music was pleasing to Jullābī, Hamdan said: "there will come a time when that and the croaking of crows will be the same thing to you; the power of sound endures only so long as you have not reached 'contemplation', when that is reached the force of music is gone. See that you do not accustom yourself to it so that it becomes to you a second nature and you thereby lag behind." The same view was held by Jullābī's shaykh Khuttalī, who reckoned such music as mere "food for stragglers, inasmuch as he who had attained had no need for it. Very possibly these views influenced Jullābī. One day a certain *imam* in Merv remarked that he had written a book on the permissibility of hearing the dervishes' chanting. Jullābī said: "A great misfortune has overcome their faith: the *imam* has sanctioned a diversion which is the seed of all dishonour." At the close of his work he observes: "I prefer that novices be not admitted to hear music, so that their natures be not troubled, for that is a great danger and misfortune. Muẓaffar was no longer living when the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* was written. He respected Abū Sa'id Mayhanī, although they were to some extent rivals. In conversation he once said to Abū Sa'id: "I call you neither a Ṣūfi nor a dervish; I call you the Kingdom (the King ?) of knowledge." Abū Sa'id said of Muẓaffar: "We were brought to the Court of God by the way of slavery, but the Shaykh by the way of lordship, i.e. we attained to contemplation by fervour, whilst he from fervour reached contemplation." Muẓaffar said to Jullābī: "What great men have discovered wandering by vales and wildernesses, I acquired seated on cushions in the place of honour."

For a long time in Mawara'u 'n-Nahr, Jullābī was friends with Ahmad of Sarakhs, and saw "much that was wonderful" in his life. Among other things he had from him the story of his repentance and severance from all unworthy worldly activities and cares. Jullābī knew of Ahmad's denial of the necessity of marriage, which was thus demonstrated: "Whilst living I am either absent from myself or present with myself. When I am absent I forget the two worlds; when I am present I so restrain the flesh that when it has received a piece of bread it imagines that it has obtained a thousand huris."

It is not necessary to mention all the Shaykhs, hermits, and preachers of Ṣūfism whom Jullābī met; suffice it to say generally that in Khurasan alone he met three hundred men of whom each one would have sufficed for a whole world, for the sun of love and attainment in the *ṭarīqat* was in the "star" of Khurasan.

Having shown, though unhappily in a fragmentary way, the intellectual atmosphere in which Jullābī moved, and the men who may have influenced him by word or deed, some of whom undoubtedly belonged to the circle of Abū Sa'id, we think it is not uninteresting to point out that Jullābī, either by the direction of the Shaykhs or his own judgment, became an adherent of Yaḥiā al-Rāzī, who had written much on the question of "fear and hope". He was the first of the shaykhs to mount the pulpit after the Orthodox Caliphs. Jullābī especially admired his speech, "by nature tender, sweet to the ear, subtle as to content, profitable in use."

For Jullābī, Ḥakīm Tirmidhī had also much significance. He was the author of numerous works and the head of the Ḥakīmīs. "He was very great, in my view, so that my heart was made captive by him." The fundamental feature of the Ḥakīmīs was their teaching on holiness, and on this point Jullābī was in full accord with Ḥakīm Tirmidhī.

The attention of Jullābī, from his early years, was turned to the personality of Husayn b. Mansur Hallaj. He had previously written about him and had even devoted to him a separate study; but in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* he only shows the relations of different shaykhs past and present, and of various social circles with Hallaj who, he strives to demonstrate, was not, as many assert, a magician. Whilst alive he wore the robe of sanctity made of worthy prayers, divine praises, frequent ejaculations, constant fastings, pure aspirations, and subtle sayings about monotheism. Jullābī's final opinion, so far as we can judge, differs from that expressed in his earlier writings, and comes to this: "know, then, that his utterances cannot serve as a model, for

he was overpowered by ecstasy, and had no sure foothold, and for a model there is wanted the speech of a man who stands firm. He is very dear to my heart, but his 'path' was not securely laid and in no single place was his position assured, and in his life he was much troubled." This view, however, did not prevent Jullābī from collecting Hallaj's verses from various shaykhs and using these as well as his sayings for his own arguments. Apparently he was the first to broach the idea of two Husayn b. Mansurs who were erroneously identified—one of whom was, so to say, the "real" one coming from Baydā—the other a Baghdad apostate and heretic; and this notion was, according to our author, entertained by Aṭṭār and Muhammad Pārsā.

Passing to Jullābī's literary activity, we know that it began relatively early in his life and was fairly considerable, the present work, *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, being the latest of his known writings and the only one now extant.

[After giving a list of Jullābī's works, V. A. Zhukovsky goes on:]

It is not known in which language these works were written: Jullābī refers to them as being lost and mutilated. This is explained, amongst other circumstances, by the fact that he happened to write at a time when peculiar literary manners and habits in the matter of plagiarism were developing. He mentions two instances which affected himself . . . These cases prompted him in his last work, which we shall examine immediately, to resort to a practice which we have not met with in Oriental writers: in nearly every case when the author speaks of himself he persistently sets out his full name, thus: "I, 'Alī b. 'Uthmān al-Jullābī."

As has already been stated, the last work from the pen of Jullābī was the *Kashf al-Mahjūb*. This book is the answer to the following question put to the author by one Abū Sa'īd Hujwīri: "Set forth for me precisely the 'path' of the Ṣūfis, the nature of their achievements; and explain to me their religious teaching and sayings; and reveal to me their precepts and their allegories; and the quality of the love of the Most Glorious God, and the nature of its manifestation in hearts, and why it is that minds are shut off as by a veil from the understanding of its nature, and why the soul turns in fear from its truth while the spirit in its purity attains peace; and explain the activities of the Ṣūfis connected with the aforesaid matters."

In his answer Jullābī starts by drawing an unpleasant picture of the *taṣawwuf* in his days: "Know that in this our time this science

has in truth vanished, *especially in this country*. The people have given themselves up entirely to [their] passions, and have turned away from the path of Godly content; while the learned of those times, who hold themselves out as Sūfis, have presented a conception of the 'path' which is the very opposite of its real nature. For this reason strive in every way towards that which all the people of those times cannot reach, save only the elect, and from which are turned away the desires of all who aspire, and from whose nature is divorced the knowledge of all men of knowledge, save only the elect. High and low are content with empty professions: blind conformity has taken the place of spiritual enthusiasm. The vulgar say 'We know God,' and the elect, satisfied if they feel in their hearts a longing for the next world, say, 'This desire is vision and ardent love.' Everyone makes pretensions, none attains to reality. The disciples, neglecting their ascetic practices, indulge in idle thoughts, which they call 'contemplation'.¹

By reason of all this I wrote books, but they disappeared. False pretenders took phrases from some of them which they put together to entrap the people; others they mutilated and destroyed, so that among them (the pretenders) there grew up a violent envy of a man of talent and a denial of God's bounty.

Another class did not mutilate, but did not read. Others read but did not understand the sense, and contented themselves with words—they make notes, they learn by heart, and say: 'We discourse on the science of *taṣawwuf*, whilst they are really rooted in its denial.' All this proceeds from the fact that such teaching is 'red sulphur' and that is precious; if it is obtained it becomes the philosopher's stone, and a grain thereof will convert copper and bronze into gold for minting. . . . Before this the tyros in this science proceeded exactly in such manner with the books of the shaykhs. When those treasure-houses of divine secrets fell into their hands they could not discern their meaning, and tossed them over to ignorant cap makers or gave them to dirty bookbinders, who used them for cap-linings, or bindings for the poems of Abū Nuwās, or the jests of Jahiz. 'When the king's falcon settles on the wall of the house of some old woman, they clip its wings.'

Our contemporaries give the name of 'law' to their lusts, pride and ambition they call 'honour and learning', hypocrisy towards men 'fear of God', concealment of anger 'clemency', disputation 'discussion', wrangling and foolishness 'dignity', insincerity

¹ Nicholson, *tr.*, p. 7.

'renunciation', cupidity 'devotion to God', their own senseless fancies 'divine knowledge', the motions of the heart and affections of the animal soul 'divine love', heresy 'poverty', scepticism 'purity', disbelief in positive religion 'self-annihilation', neglect of the law of the Prophet 'the mystic path', evil communication with time-servers 'exercise of piety'. As Abū Bakr al-Wāsiṭi well said: 'The Lord had inflicted upon us times in which there are neither principles of right belief, nor the morals of pagan days, nor the precepts of men of valour.'

Jullābī returns to thoughts of the above kind in another part of his work when he says: "In the present time the Lord has veiled the eyes of a very large number of men from Ṣūfism and its teachers; and has hidden the subtlety of that doctrine from human hearts. Some think that it is an exercise of merely outward piety without interior devotion and others consider that it is some sort of artifice so devoid of any kind of substance or foundation that, taking the attitude of theologians, concerned with mere externals, they have completely rejected Ṣūfism and are content to know nothing of its true teaching. The common people began to imitate them and banished from their hearts the striving for inner purity and forgot the teaching of their forerunners and of the companions of the prophet."

Jullābī's lengthy lamentations over the "decay in his time of the science of *taṣawwuf*, particularly in this country", cannot, despite the warmth and sincerity of the writer, be accepted in that form without much reserve. Is not the feeling noticeable by which he is led into the most open contradiction with himself and with facts?

There should be noted, first of all, a rather close connexion between the introduction of Jullābī and the opening words of Qushayri's "epistle" addressed in 437 to the Ṣūfis of the towns of Islam: "Know that after this, may God be merciful to us, the leaders of that company for the most part have died off, and in our time there remain but the traces of that band; as the poet has said:—

'The tents are certainly their tents, but I see that the women are different.'

A break occurred in that teaching, or rather it faded away. The Ancients who had been the guides disappeared, and the numbers of the young men who had followed them in their lives and morals shrank almost to nothing. The carpet of piety was rolled up, avarice

increased, and its grasp spread. From hearts fled respect for the law and people began to consider neglect of religion the surest way to success, and made light of the distinction between what is allowed and what is forbidden. They decided to overthrow conscience, to put away shame. They began to show indifference to religious observances, and to consider fasting and prayer of no account. They galloped round the circus of carelessness; and rested upon the indulgence of their passions, and a heedless bearing to the doing of what absolutely was forbidden, and the enjoyment of what they got from the crowd, from women, and those in power.

Further, they were not content with accomplishing these evils, but went so far as to indicate certain higher truths and states, maintaining that they had thrown off the shackles of slavery, and were assured of the truths of 'union' and now were defending God, and were the channel through which His laws came, but they themselves were effaced. And for what they do or leave undone Allah has not the right to reproach or blame them, and they have been deemed worthy to set forth the mysteries of one-ness, and have been wholly taken out of themselves; and human laws do not bind them. After being absorbed in non-being they dwelt in the light of eternity, so that when they spoke it was not they who spoke their words, and whatever they did or caused to be done they were not the doers. When in this our time we were tried by these things, some of which I have referred to, and our trial was prolonged, I did not raise my voice in blame up to the present time, jealously guarding that doctrine and fearing lest there should be resentment towards its partisans and their adversary should find too easy a way to harm them—for in this country the harm comes from the enemy and the denier of the teaching, and when I reckoned that the growth of this tendency would be cut short in the natural course, and that, it might be, the Most High would arouse those who had fallen away from the real Sunnah to the ruin of the principles of that teaching; and when the times continued to become more difficult, and the majority of people in this country only more stiff-necked in adherence to what they had got used to, and more blinded by what they had sought out for themselves—then I was seized with fear for the hearts of those people, lest they think that the very structure of our faith was built upon such foundations, and that its first workers proceeded in such a manner, and therefore I wrote this tract for you, and may God show you mercy. In it I have set forth certain features in the lives of the spiritual leaders, their

customs and habits, their manner of dealing with people, their intimate beliefs, and those ecstatic states which they display, and how they gradually rise from the early stages to the utmost bounds. I have done this in order to strengthen the learners of this teaching, and that you should give testimony of my explanation of those matters, so that the unfolding of this sorrow might be to my comfort, and that from the most Merciful God there may come to me mercy and reward. And in all that I say I beg God's assistance—glory be to Him—and I seek His protection and preservation from error. Of him I implore forgiveness and succour, for mercy is His and He is almighty."

Examining the meaning of these two prefaces and comparing them, we see first of all that the matter is not so hopeless as it might seem at the first glance, and that the two writers, treating *au fond* of the same matter and coinciding in details, even to the using of the same expressions, yet have a different basis. Qushayrī particularly stresses "the dying out of the real representatives", but amid the general decline did not deny the existence of "traces of that company"; whereas Jullābī, while not denying the genuine existence of the "Elect of God", speaks of the complete disappearance of the science of *taṣawwuf* (Sūfism). One and the other deplore the dismal phenomena in "these regions (Jullābī: 'especially in these') in this our time."

If the words "this region" in Jullābī be taken to refer solely to Ghazna, his native town, then the temporary decline there of Sūfism may be accepted. The author mentions (though not very clearly) in one place in the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* the baneful influence, in this connexion, of certain sections of society. "Building on the solid belief of the common people and of the learned of that city, I hope that after the Shaykhs there will appear those in whom we can put our trust and that the handful of persons distracted in spirit who gained access to this city and gave a distorted picture of that teaching would entirely take itself off, and the city become the dwelling-place of holy men."

But if "this country", or region, is to be taken in a wide sense so as to include Khurāsān, as seems likely, when the expression comes from a Nishāpūr *imam*, then certainly Jullābī lets himself be led far from the truth.

Indeed, can the decay of Sūfism on one side or the other be reconciled with Jullābī's account of 300 splendid men whom he met in Khurāsān, to say nothing of other Musulman regions—that Khurāsān over which, in his words, there spreads to-day the shadow

of God's advance, and in whose star there is "the sum of the progress of the *tarīqat*".

In his day the vitality of the "Khurāsān army" of godly men, i.e. Ṣūfis, was very intense, and the people showed plainly their longing for Ṣūfī teaching, as witness the vivid and edifying life story of Abū Sa'īd al-Mayhanī by Muḥammad ibn ul-Munawwar. How explain, if not by the wishes of the people, those thronged gatherings and illuminating discussions to which men of every class trooped from distant places? How else account for the crowds which gathered round him at Nishāpūr, and his frequent preaching rounds through towns and villages, and the universal enthusiasm of his hearers. This wonderful man whom Jullābī did not, unfortunately, meet in his life-time, but whose "power over the people of his day" he was able to measure, foresaw the decline of Ṣūfism, and towards the end of his days for a whole year he daily urged upon his disciples the warning: "The obscuration of God approacheth." Before his death, at the last gathering, he prophesied: "The spirit of this doctrine will remain with the people for a hundred years after me—then there will be left neither the spirit nor any trace; and if in any place any kind of true teaching be left it will be hidden and the search for it will cease." His biographer adds, "and we have seen with our own eyes that after one hundred years, as foretold by the Shaykh, there arose disturbances and a break, owing to the irruption of the Mongols and the Ghuzz."

In the ranks of the "Khurāsān army" there often appeared, from Shiraz, Bābā Kōhī, a pupil of the well-known Abū Abdallāh Muḥammad b. Khafī, who outlived Mayhanī but a year. He is not mentioned by Qushayrī or Jullābī, but the exaltation of his poetry is a convincing disproof of the decline of Ṣūfism.

Finally, the very appearance of works of such capital importance as *Risālāt al-Qushayriyya* in Arabic, and *Kashf al-Mahjūb* in Persian almost at the same time, and of the same character, of which the second was written in compliance with a particular request, together with the existence of a special literature dealing with different aspects of Ṣūfism to which Jullābī himself contributed, shows that the questions treated and the teaching given therein keenly interested society generally and not only choice and subtle minds.

If we are right in what we have said, then how are we to understand the introductions of Jullābī and Qushayrī which seem to negative it? It seems to me that it is either a literary device, common enough

in the East, or that both writers, being convinced and zealous adherents of Sūfism, wished that all men of the time should stretch out their hands to that doctrine, and not only the elect of God, as Jullābī has it—a very admirable and comprehensible desire, scarcely to be realized anywhere or at any time on this globe.

From Jullābī's own words at the beginning of his chapter on the noteworthy Sūfis of later times it appears that the teaching of *taṣawwuf* had not dried up in his time, and could not do so. "Know that in our time there are those who cannot endure asceticism; they aspire to pre-eminence without mortifying themselves, and think that all adherents of Sūfism are like themselves. When they hear the words of those who have now passed away and see their excellence, and read of their deeds, and look at themselves, then they see themselves far removed from such things, and there is no possibility of saying: 'We—not they', and they say: 'in these times there are no such men left.' Such words coming from them are nonsense, for God never allows the earth to be without 'proof' and the Moslem community without saints, as the Prophet has said: 'Never shall my community be without people who will observe goodness and truth until the day of judgment.'"

The work *Kashf al-Mahjūb*, which, according to the author, was designed for the "polishing of hearts which are bound by the veil of attributes but in which dwells the Essence of the light of Truth", must have satisfied his inquirer and all "strivers along the path", so that there was no necessity, at all events as to certain questions, to turn to other works. It is impossible not to regret, especially in view of the loss of Jullābī's earlier writings, to which he nevertheless refers the reader, that he repeatedly, almost in every section and chapter, insists that his "rule in this book is brevity", and is afraid of needlessly increasing the size of the work. In some cases, however, the lack of fullness on the part of the author is due not to his wish but to the unfavourable circumstances in which he had to work on *Kashf al-Mahjūb*—he was in India (at Lahore in the district of Multan as later MSS. show) "detained among people not of his own kind", whilst his books and other indispensable materials remained at Ghazna.

This avowal by Jullābī himself naturally suggests the question, to which unfortunately there can be no definite reply—Was the whole or only a part of this work written in India? As regards the books and materials which were not available to the author, he had in mind,

perhaps, only certain collections of traditions collected by his shaykh Khuttali, for that he had at hand materials is not susceptible of the slightest doubt ; our author clearly names his authorities and often quotes sayings and stories, and makes long extracts which it would be difficult to keep in one's head. . . . At the same time, however, having begun a quotation in Arabic he will finish it in Persian ; or he will give a Persian paraphrase including stray Arabic expressions ; or again relates the sayings of Shaykhs in Persian only, which things suggest the absence of the original writings from which he could quote exactly.

His last years were spent in Lahore, whither he came after many wanderings. If that be so his above-mentioned "captivity" at Lahore when he was at work upon the *Kashf al-Mahjūb* must be referred to a much earlier time. According to certain indications his arrival and sojourn at Lahore was due to direct recommendation of his director, Abdu'l Fadl al-Khuttali. Here he acquired many followers and disciples and built a mosque, which on account of the direction of its *mihrab*, which differed slightly from that of other mosques, caused some difficulty with the 'ulamā of the city. In that city, too, is his tomb, outside the city to the west of the citadel. His grave is a place of devotion for the pious, and a place of retirement and pious deeds for hermits ; and it is known that the needs are fulfilled of any one who circumambulates on forty Friday nights or on forty days this venerable tomb.

LA LOI DE SYMÉTRIE DANS LA CHĀNDOGYA-UPANISAD

Par J. PRZYLUKI

QUAND on lit les *Upaniṣad*, il arrive qu'on soit choqué par de troublantes inconséquences : à côté de développements où les idées s'enchaînent avec force, on rencontre soudain des phrases incohérentes. Il est difficile d'admettre que les anciens sages, capables de méditation prolongée, aient produit des œuvres si embrouillées. Dans certains cas, les scribes sont responsables du mauvais état des textes. Plus souvent, la pensée des vieux auteurs a été faussée sciemment par des compilateurs soucieux d'orthodoxie. Parmi les procédés qui permettent de restaurer le sens primitif, le calcul des proportions est l'un des plus importants. Examinons à cet égard la *Chāndogya-Upaniṣad*.

Dans les chapitres où la pensée se développe harmonieusement, on observe généralement une certaine symétrie. Par exemple, à partir de v, 19, les cinq chapitres consécutifs présentent un exact parallélisme. Certains mots varient de l'un à l'autre, mais le raisonnement ne change pas, non plus que le nombre et la distribution des éléments.

Cherchons maintenant un développement où l'enchaînement des idées soit rompu et voyons si la loi de symétrie permet de retrouver le plan primitif.

Dans ii, 23, 3 et 4, on lit :

“ Prajāpati échauffa les mondes. Des mondes échauffés s'écoula la triple science. Il l'échauffa. De la triple science échauffée s'écoulèrent ces syllabes : *bhūr, bhuvah, svar*. Il les échauffa. De ces syllabes échauffées s'écoula le son *om*. De même que toutes les feuilles sont pénétrées par la nervure, de même toute parole est pénétrée par le son *om*. Le son *om* est tout. Le son *om* est tout.”

Ainsi, par la chaleur, les trois mondes ont produit la triple science, c'est-à-dire les trois Veda. Ceux-ci ont produit les trois termes *bhūr, bhuvah, svar*. Et ces derniers ont produit le son *om*.

Il est clair que les trois Veda sont ici mis en rapport avec les trois mondes et qu'à cette triade on oppose le son *om*. D'une part, pluralité : trois Veda, trois mondes ; d'autre part, unité : le son *om* qui est le Tout. Le système se traduit par le rapport 3 : 1.

En vertu de la loi de symétrie, on s'attendrait à trouver dans la première moitié du chapitre un dispositif analogue et cet espoir paraît d'abord tout près de se réaliser :

“ Il y a trois éléments de la moralité (*dharmaskandha*) : Sacrifice, Etude, Don . . . ”

Mais la suite nous déçoit, car nous lisons :

“ Il y a trois éléments de la moralité : Sacrifice, Etude, Don constituent le premier. *Tapas* (chaleur ou ascétisme) est le second. Vivre le vie religieuse (*brahmacaryā*) en demeurant dans la maison du maître est le troisième. Tous ces (éléments) sont les mondes du mérite. Celui qui s'absorbe complètement dans le *brahman* parvient à l'immortalité. ”

Aux trois mondes de l'univers sensible : ciel, atmosphère, terre, correspondent ici trois plans de la moralité appelés *punya-loka* “ mondes du mérite ” ; mais le premier plan comprend trois éléments distincts, artificiellement réunis : Sacrifice, Etude et Don. D'ailleurs on voit mal en quoi l'Etude peut différer de l'état qui consiste à vivre dans la maison du maître. L'asymétrie se double d'incohérence. En regard de la triade : trois Veda, correspondant aux trois mondes, nous avons sans doute trois *dharmaskandha* qui sont en même temps trois *punya-loka* mais le premier de ceux-ci est subdivisé en trois et le second terme de cette subdivision se confond avec le troisième *dharmaskandha*.

Autre incohérence. Dans la seconde moitié du chapitre, il y a une analogie évidente entre le son *om*, qui est l'Unité, et les syllabes *bhūr*, *bhuvaḥ*, *svaḥ*, qui sont la triade. Au début du chapitre, au contraire, il n'y a rien de commun entre le *brahman*, qui peut seul représenter l'Unité, et les façons d'agir qui sont énumérées d'abord.

Dernière incohérence. Dans la seconde moitié du chapitre, la chaleur (*tapas*) est le grand principe qui produit les Veda, les syllabes sacrées et le son suprême. Par contre, au début du chapitre, *tapas* n'occupe que le second rang parmi les *dharmaskandha*.

Si l'on rend au *tapas* la prééminence, on rétablit la symétrie en même temps qu'on fait disparaître toute étrangeté. On obtient alors un texte tel que celui-ci :

“ Il y a trois éléments de la moralité (*dharmaskandha*) : Sacrifice, Etude, Don. Ce sont les “ mondes du mérite ” (*punya-loka*). Le *tapas* conduit à l'immortalité. De même que toutes les feuilles sont pénétrées par la nervure, de même toute moralité est pénétrée par le *tapas*. Le *tapas* est tout. Le *tapas* est tout. ”

Dans le texte ainsi restauré reparait le rapport 3 : 1. Les trois *dharmaskandha* ou *punya-loka* correspondent aux trois Veda et aux trois syllabes représentatives des trois mondes. Au *tapas* qui est un et qui est le Tout, correspond le son *om* également unique et universel. Et comme *tapas* signifie à la fois chaleur et ascétisme, le même mot

désigne le principe physique qui a produit le monde et le principe moral qui conduit à l'immortalité.

Toutefois, le texte restauré n'aurait, si nous en restions là, qu'une valeur purement conjecturale. On va voir que les idées qui s'y expriment cadrent bien avec la théorie des *guṇa*, qu'elles sont d'accord avec d'autres conceptions indiennes et surtout qu'elles permettent de rétablir d'une manière satisfaisante le sens probablement altéré d'un autre chapitre de la *Chândogya*.

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Dans deux études magistrales sur la théorie indienne des *guṇa*,¹ E. Senart a montré que cette théorie " est moins le fruit de la réflexion abstraite que l'évolution en thèse didactique d'une vieille représentation naturaliste ". Les trois *guṇa* correspondent aux trois étages, aux trois mondes " entre lesquels la phraséologie védique répartit l'univers perceptible . . . Le *tejas* auquel est attribué l'éclat rougeoyant (*rohita*), les *āpas* (eaux) avec la couleur blanche (*śukla*), l'*anna* (nourriture) avec la couleur noire (*kṛṣṇa*), correspondent indubitablement à la région supérieure du soleil, à la région des nuages qu'éclaire un éclat plus tempéré, à la région terrestre dénuée de toute luminosité propre, qui produit les végétaux.

" La symétrie et la synonymie s'établissent si parfaitement entre les deux séries que l'on est tenté de se demander si *tejas* ne demeure pas comme le témoin d'une terminologie antérieure ou parallèle qui, à un moment, aurait été construite sur trois thèmes de même formation, *tejas, rajas, tamas* ; *satteva* ne s'y serait ensuite substitué à *tejas* que sous la poussée de combinaisons comme celle qui, ici,² dérive immédiatement le *tejas* du *sat* " (*Etudes asiatiques*, ii, p. 287).

Les modifications que nous venons d'apporter à *Chândogya-Up.* ii, 23, permettent de faire un nouveau pas. Dans le texte de ce chapitre, tel que nous l'avons restauré, l'élément *tapas* qui est Un et Tout s'oppose à la triade : trois mondes, pour laquelle E. Senart proposait l'équivalence : *tejas, rajas, tamas*. S'il est vrai que l'ancienne terminologie était " construite sur trois thèmes de même formation " n'est-il pas remarquable que l'analyse de *Chândogya* ii, 23, conduise à y ajouter un quatrième terme du même type : *tapas* ?

Plus significative encore que la forme des termes est la clarté qui résulte de leur rapprochement. Dans l'ancienne terminologie, *tapas*

¹ *Journal Asiatique*, 1915, et *Etudes Asiatiques* publiées à l'occasion du 25^{me} anniversaire de l'Ecole Française d'Extrême-Orient, ii, p. 285.

² *Chândogya-upanīṣad*, vi, 2.

a pu désigner le Tout ; il est donc l'Être (*sat*). Si nous remplaçons *sat* par *tapas* dans *Chândogya* vi, 2, nous obtenons un texte qui peut se résumer ainsi :

A l'origine, il n'y avait que le *tapas*. Il produisit le *tejas* ; celui-ci produisit à son tour les Eaux (*āpas*) ; celles-ci produisirent la Nourriture (*anna*).

On saisit aisément le lien qui, dans cette cosmologie, unit le *tapas*, principe créateur, au *tejas*, sorte de rayonnement chaud et lumineux qui en est la première manifestation. On comprend en même temps la véritable nature de Prajāpati, le Créateur, qui, dans *Chândogya* ii, 23, produit les Veda, etc. . . . en échauffant les trois mondes.

Mais puisque l'ancienne terminologie était si claire, pourquoi les écrivains plus récents se sont-ils plu à la fausser ? Pourquoi, dans *Chândogya* vi, 2, le *tapas* n'apparaît-il pas sous son vrai nom, cependant que, dans *Chândogya* ii, 23, ce grand Tout est ravalé au second rang des *dharmaskandha* ?

Plusieurs circonstances sont susceptibles d'expliquer l'effacement tardif de la notion de *tapas*. Les philosophes ne se sont pas mis d'emblée d'accord sur la nature de l'Être. Parmi les solutions envisagées, celle qui faisait de l'Être un souffle a fini par prévaloir dans la doctrine des *Upaniṣad*. Dès lors, la croyance à l'Être-chaleur devait être éliminée.

En morale, de même qu'en métaphysique, la notion de *tapas* a perdu de son importance. De tout temps certains moralistes indiens ont voulu obtenir la Délivrance par les Œuvres, tandis que d'autres cherchaient à s'émanciper par la Connaissance. Le conflit entre l'école du *śīla* et celle de la *prajñā*, qui joue un si grand rôle dans l'histoire de la morale bouddhique, n'est point particulier à une secte. Si l'on admet que, dans l'ancienne rédaction de *Chândogya*, ii, 23, l'Étude n'était qu'un des *puṇyāloka*, tandis que le *tapas* procurait l'immortalité, on voit combien l'auteur de ce texte préférerait la bonne conduite à la Connaissance. Or, malgré des divergences initiales, les penseurs de l'*Upaniṣad* ont fini par se rallier à une sorte de gnose ayant pour but l'union avec l'Ātmā. Ils ont répudié le *tapas* des *yogin* pour créer l'orthodoxie *vedānta*. C'est sans doute afin de se conformer à cette orthodoxie qu'on a tardivement remanié le début de *Chândogya*, ii, 23.

Le progrès des idées *vedānta* dans les sphères de l'*Upaniṣad* eut en somme pour résultat de faire abandonner des thèses analogues à celles du Sāṃkhya-Yoga. On continua de tolérer l'exposé des idées

anciennes quand elles ne heurtaient pas de front la nouvelle orthodoxie. C'est pourquoi *Chândogyâ*, ii, 23, 3 et 4 et vi, 2 présentent encore de grandes analogies avec le dualisme *sāṃkhya* ou pré-*sāṃkhya*.¹ Mais la prééminence du *tapas* dans l'ordre métaphysique et moral apparaissait comme une hérésie intolérable. On prit donc le parti d'expurger les vieux textes.

* * * * *

La démonstration qui précède tend à distinguer dans le développement de l'*Upaniṣad* une phase ancienne caractérisée par la prééminence du *tapas* : dans la cosmologie, le *tapas* est l'Être primordial, incréé et il s'oppose aux *guṇa* qui sont les modalités de la matière ; dans l'ordre moral il permet d'obtenir l'immortalité et il est supérieur aux *dharmaskandha* qui ne procurent que du mérite (*punya*). Si la *Chândogyâ* expurgée n'offre plus un exposé cohérent de ce système, il doit en rester quelques traces dans d'autres productions de la littérature indienne. Le *Mahābhārata* en garde précisément des vestiges et ceci ne peut nous surprendre. La grande épopée est une œuvre dont toutes les parties ne sont pas inspirées par les mêmes tendances et l'un des morceaux les plus célèbres, la *Bhagavad-gītā*, constitue, à certains égards, le prolongement de la *Chândogyâ*.²

La rivalité de Vasiṣṭha et de Viśvāmitra est un grand thème qui se développe à plusieurs reprises dans le *Mahābhārata*. Vasiṣṭha représente la caste sacerdotale ; Viśvāmitra est le tenant des *kṣatriya*. Comme on pouvait s'y attendre dans un ouvrage remanié par les brahmanes, Vasiṣṭha finit par l'emporter ; mais il semble au début que Viśvāmitra ait l'avantage, car il s'empare de la vache du brahmane sans rencontrer de résistance. Celui-ci déclare à cette occasion :

kṣatriyānām balaṃ tejo brāhmaṇānām kṣamā balaṃ

"La force des Kṣatriya est Vigueur (*tejas*) ; celle des Brahmanes est Patience."

Vasiṣṭha contraste ici la force matérielle des guerriers et la puissance spirituelle des brahmanes. La première se manifeste par la violence : c'est le *tejas*. La seconde est calme et l'on devine que son nom est *tapas*.

¹ Weber (*Indische Studien*, ii, pp. 90-1) et Senart (*Études Asiatiques*, ii, pp. 286 et 289) ont déjà signalé, entre le *Sāṃkhya* et l'*Upaniṣad*, plusieurs analogies qui leur semblaient fondamentales. Pour Garbe, au contraire (*Sāṃkhya und Yoga*, § 2), l'influence du *Sāṃkhya* sur les *Upaniṣad* serait assez tardive.

² Pour un exposé récent de cette thèse, cf. Barnett, *JRAS.*, 1929, p. 128.

Un peu plus loin, en effet, Viśvāmitra vaincu doit confesser la supériorité de son rival et il le fait en ces termes :

“Pauvre force que celle des Kṣatriya ! La vraie force est la puissance religieuse (*brahmatejas*). Pour quiconque a médité sur la force et la faiblesse, le *tapas* est la force suprême.”

Tejas, associé ici au mot *brahman* est pris dans un sens plus général que ci-dessus. Il désignait plus haut la force guerrière, la vigueur physique. Il est maintenant synonyme de *bala* et signifie “force” en général. Si nous le prenons dans son acception la plus stricte, *tejas*, force guerrière, s’oppose au *tapas* qui est la puissance spirituelle ou religieuse (*brahmatejas*). C’est pourquoi Viśvāmitra, qui s’adonne au *tapas*, finit par acquérir non seulement les privilèges des brahmanes, l’entrée dans la caste sacerdotale, mais encore et surtout l’immortalité :

apibac ca tatāḥ Somam Indreṇa saha Kauśikāḥ

“Alors, Kauśika (= Viśvāmitra) but avec Indra le Soma.”

Cet épisode illustre, d’un exemple singulièrement net, l’ancienne rédaction de *Chāndogya*, ii, 23, telle que nous l’avons restaurée. Il apporte en outre des précisions nouvelles en ce sens qu’il attribue en principe le *tapas* au brahmane et le *tejas* au *kṣatriya*. Il semble qu’on trouve ici l’écho de certaines spéculations destinées à fonder en droit les privilèges du brahmane sur la possession du *tapas*. Aussi longtemps que la croyance à la supériorité du *tapas* fut solidement établie, les brahmanes durent chercher à l’utiliser au mieux de leurs intérêts. Il suffisait, pour y réussir, de mettre les trois *guṇa* : *tejas*, *rajas*, *tamas*, symboles de la force matérielle, en relation avec les trois castes inférieures et de réserver le *tapas*, source du pouvoir spirituel, à la caste sacerdotale. Le récit de la lutte entre Vasiṣṭha et Viśvāmitra trahit probablement des préoccupations de ce genre.

* * * * *

L’excursion que nous venons de faire sur le domaine de l’épopée confirme les inductions précédentes. Revenons donc vers la *Chāndogya* et cherchons-y d’autres altérations qui puissent être décelées par l’application de la même méthode.

Nous avons déjà reconnu dans *Chāndogya*, vi, 2, les traces d’une cosmologie qui était primitivement fondée sur l’opposition du *tapas* et des trois *guṇa*. Plus tard, sous l’influence des idées *vedānta*, ce pluralisme évolue vers le monisme : le *tapas* est alors remplacé par l’Être (*sat*) d’où sortent successivement les trois *guṇa*.

Les chapitres vi, 3, 4, 5, 6, développent les idées exposées au chapitre 2. On va voir qu'un examen attentif permet également d'y découvrir des restes du pluralisme ancien.

Voici comment Senart interprète le chapitre 3 : " En y pénétrant comme germe de vie, l'Être suprême produit la multiplicité, la diversité des êtres ; dans chacun il mélange les trois facteurs en proportions variées, si bien que chaque créature participe de chacun des trois." ¹

On ne peut marquer plus clairement le contraste entre l'Être unique et la matière triple.

Négligeons provisoirement le chapitre 4. Les chapitres 5 et 6 dont le second est à peu près la répétition du premier, insistent fortement sur la diversité des aspects de la matière correspondant aux trois *guṇa*. Dans le corps humain, la nourriture (*anna*, qui représente le facteur *tamas*) apparaît sous trois aspects ; l'eau (*āpas*, qui représente le facteur *rajas*) apparaît sous trois aspects ; l'éclat (*tejas*, qui désigne aussi le premier *guṇa*) apparaît sous trois aspects.

A raison de trois aspects pour chacun des trois facteurs matériels (*guṇa*), on distingue ainsi neuf aspects principaux de la matière dans le corps humain.

Examinons le chapitre 4. Il traite des phénomènes cosmiques, soleil, lune, etc. La loi de symétrie voudrait qu'on eût ici, comme aux chapitres suivants $3 \times 3 = 9$ aspects. C'est bien ce que nous offrent les paragraphes 2, 3, 4 :

- § 2, trois aspects du Soleil correspondant aux trois *guṇa* ;
- § 3, trois aspects de la Lune correspondant aux trois *guṇa* ;
- § 4, trois aspects de l'Eclair correspondant aux trois *guṇa*.

Malheureusement le paragraphe 1 introduit trois nouveaux aspects, ce qui rompt la symétrie en portant à douze le total. Ce paragraphe 1 énonce trois aspects du feu :

- un aspect rouge correspondant à *tejas* ;
- un aspect blanc correspondant à *āpas* ;
- un aspect noir correspondant à *tamas*.

Ce paragraphe ne rompt pas seulement la symétrie. Il est, quant au fond, superfétatoire. Il est clair, en effet, que le Soleil, la Lune, l'Eclair, dont il est question aux § 2, 3, 4, étaient, aux yeux des anciens adorateurs du *tapas*, des manifestations du Feu. Ces trois paragraphes traitent donc des manifestations cosmiques du Feu et le paragraphe 1 qui en parle d'une manière vague, sans aucune spécification, détruit,

¹ *Etudes Asiatiques*, II, p. 286.

mal à propos, l'équilibre des développements et le balancement des idées.¹

D'où provient donc ce paragraphe et pourquoi l'a-t-on introduit au début du chapitre 4 ?

Observons qu'après avoir opposé l'Être unique aux trois facteurs matériels, l'*Upaniṣad* ne distingue ensuite divers aspects des phénomènes et des êtres que pour les ramener à une Unité fondamentale. Soleil, Lune, Eclair, ne sont qu'entités verbales ; os, moëlle, voix, ne sont que des manifestations du *tejas*, etc. Le contraste, autrefois si net, entre le *tapas* et les *guṇa*, s'est progressivement effacé. Mais dans le texte primitif, inspiré de l'ancien pluralisme, les êtres surhumains tels que le Soleil et la Lune, devaient être conçus comme résultant de l'union du *tapas* et des trois *guṇa*. On peut donc supposer une rédaction du chapitre 4 analogue à celle-ci :

(1) Cette divinité (le *tapas*), en se manifestant sous la forme du feu, produisit le Soleil, la Lune, l'Eclair.

(2) L'aspect rouge du Soleil est l'aspect du *tejas* ; l'aspect blanc est celui de l'eau ; l'aspect noir est celui de la nourriture.

(3) L'aspect rouge de la Lune est l'aspect du *tejas*, l'aspect blanc est celui de l'eau ; l'aspect noir est celui de la nourriture.

(4) L'aspect rouge de l'Eclair est celui du *tejas*, l'aspect blanc est celui de l'eau ; l'aspect noir est celui de la nourriture.

On obtient ainsi un chapitre 4 en quatre paragraphes, d'une longueur sensiblement égale à celle des chapitres voisins et exactement symétrique aux deux chapitres suivants, puisque construit sur le schème 3×3 .

Plus tard, sous l'influence du monisme *vedānta*, le *tapas* étant

¹ L'incohérence apparaît clairement dans le résumé fidèle que Senart a donné de *Chândogya*, vi, 4 :

"Après avoir analysé le feu, le soleil, la lune, l'éclair en trois aspects remontant à une triple origine, le texte revient à son point de départ : feu, soleil, lune ou éclair ne sont qu'entités verbales ; la réalité profonde réside toute dans les trois composants qui y sont rassemblés. Qui sait cela, sait dans leur essence tous les êtres ; il est fondé à prétendre que rien n'échappe aux prises de sa connaissance." (*Etudes Asiatiques*, ii, p. 280).

Et plus loin : "Les phénomènes lumineux plus ou moins traversés par l'ombre et finissant par y retomber, le feu, le soleil, la lune, l'éclair apparaissent ainsi à l'*upaniṣad* comme les différents aspects, comme autant d'émanations directes de chacune des régions où ils se meuvent et qui deviennent leurs trois composants" (*ibid.* p. 290).

J'ai souligné à dessein les termes inconciliables. Si l'on peut distinguer trois composants du soleil, de la lune, de l'éclair, il n'en va pas de même du Feu, principe simple. En outre, si le soleil, la lune, l'éclair, apparaissent bien comme des phénomènes localisés, le Feu est de trop, car il est un principe universel.

remplacé par le *sat* et tous les aspects de la matière apparaissant comme dérivés de ce principe unique, le paragraphe 1 cessa d'être orthodoxe. On le modifia mécaniquement sans souci du sens ni de la symétrie en répétant à propos du Feu ce qui était dit du Soleil, de la Lune et de l'Eclair. En même temps, chaque paragraphe s'enrichissait de formules védantistes destinées à faire sentir l'unité de l'Etre sous la multiplicité des apparences.

Un autre passage de la *Chândogya* confirme indirectement nos vues sur l'évolution de vi, 4. Les trois chapitres 11, 12 et 13 de la IV^e Partie, considèrent l'esprit (*puruṣa*) du Soleil, celui de la Lune et celui de l'Eclair comme identiques aux trois feux du maître de maison, c'est-à-dire aux trois manifestations d'Agni.

IV, 11, Le feu central n'est pas différent de l'esprit qu'on voit dans le Soleil.

IV, 12, Le feu méridional n'est pas différent de l'esprit qu'on voit dans la Lune.

IV, 13, Le feu oriental n'est pas différent de l'esprit qu'on voit dans l'Eclair.

Il apparaît ainsi que toutes les parties de la *Chândogya* n'ont pas été expurgées avec la même sévérité. Telle conception s'exprime encore sur certains points qui a été censurée ailleurs.

* * * * *

Une double conclusion se dégage de ce qui précède. Il est possible, en observant les règles de la symétrie, de rétablir, dans les *Upaniṣad*, le sens général de certains passages volontairement déformés. L'application de cette méthode à la *Chândogya* permet de découvrir, sous le monisme superficiel, un pluralisme dans lequel les trois *guṇa* : Terre, Eau, Chaleur-Lumière, se subordonnent à un principe supérieur, le *tapas*.

SARVĀNANDA AND VALLABHADEVA

By S. K. DE

IN his very interesting article in *BSOS.*, vol. v, pt. i, pp. 27 f. on my suggested date of the *Subhāṣitāvali* of Vallabhadeva (*JRAS.*, 1927, pp. 471 f.), Professor Keith tries his best to minimize the importance of the passage in Sarvānanda's commentary, which not only makes a reference to the Kāśmīraka Vallabhadeva but actually cites verse No. 726 from his *Subhāṣitāvali*. Professor Keith expresses his belief that the citation is "merely an interpolation"; but as this statement probably appeared too sweeping, he hastens to add that it is rather "an intelligent addition of some scribe". This may, indeed, be a facetious way of solving the problem; but the problem does not appear to be so easy, and the question of interpolation is one on which it does not help to be dogmatic in the absence of definite and fairly conclusive evidence.

Professor Keith's arguments on this question are far from convincing. I cannot agree with his view that the passage¹ in question is precisely of the kind that can be interpolated with ease, for it is neither irrelevant nor haphazard. On this point no precise argument is possible except the impression one derives from the context in which the particular passage occurs, as well as from general commentatorial practice, which does not preclude citation of an illustration to explain a somewhat unusual usage. Reading the text in question again without any decided bias in any direction, I cannot find anything in it which would justify me in holding that it is an interpolation; and the onus of proving that it is such lies on those who allege it. Professor Keith speaks of "the curious mode of citation"; but there is nothing extraordinary in the citation of the name of the author along with the name of the work from which the quotation is made. Nor is it a fact that no parallel can be found to this procedure in the rest of the *Tikā-sarvasva*, as Professor Keith alleges. It is true that Sarvānanda's general procedure is to cite briefly either the name of the author or that of the work, most often in a contracted form; but such citations are also to be found:

Pt. ii, p. 21: *tathā hi sāhitya-kalpataruṇā śrī-paryokena vāsanā-maṅjaryāṃ bhaṇitam—sa jayati*, etc.

¹ *Nāmalingānuśāsana* of Amara with the *Tikā-sarvasva* of Sarvānanda, ed. Trivandrum, pt. ii, p. 130.

Pt. ii, p. 32 : *tathā ca saṃhitāyām varāhaḥ*.

Or, in another form :

Pt. i, p. 34 : *iti dhātu-pārāyaṇe pūrṇacandraḥ*.

Professor Keith also finds it extraordinary that not merely the name but also the description Kāśmīraka should be employed in the citation ; but I fail to see anything unusual in distinguishing an author by locality, especially when such a differentiation is useful in marking the Vallabhadeva of the *Subhāṣitāvalī* from the scholiast Vallabhadeva, whom also Sarvānanda quotes twice simply as Vallabha with a pointed reference to his commentaries on *Śiṣupāla*^o (pt. ii, p. 23) and *Kumāra*^o (pt. ii, p. 350). It does not help critical scholarship to suspect interpolation at every step, simply because the particular passage may happen to be at variance with accepted opinion with regard to the date of the somewhat dubious text of an anthology. He must have indeed been a very "intelligent" scribe who could not only find an apt illustration from an anthology but also give the name and precise description of its compiler.

Professor Keith's next argument that Sarvānanda's text in general is suspiciously corrupt does not appear to possess much weight. At least, the authenticity of the passage in question receives support from the fact that the reference also occurs independently in the manuscript noticed by Śeṣagiri Śāstrī in his *Report* (No. 2, p. 26). Professor Keith, however, attempts to support his general argument of a faulty text by referring to a passage which Sarvānanda purports to quote from *Durghaṭa* but which is given entirely differently in the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva, which Professor Keith takes to be the work cited by Sarvānanda. It is, however, not clear at all that the *Durghaṭa-vṛtti* of Śaraṇadeva was actually meant by Sarvānanda, for neither the full title nor the author's name appears. It would seem, on the other hand, that it is not a case of confusion or faulty text-tradition, but of a reference probably to another unknown or lost work, which dealt with *durghaṭa* usages in the same way as Śaraṇadeva's work does. Aufrecht notes a *Durghaṭa* by Rakṣita, presumably Maitreya Rakṣita, which is quoted by Uj्ज्वालādatta in his commentary on the *Uṇādi-sūtras* (ed. Aufrecht, ii, 57 ; iii, 160 ; iv, 1). This supposition that Sarvānanda refers to a work other than that of Śaraṇadeva gains further support from the fact that while Śaraṇadeva's work, as known from its second verse, was not composed till A.D. 1172, Sarvānanda himself gives the date of composition of his own work as A.D. 1160. It is not maintained that Sarvānanda's

text, as it stands, is faultless. We must make allowance for misquotations, often made from memory, usual in commentaries, for even a careful writer like Mammāṭa sometimes misquotes; but it cannot be said, in the absence of definite evidence, that Sarvānanda's work errs very much in this direction. Nor can we deduce from such misquotations, even if they occur, that the text-tradition is faulty. At any rate, it has not been proved yet that such liberty has been taken in the text of Sarvānanda as would admit the possibility of regarding the passage in question as an interpolation.

The problem, therefore, is certainly not as simple as Professor Keith would like us to think, and Sarvānanda's citation of Vallabhadeva cannot be so complacently dismissed. Professor Keith's contention really narrows down the question to two main issues which are in the nature of alternatives, viz. (i) whether we should regard, as Professor Keith maintains, that the passage in Sarvānanda, which refers to and quotes from Kāśmīraka Vallabhadeva's *Subhāṣitāvalī* is "an intelligent addition of some scribe", or (ii) whether the poetical quotations in the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, which conflict with the date of Vallabhadeva thus indicated by Sarvānanda's reference and quotation (assuming the passage to be genuine), are to be regarded, as I suggested, as later interpolations in a work which is admittedly a compilation or an anthology. It is difficult indeed to balance the probabilities, and I fully admitted the difficulty in my previous article; but it is clear that no substantial reason has yet been urged for regarding Sarvānanda's passage as an interpolation in the text, and that therefore there is no other alternative than take the *Subhāṣitāvalī* as prior in date to Sarvānanda's commentary in which this passage occurs. Professor Keith imagines that his views have been shared by other scholars, but so far as I know, attention has never been drawn to the passage in question, nor have the difficulties which this passage has raised ever been discussed. It is true that the acceptance of my suggestion would involve the assumption of a large number of interpolations of verses of presumably later poets into the present text of the *Subhāṣitāvalī*; but the *Subhāṣitāvalī*, as I have already shown, was an anthology in current use (as opposed to the *Ṭikā-sarvasva*, whose manuscripts even have become rare), whose text cannot be and has not been regarded as possessing an inviolable sanctity, and in which it would have been easy to interpolate at later times verses of reputed, especially Kashmirian, authors. As I have discussed this aspect of the question at some length in my

previous article on the subject, and as Professor Keith's criticism does not make any fresh suggestion on this point, I refrain from recapitulating my arguments here. It is somewhat surprising, however, to find Professor Keith asserting that "reason suggests that it is more logical to suppose one interpolation in the *Tikā-sarvasva* than many in the *Subhāṣitāvali*". It is certainly a more simple procedure, but I cannot see how it is more logical; for it is not good logic to measure the balance of probability, always and especially in this particular case, by the mere quantity of interpolations in the respective texts. To a critical inquiry it is immaterial whether the number of interpolations in the one text or the other is one or many, so long as other facts may be adduced to point to the reasonable probability of regarding a passage or passages as genuine or interpolated. In spite of Professor Keith's very able, if somewhat unwarranted, arguments, nothing definite has yet been urged to prove that Sarvānanda's passage is in reality an interpolation into his text; would it not be more logical to suppose that the passages in the *Subhāṣitāvali*, which really conflict with the date suggested by Sarvānanda's reference, are later interpolations in a work which was in the nature of a current anthological compilation?

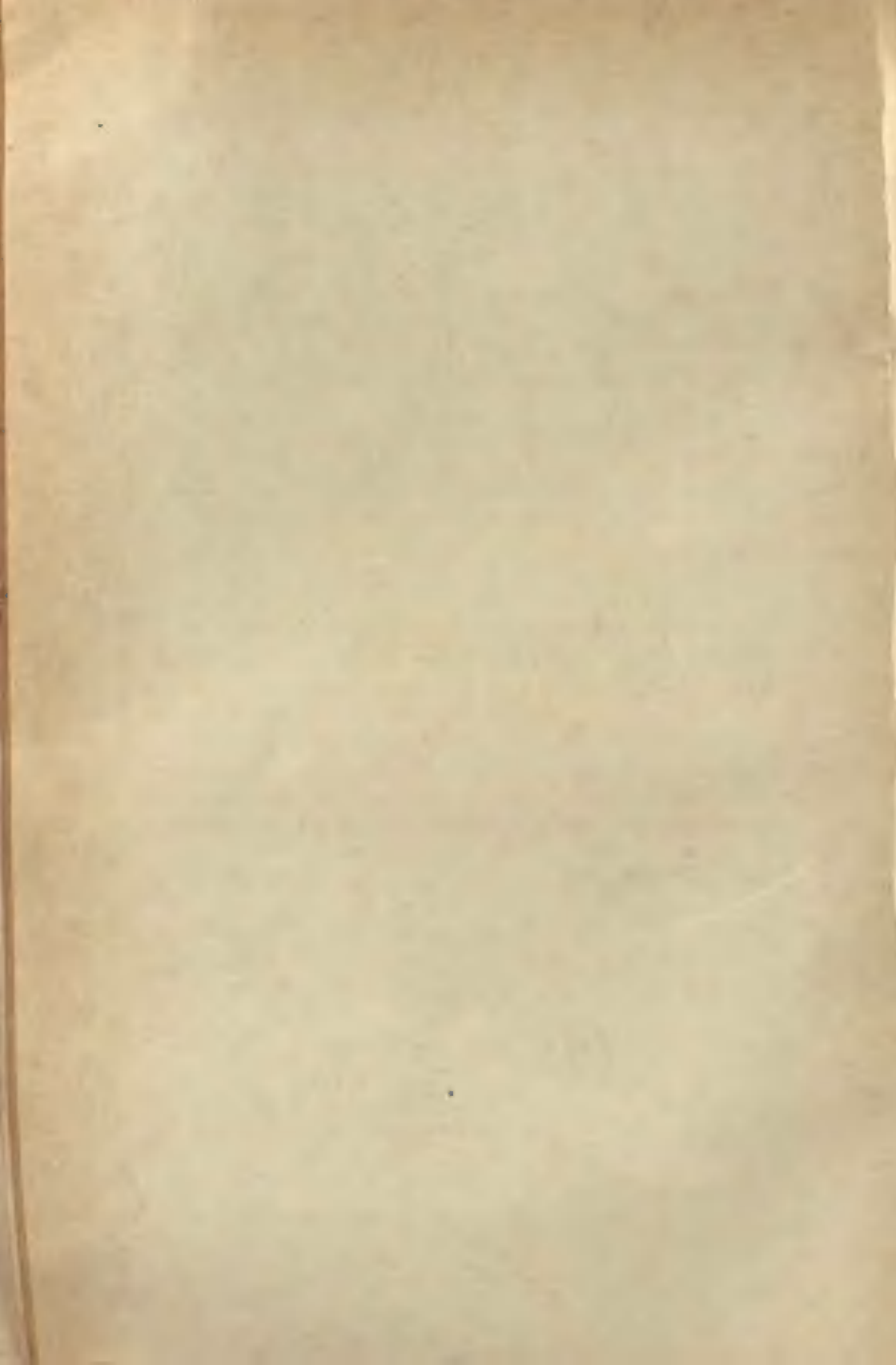
Professor Keith very pertinently refers to the negative value of my suggestion; for the date achieved would hardly be of any practical use when the suspicion of interpolation is inseparable from the text for which the new date is obtained. I must admit that the result obtained by me has not been very encouraging from the practical point of view; but at the same time it makes clear the necessity of re-editing critically the text of the *Subhāṣitāvali* from ampler and better manuscript-material, for it must be admitted that Peterson's materials were not of such a nature as to make his edition the final one, more especially when one considers it in the light of the present inquiry.

A few more words on one or two points raised incidentally in Professor Keith's article. I am obliged to him for his reference to my forthcoming edition of Nītivarma's *Kīcaka-vadha*, which is already in print and will be published very shortly¹. The work is certainly much older than the citations of Sarvānanda or Puruṣottamadeva would indicate. So far as I have been able to trace, the earliest

¹ Since writing the above article my edition of *Kīcaka-vadha* has been published by the University of Dacca. The question raised here has been fully discussed in my Introduction to the text.

writers to quote from this poem are Bhoja (both in his *Sarasvatī-kanthābharṇa* and in his *Śṛṅgāra-prakāśa*) and Namisādhu. This would furnish the lower limit of the date of the poem as the second or third quarter of the eleventh century A.D.

I find myself unable to agree with Professor Keith's views (p. 31) regarding the date of the scholiast Vallabhadeva, and am inclined to think that Pathak's rather ingenious arguments have not been effective enough to set aside Hultsch's dating. The evidence cited by Pathak from Kṣīrasvāmin and Hemacandra does not appear to be conclusive, as there is nothing to show that these are cases of real reference or borrowing, or that these later writers did not themselves borrow the passages in question from Vallabhadeva himself.



GOPATSAH¹

By J. M. UNVALA

AMONG many mythological beings mentioned in Zoroastrian literature and enumerated by the late Professor Louis Casartelli in his *La Philosophie religieuse du Mazdéisme*, Paris, 1884, p. 120, *Gōpatśāh* deserves our special mention. He is the man-bull of the ancient Babylonians, adopted into the mythology of the later Zoroastrian period most probably through the intermediary of the Elamites saturated with Babylonian culture. *Gōpatśāh* is the name given to him in Pahlavi literature, and is said to be another name for *Ayrēraθ*, son of *Pañang* and brother of *Afrāsiāb*, king of Turan. He resides in the country called *Sōkapastān* or *Sauka-vastān*, which is situated between Chinistan and Turkistan (*Bundahišn*, 29, 5; for the legend of *Ayrēraθ*, cf. Darmesteter, *Zend-Avesta*, ii, p. 436, No. 23). *Dātistān-i-Dēnīk* 90, 4, explains the name *Gōpatśāh* by "king of *Gōpat*", and says that *Gōpat* is a country coterminous with *Ērān-Vēj* on the bank of the river *Dāitīk*. At any rate there is no doubt that *Ayrēraθ* was considered by the Pahlavi writers as ruler of a non-Iranian country adjoining *Ērān-Vēj*. He is from head to mid-body a man, and from mid-body to feet a bull (for illustration, cf. *Revue d'Assyriologie*, vol. xxv, No. iv, plate facing p. 184, fig. 2). At all times he stays on the sea-shore, and always performs the worship of God and always pours the holy consecrated water into the sea, thereby destroying all noxious creatures residing in the sea (*Mēnōē-i-Xrat* 62, 31-6; *Rivāyat-i-Dārāb Hormazyār*, edited by Ērvad Maneckji Rustomji Unvala, Bombay, 1922, vol. ii, p. 70). But his chief activity is to keep watch over the bull *Haḍayōš*, on whose back occurred the various emigrations of men of old (*Dd.* 90, 4; *Bd.* 19, 13). This

¹ The name is written in *Bd.* TD. (the Great *Bd.*), fol. 100, l. 6: *dn p t n śāh* (ideogr.), i.e. *gōpatśāh*; *d* has two diacritical points under it, which indicate a later, though false pronunciation of the name reflected also in *Riv.* ii, p. 70 as *yūradśāh* (یورادشاه), also *یویدشاه*. *BYL.* 2, 2, has *dn k p t n śāh* (ideogr.), i.e. *gōkpatśāh*. *Gōpat* would mean "the lord of the bull", perhaps of the *Haḍayōš*-bull, over whom he keeps watch. It seems to me that *gōpat* is rather a corruption of *gōpāš* "having the feet of a bull", most probably caused by a *Fazand* or *plene* orthography. This reading would suit the description of the mythological being given in *MX.* 62, 31-6, very well. Later on the real meaning of the word was lost and *gōpat* was considered to be the name of a country, as in *Dd.* 90, 4.

The probable stages of this corruption are: *dn p ddā*—*dn p ddd d* (*Av.* a)—*dn p ddd t*—*dn p dd t*—*dn p t*—or *dn p t n*.

bull will be killed in a sacrifice by Sošyāns, who will prepare with its fat and the juice of the white Hōm the drink of immortality (*Bd.* 30, 25). He is said to be immortal (*Vohumān Yašt* 2, 1; *Riv.* ii, p. 70, where اهوش *a-(h)ōš*) rat of the inhabitants of Ērān-Vēj (*MX.* 44, 35). But according to *Bd.* 31, 20, and *Riv.* ii, 70, Gōpatšāh is the son of Ayrēraθ, born to him as a recompense for saving Manušēihr and the Iranians.

It seems that in Pahlavi literature there existed side by side the legend of Ayrēraθ, the pious Turanian, which is alluded to in the Avesta (*Yt.* 9, 17-18), and the myth of Gōpatšāh the man-bull, borrowed from the Babylonians through the intermediary of the Elamites. Later on these two, the legend and the myth, were combined and either to Ayrēraθ Gōpatšāh was given as a son as a recompense for his piety, or he was himself identified with Gōpatšāh, and was thus made an immortal, who is indirectly connected with Sošyāns in the work of the renovation of the world. Thus we see that in this Gōpatšāh the Babylonian man-bull is clearly reflected, not only in his fabulous shape, but also in his duty as a *guardian* of the Haḍayōš bull. He has preserved his original benevolent character in the Zoroastrian mythology, and is not considered, like other Babylonian gods, a destructive creature of Ahrman like Ningišzida, who was changed into Aži-Dahāka as early as in the period of the old Yašts.

It must be noted here that the description of Gōpatšāh given in *MX.* 62, 31-6, has very little in common with that of the colossal human-headed bulls of the palaces of the Assyrian kings, as Professor Casartelli says in his *Philosophie*, etc., p. 120. Gōpatšāh has rather much in common with Enkidu, the companion of Gilgameš. The man-bull appears as sacrificer of animals on seal-cylinders of the time of Hammurabi of Babylonia (cf. *Reallexicon der Vorgeschichte*, edited by Max Ebert, Berlin, 1924, vol. iv, pl. 160, fig. *b*), and perhaps even this trait as sacrificer is reflected in his presumably indirect association with Sošyāns in the sacrifice of the Haḍayōš bull. For the same reason the uninterrupted devotion of Gōpatšāh, during the course of which he pours the consecrated water into the sea, has nothing in common with the libation scenes in which these human-headed bulls are said to carry vases for libation in their hands (cf. Darmesteter, *ZA.* ii, p. 437, No. 23).

GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU AND HINDI POETS

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

L. "A VISION OF DEATH." BY AHMAD

THE following beautiful poem was found in a MS. notebook dated 1748. The date of the poem is unknown, but it must be older than the MS. We may put it provisionally at 1650-1700. The author's name occurs in the last couplet. Nothing is known about him, and there are many poets of the name.

- | | |
|-----------------------------------|----|
| چون شب گذشت صبح چرھی تب سمجھ پری | ۱ |
| جاگن نہ ہوا ایل گھری تب سمجھ پری | ۲ |
| جب مرگ کا یالہ یا آنکھ کھل گئی | ۳ |
| جب کھاتا پر چودہ دھری تب سمجھ پری | ۴ |
| توشل نہالون سے مجھے فکر نہ ہوا | ۵ |
| جب ایت زیر سیس دھری تب سمجھ پری | ۶ |
| جس وقت یار چھوڑ چلے ہم رہے نکو | ۷ |
| منکر نکیر پوچھے دھری تب سمجھ پری | ۸ |
| حساب کا جو وقت ہوا آنکھ کھل گئی | ۹ |
| چیتھی عمل کی آپ پری تب سمجھ پری | ۱۰ |
| عمرا تمام گزر گئی عمل نہ ہوا | ۱۱ |
| جب عمر کی دوپٹر دھلی تب سمجھ پری | ۱۲ |
| احد کون طرف کوی نہیں جز خدا رسول | ۱۳ |
| جب فضل پر امید دھری تب سمجھ پری | ۱۴ |

1. When passed the night and came the day, 'twas then I understood.
2. Ere I had been one hour awake, ah then I understood.
3. When I had drunk the cup of death, my eyes were opened then ;
4. When on the bier my corpse they placed, 'twas then I understood.
5. I nothing recked of covering quilt or cloth,

6. When 'neath my head the stone they placed, 'twas then I understood.
7. What time my friends left me and went, how foolish I remained ;
8. Munkir, Nakir both questioned me, 'twas then I understood.
9. When came the time of my account, my eyes were opened then ;
10. I read the statement of my works ; 'twas then I understood.
11. My life was spent, the whole of it, no work had I to show ;
12. When passed the noonday of my life 'twas then I understood.
13. Save God and the apostle now on Ahmad's side was none ;
14. But when I trusted grace divine, 'twas then I understood.

The poem contains no cerebral letters except *ḍ* in *choḍ*, l. 7. This *ḍ* is probably not original. We find *carhī* "ascended", *parī* "fell", *gharī* "hour", *khāt* "bed", *īt* "brick", *ēthī* "letter", *parhī* "read", *dhalī* "descended".

Peculiarities for metrical reasons are *huvē* for *huā*, l. 2 ; *hissāb* for *hisāb*, l. 9 ; *'umrā* for *'umr*, l. 11.

In l. 4, *codiya* is doubtful. I read it as *co-deh*, though in this case *co* is tautological. The sense appears to require a word for corpse. Or is it *caudīa*, a style of sitting ?

l. 6, stone ; lit. brick.

l. 7, *nakū* is difficult. In Daknī the word would mean "not", which hardly gives sense, and the poem is not Daknī. I am taking it as for *nakkū* "foolish".

l. 13, If we retain *kū* we must take *ṭaraf* as "helper", "supporter".

II. ONOMATOPOETIC LINES FROM GIRIDHAR DĀS

The following extract is taken from Narsīh Kathāmrit (Nrsīh Kathāmṛt), a poem by Gopāl Candr, known as Gīridhar Dās, 1833-60. He was the worthy father of a famous son. Hariś Candr, his son, 1850-85, is one of the most famous Hindi poets, certainly the most famous in the last 200 years. The lines convey the impression of deafening noise and blinding light. They are a good test of ability to pronounce *r* smoothly and easily.

1. भयो भयंकर शब्द महान गगड़ गड़ गड़ड़ड़ ।
2. फखो खेभ द्वै खंड कराल ककड़ कड़ कड़ड़ड़ ।
3. बढ़यो कोटि रवि तेज समझि झझड़ झड़ झड़ड़ड़ ।
4. भगे दनुजगन देखि सरूप सहड़ सड़ सहड़ड़ड़ ।
5. भड़ भड़ड़ भड़ड़ परवत गिरहिं हड़ड़ हड़ड़ हानी धरनि ।
6. अहि कमठ कोल करि अत्यरे भए तेज तैं हत तरनि ॥

1. There came a great and awful sound—*gagara gara garagara*.
2. The pillar split in two huge parts—*kakara kara karagara*.
3. The glory grew and flashed like suns a hundred thousand—
jhajara jhara jharagara.
4. The demons fled on seeing the sight—*sagara sara saragara*.
5. *bhara bhagara bhagara* fall the mountains; *hara hara*
shakes the earth.
6. Trembled the serpent, tortoise, boar, and elephant; the sun
lost his glory.

It is difficult to convey by sound the ideas of splendour and refulgence, but the word *jhamak* contains those ideas. It occurs in the verb *jhamakki*, l. 3, and the *jh* is repeated four times in the rest of the line. Perhaps one might say that the sounds represented by the letters suggest both noise and dazzling light.

In the line telling of the flight of the demons, we should have expected more sibilants, but evidently Giridhar wished to emphasize the crashing of their departure rather than the swishing and rustling that accompanied it.



REPETITION OF WORDS IN URDU, HINDI AND PANJABI

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

IT has been stated many times that the principal idea in the repetition of words is that of emphasis or intensity. My observation has led me to conclude that this is incorrect, and that the true sense in almost every case is one of the following :—

- distribution (over time, space, or a number of objects),
- pleasantness,
- no meaning at all.

In order to make the inquiry practical, it is better to confine it to cases of words repeated without alteration. If anyone will in the course of his reading take 1,000 consecutive instances of repetition, he will find that

- (i) short words are repeated far oftener than long.
- (ii) repetition of *adjj.* or *advv.* with a pleasant meaning is much commoner than of those with a nasty meaning, and when the meaning may be either good or bad, the good is intended.
- (iii) nearly every instance comes under either *distribution* or *pleasantness*.

(i) It follows that we read of a man's visiting *ghar ghar* or *gāō gāō* or *shahr shahr*, but not *dār us saltanat dār us saltanat*, and that we may expect to hear of *būṛhe būṛhe ādmī*, *sundar sundar striyā*, or *choṛī choṛī laṛkiyā*, but hardly of *ṛa'īf ul 'umr ṛa'īf ul 'umr sāhibān*, *ḫūbṣūrat ḫūbṣūrat mastūrāt*, or *kam-sinn kam-sinn af fāl*.

(ii) See sentences 1, 2, 3, below

(iii) *Distribution*.

adheli adheli "eight annas each".

thīk thīk batāo "explain correctly" (correctness spread over answer).

cappā cappā pānī "four inches of water all along".

ṛīle ke sab bare bare paṭṭedār "all the important leaseholders of the district".

ghaṛī ghaṛī "repeatedly" (at each *ghaṛī*).

Repeated verbs come under this heading; the idea is either continuance or repetition of action :—

dekh dekh kar, *Pj. vεχ vεχ ke* "looking repeatedly".

(*Pj.*) *ṭurdeā ṭurdeā* "through continued walking".

(Pj.) *paxdeā paxdeā* "while heating up" (spread over some time).

Pleasantness. This often corresponds to our "nice and", or the slang "jolly old", "good old".

garm garm dūd "nice, hot milk".

lāl lāl tarbūze "watermelons, nice and red".

thandī thandī havā "refreshing breeze".

(Pj.) *us vag jā chetī chetī* "now off you go, nice and quick".

Sometimes no real meaning is discernible. People have got into the habit of repeating certain short words, and do so without thinking; the very shortness of the word seems to demand repetition. I knew an Englishman who always said "very very", never simply "very".

Before one can claim that the main thought is emphasis it must be shown that other ideas are impossible. Examples must be found in which emphasis is the only possible idea, and is due solely to repetition; many emphatic phrases contain repeated words, but the emphasis would not be less if the word occurred only once. In fact we shall see that often the very reverse of emphasis is in the mind of the speaker. Let us examine a few cases.

(1) *gorī gorī bālikā kī lāl lāl gālhē* "the rosy cheeks of the prettily fair girl".

(2) *thandī thandī havā* "a refreshing summer breeze".

(3) *pio cā garm, garm* "here you are, sir, nice hot tea".

(4) *voh alag alag baith gae* "they sat down in separate places".

Now if the idea of emphasis were present, these phrases would mean:—

(1) the hectic cheeks of the deathly pale girl; (2) a piercing winter wind; (3) scalding tea, much too hot to drink before the train goes; (4) they sat absolutely alone.

We have had it impressed upon us that repetition means emphasis, and we shall feel inclined to say offhand that the following expressions are emphatic, but a little study will convince us that they are not.

(5) *kām ke shurū' shurū' mē* "in the early days of the work".

(6) *voh to abhī abhī āyā thā* "he had not long been there"; quite different from *voh to 'ain usī vaqt pahuncā thā* "he had arrived at that very moment".

(7) *sac sac bolo* "now, my boy, the truth (throughout your answer)".

(8) *thīk thīk hal karo* "work it out correctly". But note that, if the boy gets the answer "Rs. 23-11-9", the teacher, wishing to tell

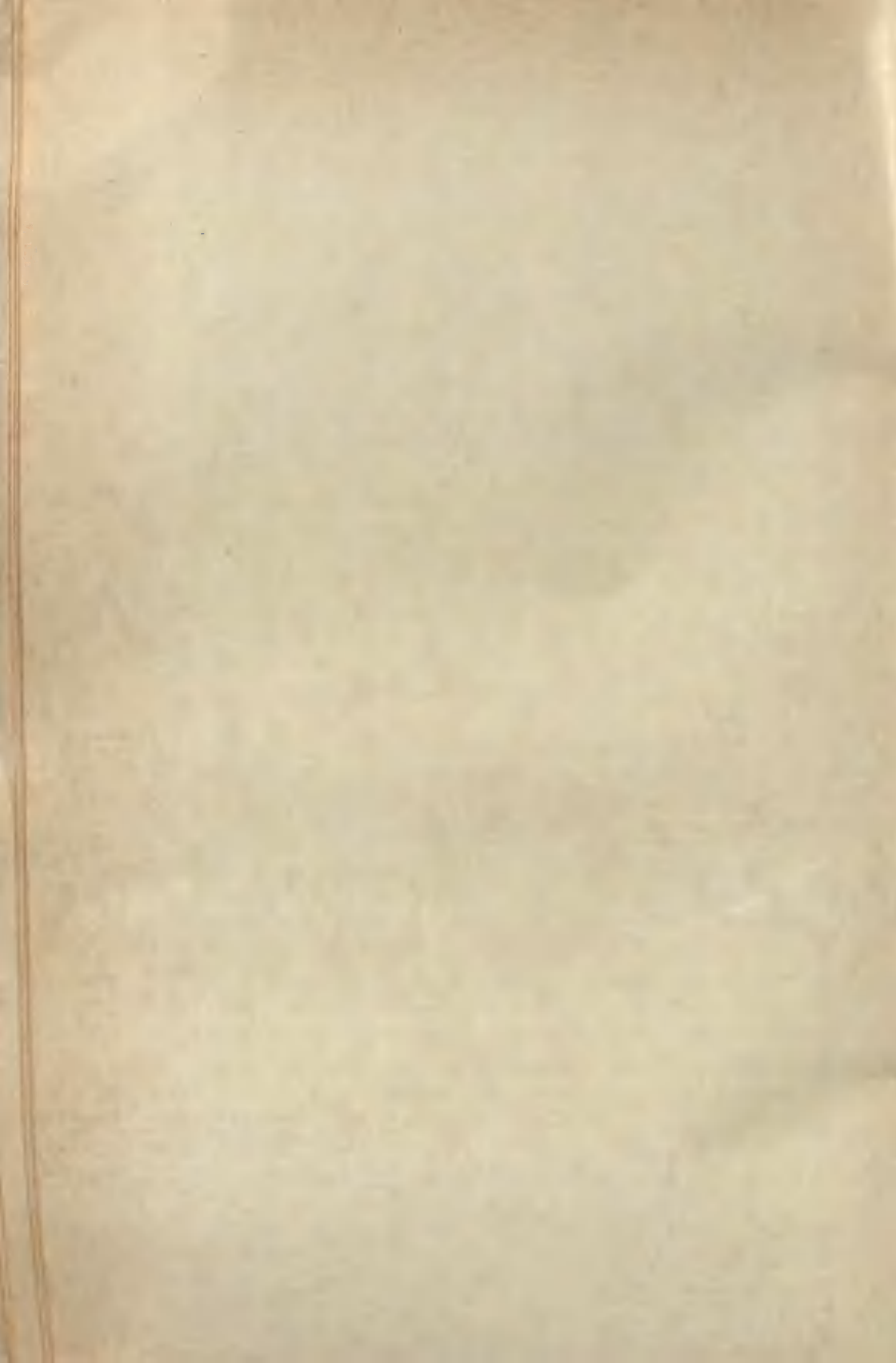
him that his answer is "absolutely right", will not say *tumhārā javāb thīk thīk hai*; he will say *bi'lkull thīk hai*. Similarly "entirely wrong" will be *bi'lkull galaṭ*, not *galaṭ galaṭ*.

(9) *mahīne ke andar andar* "some time or other within a month".

(10) *somvār se pahle pahle* "some time or other before Monday".

(11) *ham tīn tīn ādmī prastut hai*; when Hariś Candr uses these words, he means "here we are, three of us every time, for every work".

(12) *maī ne das das ḡaṭṭ līkhe, tum ne ek bhī javāb na diyā*; this literally means "on several occasions I sent you ten letters one after another, but you didn't answer any". Actually, no doubt, he wrote a couple of times and got no answer.



GRAMMATICAL NOMENCLATURE: UNNECESSARY NAMES

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

IN the teaching of Indian languages much confusion is caused by the invention of names for ideas which either have well known names already, or do not require any name. This makes otherwise useful grammatical notes very obscure, and causes actual unfairness in examinations because candidates are often unfamiliar with the terms employed. We should avoid attaching labels to the words, constructions, and phrases of the language we are teaching, and when a name is necessary it should be one already known from English or Latin.

I take a few illustrations at random from Platts's *Grammar*. Under verbs we find *acquisitives*, *potentials*, *inceptives*, *permissives*, *completives*, *desideratives*, *continuatives*, *frequentatives*, *staticals*, and *reiteratives*. It will hardly be believed that most of these names have been coined to indicate one or, at the most, two words. Thus *acquisitives* means *pānā* alone; *potential* means *saknā*; *inceptive*, *lagnā*; *permissive*, *denā*; *completive*, *cuknā*; *desiderative*, *cāhnā* (and *māgna*!); *continuative*, *jānā* and *rahnā*; so far we have had seven unnecessary and, for the most part, uncouth names to indicate eight or nine words, nearly one special name per word. *Frequentative* and *statical* refer to two particular idioms, and *reiteratives* to repetition; none of these need a name. I would strongly advocate making a clean sweep of them all. They are confusing, awkward, and useless. I never myself use any of them.

The teacher can say "to-day we are going to discuss *-saknā* "be able", or *-lagnā* "begin"; or "I am going to tell you how to express permission or desire or habit or repetition." The simplest words are best.

Another objectionable word is *postposition*. We have "preposition" well established as a technical term. Why do we need another? English prepositions often follow their word: "that's the hole he got in by"; or as the weary nurse said to the intellectual patient after having read aloud to him, "what *did* you choose that book to be read to out of for?" In my teaching I always say "preposition", and never has it led to any difficulty or called forth any question.

As a matter of fact, if we wish to be lugubriously accurate, we shall have to say that Urdu and Hindi have prepositions, postpositions, and prepostpositions, for some always precede, some always follow, and some may do both. What is the unfortunate student to say?

The aim we should set before ourselves is this :—

as far as possible (i) avoid coining new terms ; (ii) use well known terms, and use them with their usual meanings.

Thus, if we use transitive and intransitive we must not change their connotation ; we must not equate transitive with “ verbs requiring *ne* ”, and intrans. with “ verbs not requiring *ne* ”. Some trans. verbs never need *ne*, and some intrans. verbs always need it with certain tenses.

It is difficult to know what to call the case which in Pj. and U. occurs with all prepositions. “ Oblique ” and “ General Oblique ” have been suggested. They are unsatisfactory, for the case is only one out of four oblique cases in Pj. and out of two in U. Perhaps we might call it Prepositional, which, though a new name, carries its meaning on the surface.

THE CASES OF NOUNS AND PRONOUNS IN URDU, HINDI, AND PANJABI

In Latin, Greek, and Sanskrit case names are given to definite forms. The syntax of these forms is a different matter. Each case may have ten or twenty uses. If we are to employ the same names in Panjabi Hindi, and Urdu, we must do so in the same way ; we cannot make, say, ablative or dative, equivalent to *se* or *ko*, for either *se* or *ko* may represent a Latin genitive or dative or accusative or ablative. A preposition governs a certain case, but it is no part of the case. *εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν* means *ghar mē* ; *οἰκίαν* is accus. Are we to call *ghar* also accus. ? *ghar* is in a certain case, but *ghar-mē* is not a case. Again, *μετὰ χαρᾶς* (genitive) is *khushī se* ; the Urdu noun corresponds to a noun in the genitive, why call it ablative ? A Greek dative may *inter alia* stand for a Latin ablative, but we do not, therefore, insist on saddling Greek with an ablative case. The term “ case-phrase ” has been suggested. But before we speak of a “ dative case-phrase ”, we shall need to decide whether it is a Latin, Greek, or Sanskrit dative, and also which of the ten or twenty meanings of the dative it bears.

Hindi and Urdu nouns have three cases, nom., voc., and a third, which may be called prepositional. It is used with all prepositions

including *ne*. Thus *bahinē, bahino, bahinō*. Pronouns will need an agent case: *voh* "they"; *un, unhō*. I must plead guilty to having in various books given long lists of unnecessary cases, and committed the absurdity of making a preposition part of a case.

It seems to me that in no circumstances should a preposition be included in a case, but when a name is required for a definite form there is no objection to choosing the nearest or most suitable of the well-known case names, gen., dat., abl., loc., etc.

Panjabi requires five case names,

masūt "mosque", *bū'ā* "door."

	Sing.		Plur.
nom.	<i>masūt, bū'ā</i>	<i>masūtā</i>	<i>bū'e</i>
prep.	<i>masūt bū'e</i>	<i>masūtā</i>	<i>bū'eā</i>
loc.	<i>masūtī bū'e</i>	<i>masūtī</i>	<i>bū'ī</i>
abl.	<i>masūtō bū'eō</i>		wanting
voc.	<i>masūtē bū'eā</i>	<i>masūtō</i>	<i>bū'eo</i>

Pronouns need at least three more: agent, dative, and gen.

	Sing.		Plur.
nom.	<i>mā, "I" o' "he"</i>	<i>asī, ahī</i>	<i>o'</i>
prep.	<i>mere os, [o'de]</i>	<i>sāḍḍe, asō, ahō</i>	<i>o'nd, [o'nd de]</i>
loc.	<i>mere, merī [os]</i>		<i>o'nī</i>
abl.	<i>mēthō</i>	<i>sāthō</i>	<i>[o'nd tō]</i>
ag.	<i>mē os</i>	<i>asā, ahā</i>	<i>o'nd</i>
gen.	<i>merā [o'dā, osdā]</i>	<i>sāḍḍā</i>	<i>[o'nd dā]</i>
dat.	<i>mēnā, minā [o'nā, osnā]</i>	<i>sānā</i>	<i>[o'nd nā]</i>

The loc. forms *merī, o'nī* are always adjectival, agreeing with a loc. plur. noun. Other adj. forms have also been included.

ADDENDUM. THE FIRST PLURAL FEMININE IN URDU

Some doubt seems to exist as to the proper form of the verb in the 1st plur. fem., and it has been asserted that the masc. form must be used. This is true of only one case.

(i) When a woman speaking of herself alone uses the plur., the verb and adjj. are masc.:—

ham to abhī āte hai "I'm coming now".

This reminds us of Greek usage. Cf. Euripides Alc. 383, where Alcestis is referring to herself.

(ii) If several women speak, the verb is fem. Two cases arise :—

(a) when a plur. fem. noun is inserted,

ham tīnō bahinē roṭī khā rahī thī “ we three sisters were breakfasting ”.

(b) when there is no noun. A good example occurs in Āzād's *Āb i Hayāt*, p. 74 of 1917 ed., where he makes some women say :—

jab tak hamārī bāt na kah degā na pilāēgī “ until you say what we want, we shall not give you water ”.

Two examples from Prem Cand are :—

ham sab kī sab calēgī “ we shall all go ”.

āp kā diyā khātī haī, to sāth kis ke rahēgī “ what we eat is your gift, then with whom else shall we stay ? ”

In this last case (when there is no noun) some speakers are inclined to favour the masc., but among good families the fem. is used.

THE MEANING AND USAGE OF CAUSAL VERBS IN URDU AND PANJABI

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

I. MEANING

THE causal of an intransitive verb means to cause someone or something to perform the action which the intr. verb indicates : *calnā* "function", *calānā* "cause something to function". About this there is no debate. The question of causals of tr. verbs is not so easy. It is important to be entirely practical, and if we cannot get universal rules we must try to make general rules helpful to both students and scholars. To this end we must, as far as possible, use well-known words, and use them in their ordinary sense. New grammatical terms or old ones with new meanings are worse than useless. A student says : "How am I to express 'make him sleep, make him do it' ? May I say *usko sulāo*, *usko karāo* ? If not, tell me what to say, and give me a rule for it which I can easily follow." He is entitled to a reply ; more than that, he is entitled to a reply which will be of real use to him.

People speaking of trans. verbs mean "verbs ordinarily trans.", for most trans. verbs can, at least on rare occasions, be used intransitively ("This mutton eats well"). Again, nearly all of them may dispense with their object, though retaining their trans. sense. For our present purpose this distinction is unimportant. Thus "see" and "hear" are trans. verbs, but are intrans. in "the blind see, the deaf hear". "Kill" is trans., but the object is suppressed in "if a glance could kill".

The causals of verbs which are ordinarily trans. mean "cause a thing to be done", i.e. they are the causals of the passive of the original verb. If we wish to say "he made the blind see and the deaf hear" we cannot say *usne andhō ko dikhāyā aur bahrō ko sunāyā* ; this sentence, which is perfectly correct Urdu, means he showed something to the blind, and related something to the deaf.

We may put it otherwise. The direct object of one of these causals is not the doer, but the thing done ; or again, if the causal of a trans. verb is put in the passive, the nom. is the thing done, not the doer.

cittī likhāī gayī "the letter was caused to be written", not *munshī likhāyā gayā* "the clerk was made to write". *baḥshnā* "forgive" ;

but the causal passive means not "he was made to forgive" but "forgiveness was obtained for his sin, his sin was caused to be forgiven". We can say *paise luṭāe gae*, but we may not translate "the boy was made to rob" by *laṣkā luṭāēā gayā*.

We can therefore make a universal rule :—

Universal Rule.—The causal of an ordinarily trans. verb, when it exists, may always mean "cause something to be done"; and it is never wrong to use it with this meaning. To this rule there is no exception.

Further, we can make a second rule :—

Second Rule.—For the causals of ordinarily trans. verbs the meaning "cause to do" is not permissible, whether the original verb is used "absolutely" or not, i.e. whether the object is expressed or not.

This rule may be considered universal, but if it were claimed that *sīkhnā*, *sīḡnā* "learn" is always trans., it would come in here as an exception, and the rule would then be general, not universal. It is a matter of indifference. It is certainly correct to say *O sḡā* *oī e* "she has been taught, put up to it".

pīlānā means "cause to be drunk". *khilānā* in the best usage means cause to be eaten, not cause to eat. A phrase like *laṣke khilāe gae* is contrary to good idiom, but I have heard it.

The following verbs are indifferently trans. and intrans., but it must not be assumed that the trans. is the causal of the intrans. :—

bhūlnā, (a) "forget", (b) "err," "pass from memory"; *badalnā* "change", *paṭānā* "return", *ulaṭnā* "turn upside down", *bharnā* "fill", *ghisnā* "rub", *jhulasnā* "scorch, get hot", *mānnā* "acknowledge, agree", *paṛhnā* "read, study", *samajhnā* "understand", *sīkhnā* "learn". As they are both trans. and intrans. we should expect causals of both kinds. Actually we find that *bhulānā*, *paṛhānā*, *sīkhānā* are causals of both trans. and intrans. senses; i.e. both cause to err and cause to be forgotten, etc.

badlānā, *paṭānā*, *ulaṭnā*, *ghisānā*, *jhulsānā* are generally causals of the int. sense, i.e. they mean "cause to perform the intrans. action".

badalvānā, *paṭāvānā*, *ulaṭvānā*, *ghisvānā*, *jhulasvānā*, mean to cause the action to be performed.

bharānā in one sense only is the causal of the intrans. verb, viz. when it is used of a bird feeding its young, "cause to become filled up." Otherwise it is the causal of the trans., "cause a pot to be filled by someone."

manānā in the phrases *deotā manānā*, *ḡushī manānā*, etc., is not a causal except in form. Apart from this meaning, *manānā*, as also *samjhānā*, prefers the meaning of "cause to be done"; sentences like *merā bāp manāyā gayā* "my father was persuaded", or '*aurat sam-jhāī gāī* "the woman was consoled", are not to be recommended.

II. USAGE

(i) Grammars usually extend the name intrans. to verbs with cognate objects. These might equally be called trans. In U. and P. the causals generally omit the cognate object, as *daurānā* "cause to run". Occasionally, but rarely, the object is expressed, and the verb is treated as the causal of a trans. meaning cause a race to be run.

mujh se barī lambī daur daurāī gāī "I had to run a long run".

(ii) Some verbs have no causals. It is not possible to lay down a final rule on this point, for tastes vary.

(a) Verbs, not themselves causals, whose roots end in *-ā* do not make causals., e.g. *pānā* "find", *jānā* "go", *ānā* "come", *lānā* "bring", *le jānā* "take away", *farmānā* "command", *gurrānā* "growl", *sharmānā* "be ashamed", *vargalānā* "lead astray".

Exceptions, *nahānā* "bathe"; *nahlvānā*; *curānā* "steal", *curvānā*.

But causals may make double causals, *banānā* "make"; *banvānā*.

(b) Verbs with more than two syllables in the root do not make causals. Verbs with two syllables in the root, the second containing a so-called "long" vowel, make only a *-ā* causal, e.g. *ḡarīdnā* "buy", *ḡarīdvānā*; *ḡhasīṭnā* "drag", *ḡhasīṭvānā*.

(c) A few others have no causals in ordinary use; *khenā* or *kheonā* "row"; *senā* "hatch"; *cāhnā* "wish".

We may add *khonā* "lose"; *socnā* "think"; *lenā* "take"; *honā* "become", for the forms *khuvānā* and *succvānā* are fanciful; the Hindi *livā lānā* and *livā lejānā* are happily not used in Urdu; besides *livā* has not got the force of a causal; *huvānā* occurs only in the phrase *ho huvāke*, etc., and has no causal meaning.

(iii) The preposition to be used with causals of trans. verbs. We have seen that causals of trans. verbs mean not "cause someone to do something", but "cause something to be done *by* someone". How is this "by" to be expressed? It is translated in two ways according to the closeness of the connexion between the causer and the action performed. When the idea of causation is weak, the tendency is to use *ko*; when it is strong, it is *se*.

The following take *ko*, meaning "to":—*dikhānā* "show"; *samjhānā* "explain", *pilānā* "give something to drink", *khilānā* "give something to eat", *likhānā* "dictate", *luṭānā* "distribute money", *sunānā* "relate", and all causals of verbs meaning "put on", as *pinhānā* "clothe someone with", *urhānā* "give a veil or shawl to be put on", *hār bandhānā* "put a garland on someone, give a garland to be put on", *peṭī kasānā* "assist in putting on a belt". (These are free translations.)

maī ne usko ciṭṭhī likhāī "I dictated a letter to him"; *maī ne us se ciṭṭhī likhāī* (better *likhvāī*) "I got a letter written by him". Compare *kisī ko Fārsī pāṛhānā*, *kām sikhānā*, *bāt manānā*.

AUXILIARY VERBS IN MONGOLIAN

By S. YOSHITAKE

IN the Mongolian language we often find two, three, or even four verbs in succession without a single conjunction between them. When analysing a continuous chain of verbs, it is best to consider two consecutive verbs at a time, for the circumstances in which such a combination is made can be brought under the following three headings:—

1. Sequential—two verbs denote actions in sequence, as, for example,

nadur irejü ögtütertün, He came to me and said . . . ;

2. Adverbial—the first of the two verbs is merely adverbial, usually expressing the manner¹ in which the action denoted by the second verb is performed, as, for example,

uyilan joréibai, They went away crying ;

3. Auxiliary—the second of the two verbs is auxiliary to the principal verb, as, for example,

bi öimayi alaqu bui, I shall (lit. am) kill thee.

Of these three cases the most interesting is undoubtedly the last, i.e. the auxiliary use of a limited number of verbs with certain well-defined meanings, an exact parallel being found in other Eastern languages.

The object of the present paper is to show the exact meaning and usage of the Mongolian auxiliary verbs, with special reference to the parallel forms in Turki (as spoken in Yarkand and Kashgar), Yakut, Korean, and Japanese ; the more so as some of these verbs have hitherto been inaccurately interpreted or completely missed out by the grammarians. For this purpose I have taken passages from the texts contained in the following books:—

JM. = B. Jülg, *Mongolische Märchensammlung*. Die neun Märchen des Siddhi-Kür, nach der ausführlicheren Redaction und die Geschichte des Ardschi-Bordschi Chan. Innsbruck, 1868.

Koval. = O. Ковалевскій, *Монгольская хрестоматія*. Томъ I. Казань, 1836.

Porov = A. Поповъ, *Монгольская хрестоматія для начинающихъ обучаться монгольскому языку*. Казань, 1836.

¹ Sometimes also " means, reason, etc."

Pozdn. = A. Позднёвъ, Монгольская хрестоматія для первоначальнаго преподаванія. СПб, 1900.

Schmidt = I. J. Schmidt, *Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache*. St. Petersburg, 1831.

SS. = I. J. Schmidt, *Geschichte der Ost-Mongolen und ihres Fürstenhauses, verfasst von Ssanang Ssetsen Chungtaidschi der Ordus; aus dem Mongolischen übersetzt, und mit dem Originaltexte, nebst Anmerkungen, Erläuterungen und Citaten aus andern unedirten Originalwerken* herausgegeben von I.J.S. St. Petersburg und Leipzig, 1829.

With regard to the Mongol transcription it must be mentioned that my friend, Mr. G. L. M. Clauson, has recently pointed out to me that the traditional transcription *γ* and *g* for the two Mongol voiced velar letters are often inaccurate, and that in the case of many words and terminations these letters were intended to represent a silent *h* as in French *heure*. Thus, for example, the word transcribed *ayula*, mountain, was in the earliest known period pronounced *a-u-la*, and in later times, on the first two vowels coalescing, *ūla*; there is no evidence that it was ever pronounced *ayula*. Mr. Clauson and I are at present engaged in considering whether it will not be possible, at any rate in the vast majority of instances, to distinguish those cases in which the two Mongol letters actually represent the velar sounds *γ* and *g* from those in which they are inaccurately applied to a silent *h*, which we would propose to transliterate by the sign *h̲* (i.e. *h* underlined). In this paper, however, I have retained the customary transcription, pending our further investigations into the matter.

In transcribing Korean words I have adopted the system given in the work *Alphabete und Schriftzeichen des Morgen- und des Abendlandes*, Berlin, 1924, pp. 18-19, and for Yakut I have replaced the usual Russian transcription by a more convenient system, including *ī* (= *ы*), *u* (= *у*), *l* (= *л*), and *γ* for a voiced velar fricative.

1. The substantive verb *bükü*¹ means "to exist" as distinguished from *aqu*² which signifies "to be".³ In practice, however, the two

¹ A. Bobrovnikov: Грамматика монгольско-калмыцкаго языка. Казань, 1849, §§ 263, 267.

² Ditto, § 269.

³ Compare Japanese *ari*, to exist (S. Matsuoka: *Nihon Gengogaku*, Tōkyō, 1928, pp. 140, 151-2), *nari* to be (ditto, pp. 141, 152-3); Korean *id-ta*, to exist (*Grammaire Coréenne*, Par les missionnaires de Corée de la société des missions étrangères de Paris, Yokohama, 1881, p. 127; H. G. Underwood, *An Introduction to the Korean Spoken Language*, Yokohama, 1890, p. 167), *il-ta*, to be (*Grammaire Coréenne*, op. cit., pp. 127, 131; Underwood, op. cit., p. 167); Yakut *bär*, existence (Otto v.

verbs are used almost interchangeably. As the auxiliaries they serve to assist the gerundial and the participial forms of the verb in the formation of tenses with various meanings inherent in the principal verb. In order to facilitate comparison I shall tabulate below the commonest forms constituting the Indicative mood.

		Present	Past
Indefinite	Narrative	-mui (-müi)	-bai (-bei)
	Conclusive	-yu (-yü)	-juqui (-jüktü)
	Prospective (i)	-qu (-kü) bui	-qu (-kü) bülüge
Imperfect	Continuative (ii)	-n (-ju, etc.) amui	-n bülüge
	Frequentative (iii)	-day (-deg) bui	-day (-deg) bülüge
Perfect	Narrative (iv)	-γsan (-gsen) bui	-γsan (-gsen) bülüge
	Assertive	-luya (-lüge)	

Of these forms we are at present concerned only with those which are numbered in the table.¹

Böhtlingk, *Über die Sprache der Jakuten*, St. Petersburg, 1851. *Wörterbuch*, pp. 128-9), *är-*, to be (ditto, *Wörterb.*, p. 16); Turki *bar*, existence (G. Raquette, *Eastern Turki Grammar*, Practical and Theoretical, with Vocabulary, part II, Mitteilungen des Seminars für Orientalische Sprachen, Jahrgang xvi, 2te, Abtl., Berlin, 1913, pp. 119-22), *er-*, to be (ditto, p. 116 (1)). For the auxiliary use of these verbs I must refer to the respective grammars, as it does not come within the scope of the present paper. For a comparative study of the auxiliary verbs in Turkish dialects, see W. Bang, *Studien zur vergleichenden Grammatik der Türkensprachen*, Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, xxxvii, 1916.

¹ The form -juqui (-jüktü, etc.), however, requires explanation. Both Schmidt (*Grammatik*, op. cit., § 101) and Kovalevski (Краткая грамматика монгольского книжного языка. Казань, 1835, § 110) regard this form as "3rd sing. and pl. perfect," whilst Ramstedt (*Über die Konjugation des Khalkha-mongolischen*, *Mémoires de la Soc. Finno-Ougrienne* XIX, Helsingfors, 1903, pp. 81-3) and Poppe (Gericke, *Untersuchung der sprachlichen Eigenthümlichkeiten der mongolischen Version des Gesserikhan*, *Fortsetzung*, *Asia Major*, vol. iii, fasc. 2nd April, 1926, p. 172, § 26) consider it to be the preterite imperfect. Rudnev (Лекции по грамматике монгольского письменного языка, СПб., 1905, p. 43), on the other hand, following Bobrovnikov (*Грамматика*, op. cit., § 242), treats it as a fortuitous form denoting an unexpected occurrence. This last explanation is not borne out by the examples which I have met; rather it often appears as a conclusive verb, following a conditional or a causal

(i) The present (or past) indefinite prospective is formed of the *nomen futuri*,¹ -qu (-kü), and the auxiliary verb *bui* (or *bülüge*). It serves to indicate expectation with the meanings "is (was) to, should (have), is (was) about to, etc."

Example:—

Narasu modun-u detoraki anu qatanki-yin tula ebül jun kökerejü bayiqu bui (Popov, p. 32, ll. 1-2).

It is because its core is solid that the pine-tree remains green summer and winter.

Dolu-yān qonuy bolu-yān qoyina qayan Ananda moduēi-yi eēige-yin orun-dur ilegekü bülüge (Koval., p. 75, ll. 8-9).

Seven days after that, the king was about to send Ānanda, the carpenter, to his father's kingdom.

With the fundamental signification "is (was) to" the form -qu (-kü) *bui* is used to indicate the future and -qu (-kü) *bülüge* the subjunctive imperfect.

Example:—

Bi ēimayi sayaral ügei alaqu bui (Popov, p. 34, ll. 6-7).

I shall kill thee without mercy.

Sedkil-dür sanay-san-ıyan aman-ača yaryaju kümün-dür kelebesti edegekü bülüge (J.M., p. 42, ll. 8-9).

You would be cured, if you uttered and told the people what you have in your mind.

(ii) The present (or past) imperfect continuative is formed of

clause, and is frequently found in a context where the form -yu would be expected, if it were in the present tense. If -yu denotes an inference or a conclusion, as Rudnev maintains (Jelagin, op. cit., p. 43), the form -juqui must perforce be its counterpart in the past tense.

To quote an example from the Altan Gerel contained in Schmidt's grammar (p. 155, ll. 5-6):—

Qoyar köbegün ċinu yasi-yutu yal-a masida türtejü amui. Degedü köbegün ċinu Mahaa-satva ügei buyu; mönke busud-ta erüstejükti.

Thy two sons are being burnt in flames of sorrow. (From this we may infer that) thy noble son Mahāsatva is no longer (alive); he must have been taken away by the hands of Uncertainty.

Such passages as this abound also in other literary works, which fact justifies us in regarding the form -juqui as the past indefinite conclusive. Since we draw an inference usually with regard to the 3rd person, we may well understand why both Schmidt and Kovalevski classed this form as "3rd sing. and pl. perfect", parallel with the form -yu which they both call "3rd sing. and pl. future".

¹ Ramstedt, *Konjugation*, op. cit., pp. 89-91.

the *converbum modale*,¹ -n, and the auxiliary verb *amu* (or *bülüge*). It denotes an action which began in the past and is (was) still continuing, or a state as the result of a former action. In the present tense the *converbum modale* may be replaced by the *converbum imperfecti*² -ju (-jü), -ču (-čü).

Example :—

Ta busud-un üge-ber namayi sejiglen amu (SS., p. 58, l. 15).

Believing the words of other people, you are distrustful of me.

Tere degüü biden-ü eldeb-iyer nigülestün ögülen bülüge (Schmidt, p. 148, l. 14).

Our youngest brother was speaking (of it) sympathizing in various ways.

Sometimes also the *converbum abtemporale*,³ -ysayar (-gsager), followed by *ajiya* replaces the past tense.

Example :—

Ene toti-nar tedüi-ede edüi kürtele aryalaysayar ajiya (JM., p. 92, ll. 10-11).

These parrots have been playing a trick on me for some time past.

(iii) The present (or past) imperfect frequentative is composed of the *nomen usus*,⁴ -day (-deg), and *bui* (or *bülüge*). It indicates a habitual action.

Example :—

Qatun ketüken-i ire gekü-dü ültü eçideg beyü, eçi (JM., p. 96, ll. 2-3).

Is it not a custom to go when the princess calls? Go!

Nigen modun-dur dalan nigen toti qonuduy bülüge (JM., p. 90, l. 9).

Seventy-one parrots used to pass the nights on a certain tree.

(iv) The present (or past) perfect narrative is formed of the *nomen perfecti*,⁵ -gsan (-gsen), and *bui* (or *bülüge*). It serves to denote that an action is (was) completed at the time expressed or understood. Thus the form in the past tense stands for the pluperfect and is also used as the subjunctive perfect.

¹ Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 108-10.

² Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 106-7.

³ Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 117-18.

⁴ Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 91-3.

⁵ Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 88-9.

Example :—

Činu gerte-eče unuju iregsen mori činu nadur iretel.e kedüi alquysan bui (Popov, p. 35, l. 11—p. 36, l. 1).

How many strides hath thy horse on which thou hast come from thy house made on its way here ?

Bi γayča kü edüge aburaysan busu buyu-j.a; erte nüügeisen čay-tur-bar, eden.i aburan tedkügsen büllüge (Schmidt, p. 131, l. 3).

This is not the only time I have saved them. In times previous to that also had I saved and protected them.

In all the four cases treated above, *büllüge* may be replaced by *ajıyū* (*ajuyū*, *aji*, etc.) with no significant difference in meaning.

REMARKS.—The forms *-qu* (*-kü*) *büllüge* and *-n büllüge* are often used to denote a habitual action in the past, replacing the form *-day* (*-deg*) *büllüge*.

Example :—

Edür tutum ulus-ača nigen sayın köbegün abču oduyad. üsün-iyen sigürdegüleged alaqu büllüge (JM., p. 40, ll. 8-9).

Every day (the king) would call in a charming boy and kill him after making him comb his (i.e. the king's) hair.

Tegün.i ireküi-dür boroγan qor.a orun büllügei (SS., p. 60, ll. 6-7).

When he came, it always rained.

Used in exactly the same sense we find the form *γēi* (*-gēi*) *büllüge*, which is composed of the *nomina actoris*¹ and *büllüge*.

Example :—

Qamuγ bügüde tegün.dür mörgüged takiγēi büllüge (Popov, p. 41, l. 10—p. 42, l. 1).

All the people used to pay respect to Him by prostrating themselves.

2. From what has been said above, it is clear that the present (or past) imperfect continuative does not always indicate an action in progress or a state maintained at the time expressed or understood. In order, therefore, to show such a notion more definitely, the Mongols use *baiyiqu*, to exist, remain² (*Y. tur*;³ *T. tur*-, to stand,⁴ *qal*-,

¹ Ramstedt, op. cit., pp. 103-4.

² Bobrovnikov, op. cit., §§ 270, 281, 283, 524, 526; Poppe, op. cit., § 43. Neither in Japanese nor in Korean the word meaning "to stand" or "to remain" is used as the auxiliary verb.

³ Bohtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 108.

⁴ Raquette, op. cit., pp. 115, 187 (3), 188.

to remain ¹), or *sayuqu*, to dwell, sit ² (*J. masu*, to dwell, ³ *Y. olor*, to sit ⁴), as the auxiliary verb.

Example:—

Nigen asar dotora-ača degere yarēu ūjejū bayitala, . . .
(*JM.*, p. 95, l. 4).

While he was watching, climbing out of a loft, . . .

Mör deger.e inu γurban üčügūken köbegün nayadun sayubai
(*Popov*, p. 19, ll. 9-10).

Three small children were amusing themselves in the road.

The use of these two verbs may be extended to other complex forms of the indicative mood.

Example:—

Teyin bolbasu irebesū jokiqu bayinam (*Pozdn.*, p. 361, l. 12).

Therefore it would be well for you to come.

Teyin atala čay ese kürügsen buyu-uu, nöküdel ese γaruγsan-u tula Moγyol-un kelen-iyer nom orčiyaluγsan ügei bayinam (*Pozdn.*, p. 362, ll. 8-9).

Nevertheless, the Scriptures were not translated into the Mongolian language, either because the time was not yet come, or because the required letters were still lacking.

In exactly the same manner as *bayiqu* and *sayuqu* is also used *kebtēkū*, to lie down ⁵ (*Y. sūt*-, ⁶ *T. yat*-, ⁷ to lie), but its use is rather limited.

3. *Yabuqu*, to go, walk, act, ⁸ (*J. yuku*, ⁹ *K. ka-ta*, ¹⁰ to go, *Y. xāl*-,

¹ Although Raquette gives no mention of this as the auxiliary verb, the use is quite clear from the combinations such as *hālip qal*-, to know, *olturāp qal*-, to remain sitting, sit, etc. Compare also Yakut *xāf*-, to remain; see 3 below.

² Bobrovnikov, op. cit., §§ 522, 523, 525.

³ New chiefly used as the polite verbal suffix. Korean has no equivalent.

⁴ Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 25. Turki *olur*-, to dwell, sit, does not seem to be used as the auxiliary verb.

⁵ Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 523.

⁶ Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 162.

⁷ Raquette, op. cit., p. 187 (4).

⁸ Bobrovnikov (op. cit., §§ 272, 523) makes no distinction between *yabuqu* and *bükū*, *bayiqu*, etc.

⁹ As in *kurashite yuku*, to live on (*kurasu*, to live); *sora ga shirande yuku*, the sky grows brighter and brighter (*shiramu*, to become white, grow light).

¹⁰ *Grammaire Coréenne*, op. cit., p. 133 (3), Underwood, op. cit., § 212. As an example *Gramm. Coréenne* gives *nīlk-q ka-ta* vieillissant aller, vieillir, devenir vieux (from *nīlk-ta*, to be old), but "to grow old" is correctly *nīlk-q tji-ta* and not *nīlk-q ka-ta*, which last really means "to grow older and older".

to remain ¹) strictly denotes the idea "to go on", i.e. the continuance of an action or a state irrespective of time. In this sense **yabuqu** differs from all the verbs explained above, although at times such a distinction is hardly recognizable.

Example:—

Ende tende aryalan yabuju joboyaysan tan.u yeke bülüge (JM., p. 92, l. 5).

You have given me a great deal of trouble, constantly playing a trick on me in one place or another.

Aqa degü-lüge amaray nayiralduju yabubasu, tere sayın bui-j.a (Popov, p. 23, ll. 10-11).

It would be admirable to be always on affectionate terms with (one's own) brothers.

4. Whilst **yabuqu**, to walk, serves to express the idea of continuance, its synonym **odqu**, to go away,² is used for the indication of removal from the speaker or the person addressed; in the imperative mood **yabu** is preferred to **od** to show the latter meaning. The Japanese³ and the Korean⁴ use the same verb for these two distinct ideas, whereas to express removal are used in Yakut *is-*⁵ and in Turki *bar-*,⁶ both meaning "to go".

Example:—

Tere köbegün ger-tegen qariju odbai (JM., p. 42, ll. 1-2).

The boy went home.

Duradqui minu ebderen odu-yujai (Schmidt, p. 150, l. 13).

I feel as though I am losing my mind.

Ene erdeni-yi abçu yabu (JM., p. 96, l. 3).

Take this jewel (with you).

¹ Böttlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., pp. 82-3. I have not found any word capable of expressing this particular idea in Turki.

² Schmidt, *Grammatik*, op. cit., § 171.

³ As in *motte yuku*, to take away; *kaette yuku*, to go home, etc.

⁴ P. A. Eckardt, *Koreanische Konversations-Grammatik mit Lesestücken und Gesprächen*, Heidelberg, 1923, p. 168 (4); *Gramm. Coréenne*, op. cit., p. 133 (3); Underwood, op. cit., § 212.

⁵ Böttlingk, op. cit., Wörterb., pp. 38-9.

⁶ G. Raquette, *A Contribution to the existing knowledge of the Eastern-Turkestan Dialect as it is spoken and written at the present time in the districts of Yarkand and Kashgar*, Helsingfors, Société Finno-Ougrienne, 1909, pp. 24-5.

Similarly the idea of motion towards the speaker or the person addressed is expressed by the verb *irekü*, to come ¹ (J. *kuru*,² K. *o-ta*,³ Y. *käl*,⁴ T. *kel*,⁵ to come).

Example :—

Či yaĵar tedüi ayui yeke čayasun abču ir.e, bi tegri-yin tedüi bičig bičisügei (Popov, p. 31, ll. 2-3).

Bring thou paper as large as the earth, then I will write a book of the size of heaven.

Nigen utači-yi jalaju ireged, sudasun-ıyan bariyulbai (JM., p. 42, l. 7).

They sent for a doctor and let him feel the pulse of the boy.

5. Yet one more use of *odqu* ⁶ is to indicate the completion of an action. For this is also used *orkiqu*, to throw, let go,⁷ (J., *shima(f)u*, to finish; ⁸ K. *pā-ri-ta*, to throw away; ⁹ *nod-tha*, to let go; ¹⁰ Y. *sirü*-, to go, move; ¹¹ *kābīs*-, to throw; ¹² T. *kel*-, to go; *tögāt*-, to bring to an end ¹³).

¹ Schmidt, op. cit., § 171.

² A. Rose-Innes, "Conversational Japanese for Beginners," Part II, *Elementary Grammar of the Japanese Spoken Language*, Yokohama, 1919, § 103.

³ Eckardt, op. cit., p. 168 (4), *Gramm. Coréenne*, op. cit., p. 133 (2); Underwood, op. cit., p. 163.

⁴ Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 55.

⁵ Raquette, *Grammar*, op. cit., p. 186 (1); *Contribution*, op. cit., p. 40, ll. 7-8, p. 46, l. 5, etc.

⁶ Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 526; Poppe, op. cit., § 43.

⁷ Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 106. Luchuan has not developed anything corresponding to this auxiliary verb (B. H. Chamberlain, "Essay in Aid of a grammar and dictionary of the Luchuan Language," *Supplement to the Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan*, vol. xxiii, 1895, p. 107).

⁸ As in (*u*)-*ichyo pā-rygd-so*, I have completely forgotten; *pgi-lygd pā-rygd-so*, I have cut it off. Cf. also Eckardt, op. cit., p. 169 (7) and § 102.

⁹ Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, pp. 163-4.

¹⁰ Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 53.

¹¹ Although Raquette gives no mention of the auxiliary use of these two verbs, it is clear that they correspond exactly to *odqu* and *orkiqu*, as will be seen from the following passages taken from his paper (*Contribution*, op. cit.).

Etiäd turup sesip betti (p. 45, ll. 3-4) (lit. on-the-field standing rotting went).

"They remained on the ground and rotted" (p. 12, bottom line).

Mān bu qoyumai qurutini ālip tögüdülmāi tursam . . . (p. 40, ll. 28-9) (lit. I this my-sheep's vermin (acc.) taking being-unable-to-finish if-I-stand . . .), "When I am all the time at work and am not able to make an end of the vermin in this my sheep . . ." (p. 9, bottom line-p. 10, l. 1).

In these examples *sesip betti* means "rotted in the end" or "completely rotted away", and *qurutini ālip tögüdülmāi tursam* "when I am not able to get rid of the vermin".

If there is any difference between *odqu* and *orkiqu*, the former is used when the action is unintentional whereas the latter denotes completion of an intentional action. The same seems to hold good with the similar pairs in Korean, Yakut, and Turki.

Example:—

Kei-dür keyistegsen modun metü unaju odbai (Schmit, p. 150, l. 16-p. 151, l. 1).

They broke down like a tree swept by the wind.

Tere sakiydi kümün-i ginji-ber éokiju orkiyad dotoyaju odbai (SS., p. 66, ll. 11-12).

(Temüchin) beat the watchman to death and ran away.

6. Rather different is the verb *talbiqu*, to leave¹ (J. *oku*,² K. *tu-ta*,³ to put, leave), which, as Rose-Innes aptly interprets the Japanese equivalent *oku*, serves to indicate the complete settling of a matter (for the time being with a view to its future use).⁴ This word is therefore used when the action is intentional.

Example:—

Tegün.ü amasar-i qabtayai éilayun-iyar büglejü, siroyai-bar bürkün talbibai (Koval., p. 75, ll. 7-8).

He closed the entrance of it with a flat stone, which he covered with earth (intending to use the secret path he dug for escape).

Ene qoyar er.e üker anjisun-iyen kedün-te toýoriysan-i maryata nada toyalaju talbi (Popov, p. 34, ll. 4-5).⁵

Count how many times these two bulls went round with the plough and be prepared to tell me to-morrow morning.

¹ All Mongolian grammars have ignored this particular use of *talbiqu*.

² Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 105. Luchuan has no equivalent (Chamberlain, op. cit., p. 107).

³ Eckardt places this verb under the same category as *pä-ri-ta* and *nod-ta* (*Grammatik*, op. cit., p. 169 (7)). But the following examples are sufficient to show that the verb *tu-ta* corresponds not to *odqu* or *orkiqu* but exactly to *talbiqu*.

Pun-pu (分付) -*adi tu-pd-so*, I have given the order (to do so).

S(y)u-kəu (手巾) -*il kə-rə tu-p-ra*, Hang up the towel!

Underwood (op. cit., p. 162) mentions this word as an auxiliary verb, but does not explain how it may be used.

⁴ Neither Yakut nor Turki seems to possess any word that is capable of expressing this particular shade of meaning.

⁵ In his notes (pp. 180-1) Popov remarks that *talbi* is here used to intensify the meaning of the verb *toyalaju*. This is a completely wrong interpretation of this useful auxiliary verb.

7. The verb *ūjekü*¹ (J. *mīru*,² K. *po-ta*,³ Y. *kōr*,⁴ T. *baq*, *qayla*, *kōr*⁵), to see, conveys the meaning "to ascertain, see what will happen". With this as the fundamental signification, the verb *ūjekü* and its counterparts in other languages have two distinct uses: (1) "to try and (do something)," (2) "(to do something) and see."

Example:—

Edüge bide γurbaγula odēu abun ūjesūgei (Koval., p. 87, l. 10).
Now we three will go and try and restore it.

Tere suburyan-i negejū ūjebesū, . . . nigen altan qayurčay-i ūjejū būr.ūn. . . . (Schmidt, p. 144, ll. 6-7).

When (Ānanda) opened the stūpa (to see what he would find in it) he saw a golden casket . . . , and . . .

8. *Ōgkü*⁶ (J. *γaru*, *kureru*,⁷ K. *tju-ta*,⁸ Y. *biār*,⁹ T. *ber*¹⁰), to give, denotes that an action is performed for the benefit of the person indicated (or understood) by the dative case.

¹ Nothing is said of this auxiliary verb in the Mongolian grammars I have seen.

² Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 104. In Luchuan *mōng*, to see, is used in exactly the same way (Chamberlain, op. cit., pp. 107-8).

³ Eckhardt, op. cit., p. 168 (1); *Grammaire Coréenne*, op. cit., p. 133 (1); Underwood, op. cit., p. 163. The following examples may serve to illustrate the exact usage.

Hāi pon-deik q-ryg-un-i q-p-so, When we try and do it, it is not difficult.

Na-ku po-si-yo, Go out and see (who is there, etc.).

⁴ Böhlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 59.

⁵ Raquette says nothing of these verbs in his grammar. Below I shall quote passages from his paper (*Contribution*, op. cit.) to show that they correspond exactly to *ūjekü*. *Mān bir ye(i)p baqai* (p. 44, ll. 1-2), which is translated "I will eat one and try" (p. 11, l. 23), really means "I will have a taste myself" or "Let me have a taste (to see what it is like, or what effect it will have on me)". *Bārip qaylāā* (p. 46, l. 15), translated "when (the child in question) went . . . and looked about" (p. 13, ll. 18-19) is identical with Mongolian *odēu ūjebesū* (J. *itte mireba*) and means "when he went . . . he found that . . .". *Bārip kōrdi-kī* (p. 46, l. 19), translated " (the child in question) went . . . and saw that . . ." (p. 13, ll. 24-5), has the same meaning as the foregoing, although the form *kōrdi-kī* finds no equivalent in Mongol.

⁶ Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 525.

⁷ Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 109.

⁸ Eckardt, op. cit., p. 168 (2); *Grammaire Coréenne*, op. cit., p. 133 (4); Underwood, op. cit., pp. 165-6, 239, Sec. 9. The following examples may also serve to illustrate the usage:—

Pir-nyo (pron. *pirryo*) *tju-si-yo*, Please lend me!

Khui-yo tju-qd-so, I lent (it to him).

⁹ Böhlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 138.

¹⁰ Raquette gives no mention of the auxiliary use of this verb in his grammar. The following sentence quoted from his paper (*Contribution*, op. cit.) clearly shows the exact force of this verb. *Māā bazarin idek guā ālip helip ber gin* (p. 40, ll. 7-8), translated "Fetch a quarter of meat from the bazaar and give me!" (p. 9, ll. 4-5), simply means "Fetch a quarter of meat from the bazaar for me". For another example see Raquette's grammar, part ii (op. cit.), p. 117, ll. 24-5.

Example :—

Či nadur jiyaju ōg (Popov, p. 26, l. 3).

Pray explain it to me !

Tendeče Ma.ha.a-satuva Bodhi-satuva bars-un emün.e kebtejü ōgbei (Schmidt, p. 147, ll. 14-15).

Thereupon Mahāsattva Bodhisattva lay down (as a sacrifice) before the tigress.

Similar to **ōgkü** is the verb **soyorqaqu**, to condescend, which, however, can only be used in direct appeal, hence the doer of the action must perforce be the 2nd person.

Example :—

Nigen köbegün öggün soyorqa (Popov, p. 42, l. 4).

Condescend to grant me a son.

9. The idea of capability may be expressed in Mongolian by **čidaqu**, to be able to, and **yadaqu**, to be poor (weak), be unable to.¹

Example :—

Bi čimai-yi iretele qadayalaju čidaqu bui (J.M., p. 93, l. 11-p. 94, l. 1).

I shall be able to watch (her) until thou comest back.

Emčiner-ber emnen ese čidaba (J.M., p. 90, ll. 5-6).

Even the doctors could not cure (her).

Tabuyula ulariju qu-yulun yadabai (S.S., p. 58, l. 14).

The five (sons) tried in turn, but none of them could break (the arrows).

Except that Yakut **salā-**, to know how to, be able to,² and **jadaí-**, to become poor,³ can be compared with **čidaqu** and **yadaqu** respectively, there is nothing corresponding to these words in other languages considered here.⁴

¹ Cf. M. A. Castrén, *Versuch einer burjätischen Sprachlehre nebst kurzem Wörterverzeichnis*. Herausgegeben von Anton Schiefner, St. Petersburg, 1857, § 165.

² Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 153.

³ Böhtl, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 122. The idea "cannot" is not expressed by this word, but by the use of *salā* placed before the negative form of a verb (*Wörterb.*, p. 153).

⁴ In Turki the idea of capability is expressed by the potential form of the verb (Raquette, op. cit., p. 180), whilst in Korean it is indicated by *-su* *id-ta*, there is a possibility, can; and by *-su* *op-ta*, there is no possibility, cannot; both tacked on to the future participle (Eckardt, op. cit., §§ 43, 115, 135). In the present tense *-su* *op-ta* may be replaced by *mod*, cannot, placed before the verb (Eckardt, op. cit., § 135) or by *mod* *id-ta*, cannot, used after the *-tji* form of the verb (Eckardt, §§ 26, 71). The Japanese express the same idea by using *eru*, *u(-ru)*, to obtain, be able to (possibly of Altaic origin), or *ata(f)u*, to be able to, after the substantival form of a verb.

10. Lastly we shall consider the verb *bolqu*, to become, exist¹ (*J. naru*,² *K. iji-ta*, *toi-ta*,³ to become, *Y. buol*,⁴ *T. bol*,⁵ to become, be). In spite of the fact that this is one of the most important verbs, performing multifarious duties, it has not received sufficient attention of the grammarians. It is therefore not out of place here to examine it closely, without confining ourselves to its auxiliary use alone.

(i) In the capacity of a substantive verb *bolqu* may replace *aq* and *bükü* practically in all circumstances.

Example:—

Ali barayun bolumui (Popov, p. 27, l. 1).

Which is the right (side) ?

Manayar kürtele éinu jarliy-iyar bolusuyai (JM., p. 8, ll. 1-2).

Until to-morrow is here I would fain be under thy direction.

Egün.iyer qanqu bolumui.j.a (Koval., p. 87, l. 3).

I suppose you are satisfied with that.

Tere éay-tur Moŋŋol-dur šasin ese delgerebesü-ber šasin-u kündüel yaruyšan bolai (Pozdn., p. 360, ll. 12-13).

Although at the time the religion was not yet spread in Mongolia, a devout feeling towards it had already sprung.

(ü) With the meaning "to become" it denotes a change of circumstance.

Example:—

Genedte ene yayun-u küéün-iyer eyimü bayan jiryalaŋ-tu bolba (JM., p. 5, l. 10).

Under what magic power has this man become so suddenly rich and happy ?

Nom-tu debel emüsügšen ayay.a tegimlig bolbai (Koval., p. 12, ll. 10-11).

He became a Buddhist mendicant clad in a priest's robe.

Šasin amitan-u tusa yekede bolqu buyu (Pozdn., p. 361, l. 16).

The welfare of both the religion and the living being would be greatly promoted.

Čimadur yayun bolba nadur üjügül (JM., p. 7, l. 8).

Show me what has happened to thee.

¹ Bobrovnikov, op. cit., § 271, p. 156 (6), §§ 284-5.

² Rose-Innes, op. cit., §§ 164, 165 (10).

³ Eckardt, op. cit., §§ 94 (5), 95 (5) (7); *Grammaire Coréenne*, op. cit., pp. 133-4; Underwood, op. cit., pp. 163, 166.

⁴ Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, pp. 141-2.

⁵ Raquette, *Grammar*, op. cit., p. 122.

(iii) With the underlying signification "to become" it serves to express the meaning "in the form of, as".¹

Example:—

Eyimü mayu tüle-dür oruju abalaqu ele bügesü, kümün-ü bey.e-yi oluyad, yeke qan kümün bolun törügßen anu qabiy.a ügei bolumü (Koval., p. 96, ll. 8-9).

If you indulge in such an evil deed as hunting, the life you have been granted as a great king will prove useless.

(iv) In the sense "to arrive at", it indicates termination or decision.²

Example:—

Nigen sibayun-u tariki idegsen-eöe ulamjilan ebecin anu sayin boluy-san tula, yeke qayan ulus-ačaban sibayun-u tariki alba abqu boluy-san-dur, . . . (JM., p. 90, ll. 6-7).

As the queen's illness became gradually less since she had taken the brain of a bird, the great king decided to raise a tribute of birds' brains from his subjects, . . .

(v) Similarly it denotes the passing of time.³

Example:—

Jiryayan edür-üti doluyan edür boljiyui (Schmidt, p. 146, l. 4).

Six or seven days must have elapsed.

¹ This idea is expressed in Japanese by *to shite*, doing, or *to natte*, becoming.

² For this the Japanese use *koto ni naru*, to be decided upon, or *koto ni suru*, to decide upon, each preceded by the attributive form of a verb. Yakut *buol-* when used with the *nomen futuri* denotes intention, e.g. *Asiaz* (to open) *buolbutum da* (although), *aspattim* (I did not open) I did not open it, though I intended to (Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 141 (b), ll. 26-7). Similarly the verb *gin-*, to do, is used in combination with a supine to express the meaning "to intend, be on the point of" (Böhtlingk, op. cit., § 772; *Wörterb.*, p. 63).

³ See the second example given under I (i) above. Cf. also my paper "A Chapter from the *Üliger-ün Dalai*", *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, Vol. V, Part I, 1928, p. 84, l. 6; p. 85, l. 14.

Japanese *naru*, to become, has the same force, e.g. *Nihongo no benkyō wo hajimete kara ninen ni naru*, It is now two years since I began the study of Japanese. To indicate the future the verb *suru*, to do, is used in the Conditional Mood, e.g. *mō mikko sureba*, in three days' time. In Korean *toi-ta*, to become, is used to express the same idea, e.g. *Si-pang* (時方, now) *myōd-tyōm* (點) *-ip-nid-ka* (pron. -imaikka), What's the time?, *Si-pang myōd-tyōm i-na* (about) *toi-yōd-ai-p-nid-ka* (pron. *tōyōdsaimikka*), has it become?, What's the time now? This latter corresponds to Japanese *Mō* ("already") *naraji desu* (or *ni narimasu*). Similar use is also found in Yakut. For example, *Mia guorukka olorum biäs sil buolla* (lit. I in-the-town my-dwelling five years has-become), I have now lived five years in the town (Böhtl., op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 141 (a), ll. 21-4); *aältä ū buolan baras* (lit. seven months becoming going), After the lapse of seven months (Böhtl., op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 141 (a), ll. 35-6). For Turki, see Raquette, op. cit., p. 166, ex. 2.

Bide köbegün törtüged, γurban sar.a bolbasu, ečige eke-yu-γan tanimui (Popov, p. 22, ll. 5-6).

We, boys, recognize our parents three months from birth.

Či urida ab, arudqan bolbasu bi abuy.a (Pozdn., p. 363, ll. 2-3).

Receive thou (the consecration) first. I shall receive it a little later.

(vi) Like English *become* it serves to denote fitness.¹ As such it usually follows a conditional clause.

Example:—

Degegsi ilegekü-yin yosun urida mettü üiledbesü boluyu (Koval., p. 77, ll. 2-3).

As to the way of sending him up, it would be well to follow the previous example.

Ene-ber ija-yur-tan-u köbegün ajuγu, ba būrin.e ekin ügegü; egüni noyan ergübesü bolqu (SS., p. 56, ll. 12-13).

This youth is of high birth, and we have no chief. It would be well (for us) to install him as our ruler.

(vii) With the negative particle *ülü* it is used for the indication of impropriety with the meaning "should not, must not".²

Example:—

Egüni alaju ülü bolumui (JM., p. 41, l. 9).

I should not kill him.

Busu bolqula mörgüjü ülü bolumu (JM., p. 100, l. 10).

If not, it would not do (for you) to bow.

¹ In Japanese such idea is usually expressed by *yoi*, is good, and in Korean by *tjyod-ta*, is good, both corresponding to Mongolian *jokiqu* to suit, *jokistu* suitable, (see the third example given under 2 above). For Turki usage, see Raquette, op. cit., p. 122 (3). Examples may also be found in his paper (*Contribution*, op. cit.): p. 6, l. 28; p. 12, l. 34; p. 45, ll. 1-2.

² Cf. Castrén, op. cit., § 166. In Japanese the same idea is conveyed by *naran(u)* (become not) preceded by a gerund with *na* (Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 58 (14)), and in Korean by *a-ni toi-ta* (not become), it does not do, *mod toi-ta* (cannot become), must not, cannot (Eckardt, op. cit., p. 246, Anm.). In Turki *bolma-* (where *-ma-* is a negative infix) is used after the gerundial infinitive with the meaning "must not, cannot" (see Raquette, *Grammar*, op. cit., p. 166, ex. 3). Note also that in Taranči dialect *bol-* is used with the future participle (*-daryan*) to show the meaning "can" and *bolma-* with the gerundial infinitive (*-γaly*) for "cannot" (W. Bang and J. Marquart: "Osttürkische Dialektstudien, Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen," *Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge*, Bd. xiii, Berlin, 1914, p. 7, footnote).

(viii) With the negative conditional preceding it this negative form of *bolqu* expresses the idea "must".¹

Example:—

Bide edeger kümün-ü dotor-a ann nigen sayın uduridu-yêi kümün ügei bügesü ülü bolumu (Koval., p. 5, ll. 7-8).

Among us, these people, there must be (= we need) an able leader.

(ix) The idea of possibility,² as a special case of "fitness", may also be expressed by *bolqu*.

Example:—

Ene metü bolqu busu (Koval., p. 74, ll. 5-6).

It cannot be like this.

Nigen mayui ijayur-tu bolun törübesü, kilbar toyin bolqu bolumu (Popov, p. 46, ll. 3-4).

If I were born of a humble lineage, I would easily be able to enter priesthood.

(x) Rather peculiar is the use of *bolqu* in the honorific expressions *ögede bolqu*, to go, come, be present (used of high personages),³ and *jarliy bolqu*, to give the order, (be graciously pleased to) say.⁴

¹ For Japanese idiom see Rose-Innes, op. cit., § 72. In Korean the same idea is expressed by *a-ni* (not) *hâ-mynn* (if do) *an-doin-da* (does not become). The last word may be replaced by *an-doi-ked-ta* (will not become) or *mod-toi-ta* (cannot become) (Eckardt, op. cit., p. 121, c, d; p. 246, Anm.). For example: *Ki-ryô-khgi* (so) *a-ni hâ-mynn mod-toi-ggid-so* (Underwood, op. cit., p. 210), I must do that; *Kod-tchi-tji a-ni hâ-mynn an-doi-a*, We must put it right.

² In Yakut *buolârai*, the probable form of *buot-*, with the future (= *nomen futuri* + possessive suffix) replaces the simple probable form of the verb (Böhtlingk, op. cit., *Wörterb.*, p. 142). The same phenomenon is also found in Japanese, as, for example, *yaka naranu* is equivalent to *yukamu*, will probably go. Here *naranu* is regarded as the probable form of *nari*, to be, which is considered to be a contraction of *ni* (or *no*) *ari*, having no connection with *naru*, to become.

³ Kovalevski's dictionary (vol. i, p. 558) gives: "so lever; aller au devant, s'avancer, marcher avec dignité, venir, apparaître (les divinités, les personnes considérables)."

⁴ This is of Turkish origin. Examples may be quoted from W. Radloff's *Uigurische Sprachdenkmäler* (Materialien nach dem Tode des Verfassers mit Ergänzungen von S. Malov herausgegeben, Akademie der Wissenschaften der Union der sozialistischen Soviet Republiken, Leningrad, 1928): *jarliq bolsun* (p. 29, text 22, l. 59) may be the order be given that . . .; *jarliq bolu ärmiş* (p. 121, text 69, l. 4), the order has been given. These suffice to show that the phrase *jarliy bolqu* was originally an honorific expression, though it is true that even in the early Buddhist texts it is often used interchangeably with (*üge*) *ögülekü*, and others, with the meaning "to say, speak". Compare *jarliq*, "geruben etwas zu tun, von Höherstehenden usw. gebraucht" (F. W. K. Müller, *Uigurica*, Berlin, 1908, p. 59). Japanese *O(h)ose ni naru* corresponds to *jarliy bolqu* almost word for word, with the same meaning.

Example :—

Qayan anu tere blam.a-yin köl-i orei-dur-ıyan abuıad, "Ai blam.a-a manayar ordu qarsi-dur minu ögede bolju iren soyorq.a" kemen ögülebestü, tere ayay.a tegimlig jarliy bolurun, . . . (Koval., p. 96, ll. 4-6).

Raising the lama's foot respectfully to his head, the king said, "Condescend, O lama, to come to my palace to-morrow," to which answered the priest, . . .

In conclusion it may be noted that in the Tungus dialects the auxiliary use seems to be almost limited to the substantive verbs, although a definite statement on such a subject would be premature, despite the valuable work that has been done by Castrén, Schiefner, Schmidt (P.), and other scholars.



TWO SUDANESE MANUSCRIPTS OF THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

By H. R. PALMER

THE results of cultural anthropological study among the people of the Sudan and Sahara do not always yield definite and conclusive results with regard to ethnic groupings and cultural contacts in the past. On the other hand the Sudanese migrations and contacts of the past as portrayed in the bizarre, and often allegorical stories told by the Sudanese people themselves with regard to their origins and antecedents, often seem so much open to doubt in European eyes, that an enquirer is apt to think that the ethnographical record of most of the northern half of Africa is so blurred with contradictions, and so confused by inaccuracy, as to be undecipherable.

It would seem to the writer, however, that one of the main causes why our knowledge of the peoples of the Sudan and Southern Sahara is so relatively unsatisfactory and incomplete is that almost since the earliest times of European exploration in Africa, investigation has been confined either to the western side of Africa or to its eastern side, and co-ordinated first-hand study of both east and west has been almost wholly lacking, owing to the practical difficulties of travel. This lack is the more unfortunate in that the Sudan belt and Sahara is a belt of Africa which is uniform in climate and general conditions, and possesses no natural obstacles of any moment to hinder racial migration and fusion.

The traditions of almost every tribe between the Atlantic and the Nile, which has in the past enjoyed any considerable degree of political supremacy or dominance, uniformly record migrations of its cultural ancestors from the east, though in these traditions as now extant there are many anachronisms, some absurdities, and not a few deliberate and calculated perversions of the truth.

The searcher after truth is thus often baffled by the complicated stories he is told by the tribal elders, and usually feels that if he could somehow gain a really reliable ethnic foothold in the records of the past, it would be less difficult to distinguish exaggeration from its germ of truth, and the embellishment of legend from its historical basis. Fortunately, in some places, there still survive documents or copies of documents which can be considered good evidence of historic fact. Those of Timbuctu and the Upper Niger, published by the *École des*

Langues Orientales Vivantes in Paris are well known, and can be profitably read in connection with extant published accounts of Africa rendered by the Arab travellers of the middle ages.

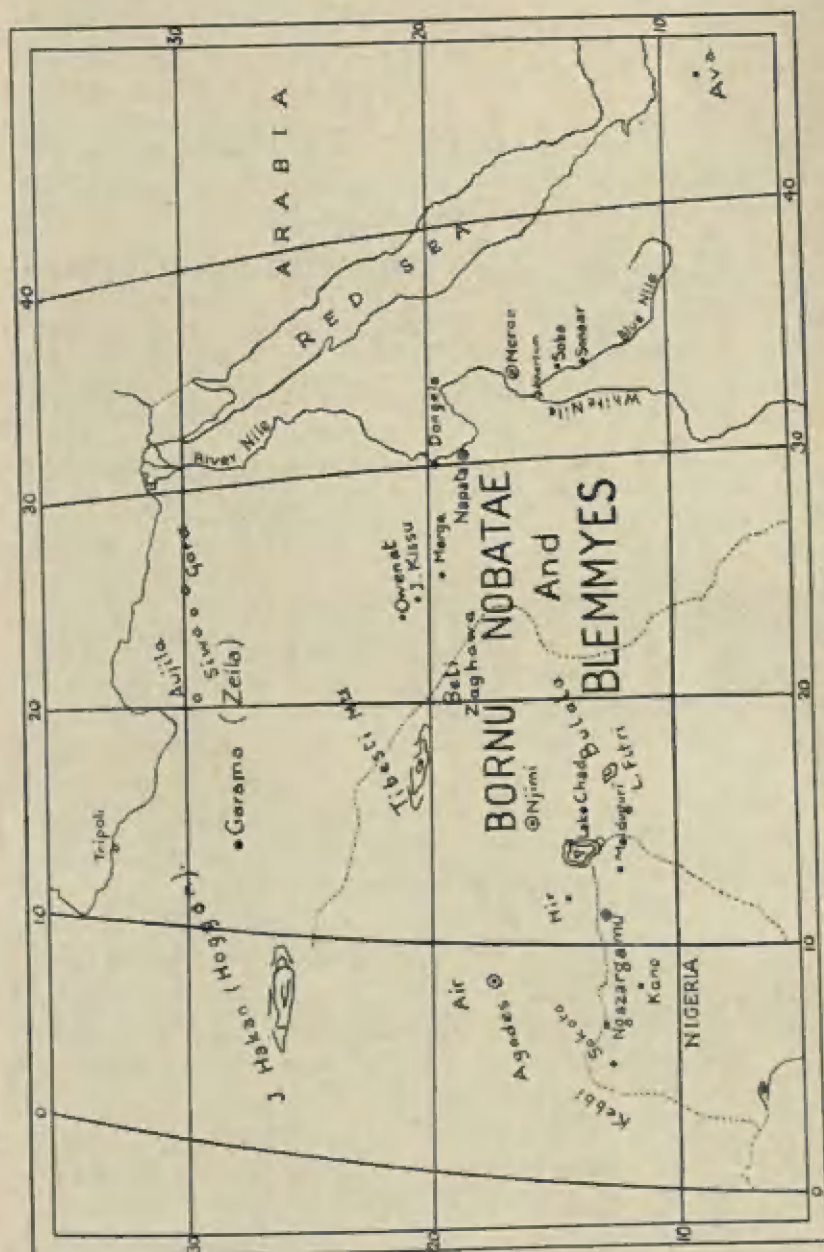
Further east, however, with the exception of those published by Mr. MacMichael and of a few manuscripts brought home by the traveller Barth, less has come to light, though at one time the old kingdom of Bornu must have been rich in records that would now be invaluable. It is, however, becoming increasingly apparent that in spite of the conquests and sackings of towns, and the burnings of books which took place in the last century, there are hidden away in odd places quite a number of documents of various kinds which throw considerable light upon the past history of the peoples of the Central and Eastern Sudan. Translations of some of these have been recently published by the writer,¹ and it is thought that the credibility of these records may become more apparent, if translations of two other documents, not included in those recently published, are also printed together with some observations on them.

The first is an account of the Mai (King) Ali ibn Al Hajj Umr's Court at N'gazargamu in Bornu, of which the ruins still exist near the modern Geidam. It records events of A.D. 1658, i.e. during the reign of Mai Ali ibn Al Hajj who, by Barth, is stated to have reigned from A.D. 1645-82. The second and shorter manuscript of which a facsimile is given, is a Mahram or grant of privilege by Mai Dunama ibn Ali (i.e. the son of the Mai mentioned above). It is dated 1694, presumably the year of Dunama's accession, though Barth made him come to the throne in A.D. 1701, seven years later.

Before, however, dealing with the manuscripts themselves, it may be well to make some reference to the region of Bornu mentioned in them, and with which they are concerned. About A.D. 1470 or so, a scion of the old Bornu dynasty called Saifawa, which had from about A.D. 1200 till A.D. 1380 ruled from their capital N'jimi in Kanem, moved to Wudi near N'gegimi west of Lake Chad, and thence to Yamia near Gure in Damagram, and finally to N'gazargamu which he founded as a new capital of Bornu.

In latitude 14 degrees north and longitude 12 degrees east and north of N'gazargamu is a very old site of a great Sudanese town, larger, it is said, than the present city of Kano, called Mir, which lies on the road between N'gegimi and Gure. This region, and its peoples

¹ *Reign of Mai Idris Alooma, and Sudanese Memoirs*, vols. i, ii, and iii. Government Press, Nigeria.



called Mirin, are mentioned by the Arab geographer Ya'qūbī who wrote, about A.D. 891, as having provided many slaves for the slave-market which existed at Zeila (Murzuk), the capital of Southern Fezzan. At a later date, A.D. 1150, the Arab writer Idrisi refers to this region of Mir and Termit (Tamarmit) under the name of Tamalma (Tamarma) as being subject to the chiefs of Kawwar which lay to the north. The Kanuri ruler of Mir, the Amarma or Amirma, is also well known from the records of Kawwar and the Bornu capital N'gazargamu as having been one of the principal feudal chiefs of Kawwar in old times. But whereas in the time of Idrisi, A.D. 1150, Mir was considered part of Kawwar, and N'jimi in Kanem had not yet become the capital of the Kanem Empire of Bornu, present day tradition maintains that the period of Mir's greatest prosperity coincided with the days when N'jimi in Kanem was the capital of Bornu, and that Mir lost its prosperity and population in the period A.D. 1460-1500 when Mai (King) Ali Gaji Dunamami founded the capital N'gazargamu west of Lake Chad, and induced most of the inhabitants of Mir to follow him to this new capital.

But the period A.D. 1450-1500 coincided, as is known from Tuareg records, with the establishment of a new settled urban Tuareg polity at Ahir or Air (Agades), and it was not long before the region of Mir and Damargu became the scene of frequent conflicts between the Tuareg of Air and their kinsmen of Bornu.

There eventually sprung up, however, about A.D. 1600-1650, at a place called variously Kulunbardi, Kulunfardu, Kulumbardu, and which lay about 50 miles west of Mir, a large Zawia or town of Marabouts, which acquired great celebrity, its inhabitants being noted for their piety and learning, and being for the most part either Tuareg Inusliman or other Barbarians such as the Beni Kiyi or Keyi. Mir was thus moribund, and Kulumbardu already had replaced it, at the epoch to which the two manuscripts translated below relate.

(A)

AN ACCOUNT OF N'GAZARGAMU

The writer of this account is Muhammad called Salih, the son of Mallam Isharku. The reason of my writing is that I saw many written histories in the time of N'gazargamu when I was living in the Birni.

This is an account of Sultan Ali ibn Al Hajj and of his Imam Masbarma, who at the mosque of the palace led the prayer among

the people of the palace. This account caused me great wonder, and therefore I compiled this work.

In the name of God, the Merciful, the Compassionate. May the blessing of God rest on our Lord Muhammad, his relatives and companions. Peace.

This is an account of what happened between Umr ibn Othman and the Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj, the lord of N'gazargamu, and of the installation of the former as Imam Masbarma, Imam of the people of the royal house, and as one of the courtiers of the Amir Ali. As regards the marvellous story of Umr ibn Othman who was a Fellata by race, and a native of the town of Garambal—Umr was a reader of the Kura'an and gained a thorough knowledge of it. He read deeply in the science of Tauhid in the principles of Islamic ritual, as also mysticism, the Arabic language, syntax, rhetoric, logic, the secret arts, and law. The people of the country heard of his learning so that when he visited them the people flocked to meet him and were delighted to read and ask him questions so as to dispel their problems and doubts and disputes.

Umr ibn Othman lived in the country of Bornu for about fifteen years. He afterwards journeyed east and went to the mosque of Al Azhar and stayed there to learn and instruct the people. Thence he went to Mecca and duly performed the pilgrimage and the Tawwif and customary rites of pilgrimage. He went on to Medina and visited the tomb of the Prophet, remaining at Medina for two months. From Medina he went to Baghdad, where he remained six months and enriched his own store of learning while enriching the learning of others. He performed the obligations of religion while learning the art of living a cultivated life, and engaged in the science of analogical deduction, and study of the Hadiths of the Prophet. Finally he returned to N'gazargamu and lodged with Zarma Muhammad Margimi. After about eight days, Zarma sent Umr ibn Othman to Gu'u-di, which is called Diffe. Umr remained in Diffe for about eight days teaching the sciences and politics to his disciples. At this time Shetima Ahmed Makaranma, the son of Aisami, the learned, pious, and ascetic divine, mounted his horse at even and went to visit the town of Diffe.

Now Diffe was a journey of about 3 miles or more from N'gazargamu. On arrival at Diffe, Shetima Ahmed saw that Umr ibn Othman was a learned and God-fearing man. They conversed with one another, and asked each other questions about various matters. When Shetima Ahmed realized that Umr ibn Othman was very learned

indeed, he remained silent in his astonishment at Umr's wisdom. Then after his return to N'gazargamu Shetima sent a messenger to Zarma Margimi and asked Zarma's permission to call Umr ibn Othman from Diffe. Zarma gave the required permission to Shetima Ahmed saying: "Call him for whom you have asked me that he may come to you." So Shetima sent a messenger to Umr with a message as follows:—"Get up and come to us quickly with our messenger." So Umr ibn Othman came to N'gazargamu and alighted at the house of Zarma, and remained there for eight days. The people of the Mai's palace then heard news of Umr ibn Othman, and Kirjiloma sent to him a slave girl to ask him for a charm and for his prayers. So Umr prayed to God on behalf of Kirjiloma. God answered her prayer by reason of the request of Umr ibn Othman at that time. Kirjiloma told Gumsu about Umr ibn Othman, so Gumsu then sent to Umr a slave girl likewise that he might pray God to grant Gumsu her request also. Umr prayed to God for Gumsu as in the case of Kirjiloma, and God answered the prayer quickly.

Gumsu told the King. At that time the King wanted a thousand slaves, and was trying to get them. He said to Gumsu: "Where is this Mallam and where does he live?" She replied: "In Zarma Margimi's quarter." So the Amir sent a messenger at once without pause to see about the Mallam. Umr ibn Othman came to the Amir. The Amir begged him to intercede with God for him, and said to him: "Ask God for me. I am looking for a thousand slaves." So Umr prayed God for the Amir. Barely had he done so when the mother of the Amir died at this very juncture and left ten thousand slaves. The Amir inherited the ten thousand slaves and was overjoyed at getting that of which he was in need, and thus realized that Umr ibn Othman was potent in knowledge and piety and patience, in the effectiveness of his prayers, in quick perception of all that was "haram", and in full possession of his seven senses, to wit, his two eyes, his two ears, his two legs, his two hands, his manhood, his tongue, and his belly. He also perceived in Umr another manly virtue, namely abstention from bickering and slander. The Amir called Umr ibn Othman and concerned himself with him. He appointed him his Imam, with the title Sabiramma, and made him Imam of the mosque of the people of his house, in order that they might pray behind him. The people who prayed in this mosque were seventy-six souls. There were seven ladies of the Amir's household and sixty men. Of the seven ladies, the first was Gumsu, and the second Lubura. No lady was called

Lubura except the daughter of the Galladima. The third among them was Makitama. No lady was called Makitama, except the daughter of the Mufioma. The fourth was Maibi. No lady was called Maibi except the daughter of the Amir of the Bulala. There were also three women of the concubines of the Amir. The first was Kirjiloma. The second was Surakagu. The third Chandiramma. Each of these names was a title.

The courtiers of Gumsu were sixty men, all of noble rank. There were forty slaves who worked for her, and twenty men-at-arms who went out to fight and who maintained Gumsu's authority. Each one of these twenty men commanded a thousand slaves. Thus were they organized.

In N'gazargamu there were four Friday mosques. Each of these mosques had an Imam for Friday who led the Friday prayer with the people. At each mosque there were twelve thousand worshippers.

The names of the four Friday mosques were as follows:—The first was called Garibaya and the name of its Imam was Sheikh Muhammad Ajirami. The second was called Talusu and the name of its Imam was Sunuramma. The third was called Iyamu and its Imam was called Karagwama. The fourth was called Dayamu and the name of its Imam was Ahmed Bultu Zawamma. The Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj prayed behind the Imam.

At N'gazargamu there were six hundred and sixty roads cleared and widened, called Lé. Sixty of these roads were well-known to the Amir, for he traversed them, but many of the roads were unknown to the Amir since he did not traverse them and so did not know them. In N'gazargamu were many God-fearing Mallams and many blameless nobles and many unworldly people and learned saints. The Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj's learning did not fall short of the wisdom of the learned Imams and pious God-fearing saints.

His Court was in some respects wonderful. The learned men and Imams held disputations before the Amir Ali concerning doubtful points of law and dogma. It happened also that a certain man dug up a grave and took off the winding sheet and cut off the hand of the dead. The learned men of the Birni assembled before the Amir Ali to pronounce judgment on this questionable procedure. Some of the learned men held that the exhumers of the corpse committed no offence in cutting off the hand, but others held a contrary opinion and advised the Amir that the act was unlawful. The learned men then consulted the most celebrated legal text books, but they did not find in

مصر يقال له موليه غر زئقة وتترك
 مرجع عائدنا الذي كارع عليه وكذا انك
 تركنا ولاده واولد اولاده وذراريته
 مرجعنا هذا الى ان تقوم الساعة
 وكذا انك اجاز انك ابنه ادريس وكذا
 اركانه العالم في طر السلطان محمد
 جراد ريس جراد في عرجه وكذا انك
 اجاز انك السلطان علي جراد ريس
 وكذا انك اجاز انك السلطان يوسف
 ادريس محمد وكذا انك اجاز انك السلطان
 داله جرد وثقة كماء كركوانا اجاز
 انك السلطان كركم كركم بيت الله
 الحرام ادريس جراد ريس
 وكذا انك اجاز انك السلطان محمد جراد
 ادريس وكذا انك اجاز انك
 السلطان ابراهيم ادريس وكذا انك
 اجاز انك السلطان محمد ادريس

(2)

حم الله الحمد لله وسلام على عباده الذين اصح
 في مصر هذه المتوك على الله تعالى بجميع شانه
 امير المؤمنين وخليفة رجب العلي صير
 2. ارضه ذاك السلطان الامجد الافضل الاقفل
 الركن النفس الاتق الاوفى بعهد الله سبحانه
 الظلم خفلة الاعداء وجلاوة اوليائه
 سم للاعداء ومكفر الضعفاء صابر عند
 الفناء العدو عالم بخدعة الحرب ساكن
 عن اللغو وعري جميع ما لا ينبغي له ان يتكلم
 به صاء وفيما قال وفيما يقول هو
 علي بن حميد بن عثمان اعلم الله شانه
 وانه الله لشانه نصرته نصره اعز بزا
 امير اسماوا والهموا بامامه من المسلمين
 انما انما جردنا الرجل الذي قال انما امره
 فيبلغه العلاء كثر امره جردنا تمامه
 نجا انما انما جردنا ولنه السلاطين
 وسفكنا منه حنة الخار ووسر طاه

(1)

مغلديه دكوا سيكو الرجيكاوا
 واما الشهو دالذير حضروا عندنا
 غلديه محمد بن عابشه وارخنومه
 محمد بن السعيد وخرنومه يتكوا
 هو الرسول بخت اليناك ذالك
 الامر وايضا اعلمو انما تركنا
 هند الارجاينا غدا امه
 ودرينه بحرقه دعاه اعلماوا
 ولا تخافوا فاولا كرعا قال
 عز وجل فادرك كتابه فصر
 بدله بعلامه اسماء وانما اتهمه
 علم الاخير يبدونه الاية ولك
 غيرهم كثير مشهود المعلمين
 وكنانه مسبقه عصر عثمان
 برمه

وكنه الكاجاز ذالك السلطان
 الكريم الحاج بيت الله الحرام
 علي خير عمر اللهم يسره الله امره
 وقرجه الله في الدنيا والاخرة كما
 يسر ويرحم ونصر المسكين
 والفقراء في زمانه واجاز ذالك
 جميع الملوك الالهلم خير دين
 الاروا علموا والهموا مسلمنا
 وصريتهم حدودنا ويحجزهم بعلمنا
 في عصرنا وبما حكمنا وايسد
 ليمحكمنا بعلمنا ولا يصالح
 احدنا جته في الدنيا والاخرة
 وصلا الله بطنه بنا رجهنم
 واطيلوا ولا تخافوا ته نسك

اهو لا. القلاء عني غيب غيبة امه جاًوا
 خطهم القديم استعمرهم الملك
 (٦) علي بن ابي حمزة الوجيه الملك النافذ
 الزاهد العليم المبارك الناصر
 الامجد الصفي الستة المصطفية السلم
 ذو نوره بر الملك كثير الخ
 علي المرحوم با جاز هو خد متفق
 وجهه دعوهم بجلست العافية
 يقال كركرو واما كاتبة الاسم
 العاج حنومه نافلة ما في زمانه
 عراج زنتها ما بالهم بنت الملك
 كوشه لزيارمة ويا بهاء جليل
 العاج يوسف وقع ذاك بكدست
 و تبارك

بر عمرو ايا صلح خذ الك عشما
 بر احمد جهم وحضه الك بر احمد
 مغه واجر مالك واجر علي عذغ (٥)
 واجر عتيقة وانه سلم وانه مقوز
 اصفه ربيدس وهذا مشهور
 القلة كمن ثم اجازته الك السلم
 ادر عسر جبر علي بن عمر الله
 انصروه على اعدائه اللهم يبر
 كالصروف الدارير واعلمه العفو
 والعافية في الدنيا والآخرة
 بر حمتك يا ارحم الراحمين

(٤٨) ثم اتغل ولاطيو هذه لبننت
السلطان تكوتمة عايشة بنت
السلطان الحاج علي المرحوم ببركة
اخيه السلطان توتمة بر وشر الله
الحاج علي بركات الله ايامه
وفاد الله فانه كجوانف نصر الله
له باربع فبكة ومع العافية الكثير
امير امير امير



(٧٦) ومائة بعد الالف من الهجرة النبوية
افصل الصلاة والسلام على سائر
وشهداء الك الفاضل الحاج احمد
والطالوب محمد صالح وكاتب
احمد واقرامة والامام الكبير
محمد غناو وادم الملك مسطرم
الحاج نصرو وغيرهم جلالة كفا
الحاج محمد غزيمه وفكوتة ادم
وجارمه كبير فسقام وارحهم
محمد دوسة ومن غلمه دندقة
ليباب الوزير احمد والبورصة ضيله
ونيل بركة عمر ساد ربيرو وكها جلمة
محمد برقة شنة وكثير من شهداء

their books any conclusive authority to guide their judgment. One of the learned men said: "I remember that there was a book which contained a judgment on this matter in the mosque of Al Azhar." The Amir overheard this which was said in council, and asked about the whereabouts of the book and its name. The learned man repeated the name of the book to the Amir, who was heard to say "very good", and seen to stretch out his hand in the direction of the mosque at Al Azhar and take the book into his hand, and place it before the assembled learned men. The Amir then said to the learned man who had spoken: "See, here is the book." All the learned men said: "Truly we have a wise and learned Amir. How knowing, and discerning, and noble he is." They then looked into the book, and found it authoritatively stated that the hand should not be cut off. So they bowed to the Amir's wisdom and said: "Who is more wonderful than our Amir." Every day the Amir recited an hundred rika'as from the Kura'an in addition to the obligatory prayers, and gave food to a hundred poor Sheikhs and old women personally with his own hands. Withal he looked upon himself as not having done anything remarkable in the sight of God, for he was fearful in regard to the affairs of God and awed by the divine judgment.

Among the wonderful records concerning the Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj is the story of how a woman came to him to complain that the grass cover of her calabash had been lost in the land of Ahir. She complained of this to the king that he might make good her loss. The Amir Ali assembled a thousand horsemen who went under his leadership to Ahir to fight against the Kindin. A battle took place between the host of the Amir of N'gazargamu, and the host of the Amir of Ahir. The name of the Amir of Ahir was Adda Hamma. There were slain in the battle seventy horsemen from among the warriors of the Amir Ali, and from among his brethren and household. But the people of the Amir captured the Amir of Ahir who was called Adda Hamma, and brought him before the Amir Ali ibn Al Hajj. The Amir Ali said to Adda Hamma: "I have now captured you and you are now in my hand. If you become a Moslem I will not kill you." Adda Hamma said: "What is Islam?" The Amir Ali said to him: "Say: 'There is no god except God. Muhammad is a prophet of God.'" So Adda Hamma said: "There is no god but God. Muhammad is a prophet of God."

Adda Hamma thus became a Moslem. The Amir Ali returned to Bornu and left with Adda Hamma his slave called Shakiralla, and also

four Mallama. The Amir also gave to the people whom he left behind a thousand horses, and said to them: "May God bless you. Remain here." The Amir also found during the campaign the calabash cover lost by the woman. The Amir returned it to her and added a thousand slaves to the calabash cover, and gave them to the woman.

It is finished, praise be to God, finished happily. A complete history is a history from Adam to the present day. But this history is merely an account of the Amir Ali, and of what he did during his reign (may God bless him), in the year of the Hejira of the Prophet A.H. 1069, A.D. 1658.

(B)

IN THE NAME OF GOD, PRAISE BE TO GOD, AND PEACE BE UPON HIS
SERVANTS WHO TRUST IN HIM

From him who relies upon God (be He exalted) in all his undertakings, the Amir ul Muminin and Khalifa, in this land, of the Lord of the worlds; that is to say, from the exalted, illustrious, pure, and God-fearing Sultan, who fulfils his covenant with God, as a lamp dispelling the darkness; the Sultan who is bitter like sorrel to his enemies, and sweet to the saints of God; poison to his enemies and strengthening food to the weak; patient in meeting the attacks of his foes, and versed in all the ruses of war; who abstains from saying all that it is not meet for him to say; truthful in all he says and in all he abstains from saying—from the Sultan Ali ibn Ahmed ibn Othman. May God exalt his undertakings. May God give him mighty victory. Amen.

"Hear and understand O host of Muslims. We have chosen him who is called Gabidâma, of the people of the Fellata, and verily we have distinguished him from all others, and by this our act have given him distinction without measure among all our nobles, and have exempted his name from the Treasurer's list of taxpayers and from the customary obligations which are due to the official called Mulima Garazanma. We have absolved him from all which would, by custom, be binding upon him. Thus also we have exempted his sons, and his sons' sons, and his family, from this day, until the day (of Judgment) comes."

This privilege was ratified by Sultan Ali's son Idris. So also was the privilege of this Fellata and his people confirmed in the time of Sultan Muhammad ibn Idris, who ratified the act of his grandfather.

Sultan Ali ibn Idris continued the privilege, and so did Sultan Dunama ibn Muhammad. It was further ratified by Sultan Dâla ibn Dunama as we have related. The privilege was again ratified by the noble Sultan who made the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God Idris ibn Ali ibn Idris ; as also by Sultan Muhammad ibn Idris ; Sultan Ibrahim ibn Idris ; Sultan Umr ibn Idris ; and by the noble Sultan who made the pilgrimage to the sacred house of God Sultan Ali ibn Umr. Allahuma ! May God make easy for him his undertakings, and may God smooth his path in this world and the next, even as he was compassionate to others and helped and made easy the path of the poor and the learned in his time.

So also have all the Kings of Bornu ratified until the present day this charter as follows :—

“ Know and understand clearly that, as for him who transgresses this our injunction and contests this our act of this time, or disputes that which we have ordained, and so brings to nought our ordinance and our promise, I pray that God may not accomplish for him his desires or his purpose in this world or the next. Nay, may God fill his belly with the fire of Jahannama. So follow this injunction and transgress it not.

“ *Atta nsiku Makidabé, Digu Siku Arjiku.*” Witnesses who are present before us are Galladima Muhammad ibn Ayesha, Arjinoma Muhammad ibn Sa'id, and Garbama Naiku, who was the messenger sent to us concerning this affair.

“ Know that we have given privilege to this man who is called Gabidâma and his tribe, by reason of the potency of his prayers. Know this and transgress not our injunction, for as the Exalted in and of his Holy Book lays down, ‘ He who changes it after he hears it, his offence is that of those who innovate (Ayya).’ ”

Apart from the above-mentioned, there were many Moslem witnesses, and the recording scribe was the Masbarma Umr ibn Othman ibn Umr.

There were also present Othman ibn Ahmed Jam, the son of Ahmed Manga, the son of Mâlik, the son of ‘Ala(m) Yedo Ango, the son of the Geidamma, the son of Salma, and the son of Muguz who is descended from the Rachid. These were among the witnesses on behalf of the Fellata.

The privilege was further confirmed by Sultan Idris ibn ‘Ali ibn Umr. Allahuma ! May God give him victory over his enemies, and make easy for him his undertakings in both worlds, and pardon

him, and give him happiness in both worlds, this life and the life beyond, by Thy grace, O Most Merciful of those who show mercy. Verily all the Fellata who followed Gabidâma brought also this ancient grant of privilege (Mahram) which King Ali ibn Ahmed had given them aforetime, and showed it to the learned, ascetic, patient, blessed, beneficent, and exalted King, who enforced the practice of the Sunna, Sultan Dunama son of the King of many Pilgrimages, the late Sultan Ali. Sultan Dunama too then confirmed to them their privilege, and renewed their distinction in his exalted place of audience and council called Kurkuriwa.

The recording scribe was the Imam Al Hajji Hanuma, and his record of the ratification at that time states that the "*bab*"¹ of the Fellata in this case was the daughter of the King called Gûsa Larabaramma, and her "*bab*" was Zagifada Al Hajj Yusuf. This ratification of the grant was made after one thousand one hundred and six years had passed since the Hejira of the Prophet (A.D. 1694). May the fullness of God's blessing and peace rest on those alive in that year.

Witnesses to this grant were:—

Kadi Hajj Ahmed.

Talûb (Tolba) Muhammed Salih.

Talûb (Tolba) Ahmed.

Wurama.

Imam Al Kabir Muhammed Ganna.

The King's slave Mastrema Hajj Naşar.

Iyrima Hajj Jalal.

Kaigama Hajj Muhammed Dagazaima.

Fuguma Adam.

Jarma Kabir Faskam.

Arjinoma Muhammed Duma.

Mangalma Dandalma.

Muhammed Lefia ibn al Wazir Ahmed.

Bûrama Mélé.

Yarima 'Umr ibn Idris.

Kajalma Muhammed ibn Fantaramma, and many other witnesses.

These Fellata then passed to the daughter of the Sultan, called Sokotoma Ayesha, the daughter of the late Sultan Al Hajj Ali, by

¹ i.e. the equivalent of the Hausa word "*kofa*", a "gate" or person who was the means of approach to an Emir or King.

the grace of her brother Sultan Dunama, the son of the aforementioned saint of God Al Hajj Ali.

May God bless the Sultan Dunama's days, and prolong his age, and make him victorious in all four points of the compass, with exceeding prosperity. Amen. Amen. Amen.

This is the muniment of King Dunama ibn Ali, in regard to the act of his ancestors.

It is not proposed to comment in detail here on the information given in these manuscripts, but merely to take certain points as illustrating their value for ethnological purposes.

The first point is that the date given in Manuscript (A) for the expedition to Asben or Air, 1658, and the conversion of the Tuareg chief called Adda (father) Hamma, is in accord with the account of a Tuareg chief who, according to the Chronicle of the Sultanate of Ahir,¹ ruled at Agades in 1653, viz. Muhammad al Mubârak, while the obvious confusion in that Chronicle as to the lengths of the reigns of the rulers of Asben at this time and for some years after, tends to confirm the existence of a state of war between Bornu and Ahir at this time as stated by Manuscript (A). The statements are also confirmed by the fact recorded by Barth that N'gazargamu itself was besieged by the Tuareg and the Jukun, presumably in alliance with them, about the period A.D. 1660-80. The name of this chief Adda Hamma as recorded by Manuscript (A) also throws an interesting light on the rather obscure royal title of Mai Ali Gaji Zeinami (A.D. 1470), as given in Manuscript (B), and other Mahrams translated in volume iii of *The Sudanese Memoirs*. It reads as follows:—

"*Atta nsiku Makidabê, Digu Arjiku Siku.*" Present day Kanuri do not know what the words (found also in other manuscripts) "Arjiku Siku" mean, and state vaguely that they refer to titles at one time in use in Yaman (Arabia). On the other hand, the word Makida or Mâkida is now used to denote the region of Northern Kordofan, and Makidabê is held to mean "of Makida". Makida, however, is in reality and originally not a place-name at all, but the tribal name or title Makita or Makinta, still used of a Tuareg tribe of Asben, called Makitanawa, or Amakitan. The connotation of Makidabê is thus, in fact:—

(a) That the Mai (King) of Bornu was descended from the Kiyi

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 49.

or Kai, i.e. the Tuareg who are still called by the Kanuri Kindin (*vide* Manuscript (A)).

(b) That these Kindin at one time lived in Northern Kordofan under a Kindaki or Kitaki (Candace).

The first title of the Mai—*Atta* or *Adda*—is, however, the chief point of interest, since "*atta*" or "*adda*", which is the Tuareg word for "father", is common both to the Southern Tuareg and the Nupe. "*Atta*" was formerly among the Jukun, and still is at Idah on the Niger among the governing race there, who are called Igara, the title of the King.

In the Kano Chronicle¹ :—

(1) The ruler of the Jukun on the Upper Gongola about 1350 was called *Atta* Igara (Attagara).

(2) The ruler of the Jukun in the same region about 1650 was called *Adda* Chuo (Adashu), i.e. the "great *adda*" (great father).

The word "*atta*" or "*adda*" has long dropped out of use as a title in Bornu, but here, in Manuscript (B), it is clearly used as *Adda* was, and is among the Tuareg, and as the title "*Atta*" is among the Igara on the Niger at the present day.

In the phrase "*atta nsiku makidabé*" it would seem that the word "*nsiku*" now quite unintelligible to the Kanuri, must be the equivalent of the ordinary Tuareg word "*masigh*", plural "*imoshek*", i.e. nobles, a word which is composed of the two words "*sek*" or "*sagh*", "an encampment", and "*amma*", "people," of which latter the common variant, especially in Bornu and Tibesti, is "*anna*."

Makida, it may be added, in the Sudan, is also a name for Abyssinia.

It will then be evident that the King or Chief, usually called the Mai (Mek) of Kanem, no doubt under the influence of the Dongola Kingdom with its Mek, was originally the *Atta* (father) of the *imoshek* (nobles) of the Makitan (Tuareg) of the regions west of the Nile.

The phrase "*Digu arjiku Siku*" again is obviously an antistrophic repetition or variation of the first phrase. The "*Digu*" or *Dugu* was the son of the daughter of a Mai (Mek) of Kanem, i.e. he more or less corresponded to the "*tegasi*" (sister's son) or official heir among the Tuareg. *Siku*, one can only suppose, is an apocopated form of *Masigh* or *N'siku*, meaning, like *n'siku* in the first part of the title, "the nobles." The meaning of *Arjiku*, in "*Arjiku Siku*", will then

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. iii, pp. 106 and 121.

be to seek. The legendary lists of the early Mais of Kanem, however, supply the key, for in all of them the title Digu (Dugu), as in e.g. Mai Dugu, is given as the name of the grandson of the legendary founder of the Kanem dynasty. Saif ibn Dthi Yazan and his son Fune (i.e. wearer of the Tuareg mouth-veil) are succeeded by a legendary Mai whose name is written variously as Arju, Archu, Artso, and Arsu, while the ninth and tenth legendary Mais are called respectively Arku, Argi, or Arki, son of Bulu, and Shu or Hu, son of Arku, or as the latter is called in one list "son of Ark-aman".

The sense of Ark in all these names is clearly, as in the case of the Meroitic Ark-aman (Ergamenes), the "begetter". One early Mai also has the title "Aril Arigwabe" or "Argiwabe" which means "he who was as silk to the Arigwa", (descendants of Argi).

In all these names "k" and hard "g" are interchangeable, and the hard "g" of the Nile in most words becomes in Kanem a soft "jim". It will be apparent therefore that Arjiku might equally well be written Argiku or Arkiku, and that Arjiku is, in fact, a title derived ultimately from the Meroitic word Ark, "the begetter," or a variant of that word. The phrase "*Digu Arjiku Siku*" will mean then: "Grandson of a Mai, and father of the Masigh or nobles," corresponding to "*Atta nsiku Makidabe*", the first part of the title which has practically the same meaning.

We know, however, from Ya'qūbī (A.D. 891) that the ruler of Kanem in his day was of the tribe of the Zaghawa Berbers, who are, by Ibn Khaldun, classed with the Tuareg; and that the title of that ruler was Kâ-Kura. "Kura" is a Kanuri word and means "great", so that the Zaghawi title of the ruler of Kanem of that day meant "the great Kâ". The "Ka" was, one can hardly doubt in this case, originally the grandfather or deified ancestor of the Mai, since both in the Kanuri and Hausa languages grandparents and ancestors of both sexes are "Kaka". To them in Hausaland, at all events, sacrifice was made, as to-day among the Jukun, and as evidenced by the name of the place of sacrifice in the Kano Chronicle *Kagwa* (Kakawa).¹ The Ka-Kura (Mai) of the Zaghawa of A.D. 891 was then the "great spirit" or deified soul of the chieftainship, immanent in the person of the Atta-nsiku, or Mai (King) of Kanem. The terminal "-ku" which is common to Arjiku and Siku (the "i" of sik being lengthened in the latter case because the second "k" is dropped) is, it is suggested, of considerable interest also, for the "u" in the terminal "-ku" is not

¹ *Sudanese Memoirs*, vol. iii, p. 103.

the ordinary broad "u" of the enclitic "-gu" or "-ku" meaning "people", but the sound intermediate between "i" and "u", which is often written "u" or "ü".

Parallel to Arjiku and Siku is another old Kanuri word, Dirku which was the name of the Kanuri capital of Kawwar which was a Dir or Dar, i.e. walled-enclosure. The nobles or chiefs in general of Kanem were also called "ahel Dirku" or "Dirkiin" = ruling classes, in contrast to the Gara who were the Teda or Tubu, and subject races.

It is suggested that the "-ku" in all these words is the equivalent of the Songhay enclitic "koi", meaning "king" or "a possessor of", and also of the Hausa enclitic particle "-ki", in its word for king Sar-ki. The Songhay plural of Koi is Koyin. The fact that "Ki" or "Kayi" is an almost generalized royal title or title of nobility from the Niger (e.g. at Busa) to Kanem with its Beni Kayi or Kai, is very strongly suggestive of this explanation of Ku, as well as the existence in Hausa, a language of Zaghawi affinity, of the common noun kai = head. It is also relevant to observe that in another group of half-Hamites, i.e. the Nandi and Masai in East Africa, there is a similar ancient word, "-koi," which has the cognate meaning of God.¹

A further rather curious fact brought out by Manuscript (B) is in connection with the Fellata, to whom the grant is made, and who, in this case, were of the race known more generally as Fulbe or Fulani.

It will be seen that at the date of this Mahram, A.D. 1694, Ayesha the daughter of Mai Ali ibn Al Hajj, bore the title Sokotoma, i.e. ruler of Sokoto, and was the patroness of a tribe of Fulani who were under a chief who bore the title Gabidâ-ma. In 1694 the modern Fulbe town of Sokoto was not founded, though perhaps the region where it lies was called by that name, which should properly be spelt Sakwātu or Sagwātu, the Sagwa or Sogwa, being nomad herdsmen, i.e. people who lived in a Sag or Sek (encampment) like the Zaghawa or Sagwa mentioned by Idrisi as living in the Asben region about A.D. 1150.

But, whatever the precise position of Sagwatu in A.D. 1694 was, its general position is indicated by the other title Gabidâma, which means the "owner of or chief of the land of Gabi", or, as it is more usually written, "Kebbi." These Fulani had, so the Mahram says, first come under the protection of the Bornu Mai Ali Gaji Dunamami about A.D. 1470-1503, when Ali, as also his son and grandson Idris and Muhammad (mentioned in the Mahram), were constantly at war

¹ Cf. *Man*, November, 1928, p. 138.

with Kebbi. No doubt it was for that reason that this chief was, at N'gazargamu, given the rather empty title "ruler or owner of Kebbi".

An interesting point also in Manuscript (A) is the variant title given to the hereditary Wazirs of Bornu known as Masbarma, which reads Sabaramma, for it would seem that the names of the old town from which the title originally came must have been Sabara or Sabra. This name is of significance in connection with the so-called lost oases of the eastern desert of Egypt since, writing in A.D. 1154, Idrisi mentions the country of Santariya in the eastern desert and adds: "To the south of Santariya are the ruins of a town formerly flourishing and populous called Sabrata¹ . . . in the same country is the town of Marinda, still surviving, and well populated."

From Idrisi's notice, and in view of Saifawa traditions about their origin, it is very probable that Idrisi's Marinda was at or near the oasis now known as the oasis of Merga, and that the title Masbarma or Sabarma, came from Idrisi's old town of Sabrata, which was in the same region as the oases of Merga and Owenat.

These rather interesting sidelights on the title Masbarma and the position of the Fellata Bornu as early as the fifteenth century are, however, incidental to the new evidence which the royal title in Manuscript (B) provides directly, and by inference of that slow process of migration of Saharan and Sudanese Berbers and their cultural ideas from east to west, which has been continuous in the Sudan at least since the opening of the Christian era, and which, roughly speaking, may be described as the penetration of the Sudan by the stratum of Saharan Berbers called by the Arabs *Zaghawa*, a Berber stratum which drew its cultural ideas very largely, if not wholly, from the Ethiopic Kingdoms of the Nile, Napata, and Meroe.

¹ Probably the Garambal of Manuscript (B).

AN ALPHABETICAL ACROSTIC IN A NORTHERN
DIALECT OF SWAHILI

Contributed by A. WERNER

(PLATE V)

THE following poem was copied for me in 1912 by Muhammad bin Abubakar bin 'Umar (Muhamadi Kijuma) of Lamu. The author was one 'Umar bin Amin, a blind Sharif of Siu, said (in 1913) to have died "about fifty or sixty years ago". This information was furnished by Ahmad bin Abubakar bin 'Umar es-Siwi, of Mambrui, who added that 'Umar recovered his sight on completing the poem! His name, by a not uncommon practice, is spelt out in the final stanza. So far as the poem shows any linguistic peculiarities, these belong to the Lamu dialect, which differs considerably from the poet's native speech of Siu. This may be due to its passing through the hands of Lamu copyists, or, more probably to the deliberate adoption of what was considered to be a more literary form of language.

Whether or not the text has been corrupted here and there, I find some obscurities which I have been unable to translate. These I have left with a query, in the hope that some reader in East Africa may be able to elucidate them. Some allowance, moreover, has to be made for poetical licence, in view of the difficulties of this very artificial kind of composition. Its literary quality, one need hardly say, is by no means commensurate with the ingenuity displayed in carrying out the alliteration. The metre is the same as that of the *Inkishafi*, known (according to W. E. Taylor) as Kisarambe. I owe to Dr. Paret, of Tübingen, the suggestion that this word, being a corruption of

قصة مربع, simply means "quatrains".

I am indebted to the Rev. W. G. Howe and Mr. Frederick Johnson for a number of valuable criticisms and suggestions.

- | | | |
|---|-------------------------------|----------------------------|
| 1 | Andika mwandishi khati utoze, | isimu ya Mola utangulize |
| | Utie nukuta na erabuze | wasilahini wenye kusoma. |
| ب | Baada ya ina kuli butadi | bijahi Rasuli tutahamadi |
| | Bushura ya pepo nasi tufidi, | Mola atujaze majaza mema. |
| ت | Tauba ya mja akitubia | tilika Rasuli ni kumsalia |
| | Tubuni ziumbe hini dunia | kesho siratini uwe salama. |

- ث Thawabu kiumbe akūta
Thubutisha ta'a yake Rabuka
- ج Jannati naimu fili jinani
Jumla ya watu hawaioni
- ح Hapo mizani ikikunduwa
Huja haifai uyapotoa
- خ Khasara nda mja alokhitari
Khussu saa moya utafakari
- د Dalili ya mja kitaka jana
Dunia ndaniye akaiona
- ذ Dhahabu na fedha nawata
pamba
Dhulikari nini alizokumba
- ر Raha ya dunia isikughuri
Roho itungwapo ni mahashari
- ز Zawadi ni zipi za kutungata ?
Zuhudi ya ta'a huyaleta
- س Safari nendeto mwendo baidi
Sumbuko la ndia likishitadi
- ش Shari'a hunena aso thawabu
Shufaa ya Tunwa limehabubu
- ص Sali'ljahima mambo mazito
Surao wakao kwa mivukuto
- ض Dhamirini mwako usisahan
Dhurubu methali kama hiyao
- ط Tabaki za moto pindi zi chaka
Tamaa ni ipi wewe kokoka ?
- ظ Dhalimu wa huku ulimwenguni
Dhuluma humpa kwenda
motoni
- ع 'Akerabu wengi waso methali
'Usati za Mola wakiwasili
- thiki moyo wako kutozunguka
atakujaziwe majaza mema.
jini na insi waitamani
illa kwa ambao watenda zema.
hesabu za waja wakipimiwa
illa kwa amali kutaqadama.
khitiyari yake nyumba ya nari
nyumba ya jannati na ya
jahima.
dini ya Rasula hushika sana
kuwa kitu duni kisicho kima.
dhihizini mwako sifanye umba
kisa mwisio wake kwa zisokoma.
riba na maovu ukakithiri
wapija mayowe na kulalama.
zilizali hizo huyazipita
mbona upumbeo bunu
Adamu ?
si ya mtu kwenda aso zawadi
na kucheza kuwa mtu wa
nyuma.
shidda na mashaka hayatam-
thibu
huwa mbali naye nakumegema.
siyaha na zite katika moto
henda mteo na kunguruma.
dhiki za motoni udharau
wadhurubiwo wote ulama.
tini na majiwe yatabishika
mbona upumbee, bunu
Adamu ?
Dhili ya arishi hakai tini
nyumba ya majoka kama
milima.
'adhimu motoni meno makali
huwanyanganyia kwa
kuwauma.

اِدْكَمْدِشِخَا اَنُوْرَه اِسْمَ بِلْ اَقْلِيْزِه ۵ اِيْ نَكْتِ نَعْرِ نِيْزِه ۵ وِسِ اِلْجِيْنِ وِبِ كُوْمِ
 بَعْدَه اِيْنْ كِلْ بِنَارِ ۵ بِجِهْ رَسُوْلِ تَحْمِدِه بَشَرِ سِيْپَسِ تَبْدِيْهِ مَلْ تَجَزِجْزِ مِيْمِ
 تَوْبِ نَحْجِ اَلْكُتْبَا ۵ بِلْكَ رَسُوْلِ نِكْ مَعْلِيْهِ تَبِيْ رُوْبِ هِيْنْ دُنْيَا ۵ كِشْ صِرْطِيْنِ اَوْسَلَامِ
 تَوَابِ كُوْبِ اَلْكُتْبَا ۵ تَوْمِيْ وُكْ كَتْرَعْكَ ۵ تَبَسَّ طَلْعِ نِيْ رُبْكَ ۵ اَتَكْ جَرِوْجْزِ مِيْمِ
 حَقَّةِ نَعِيْمِ فَا لِيْ بِنَا ۵ حِيْنِ نَا اِنْسِ وَا ثَمَانِ ۵ بَجَلِ نَوَاتْ صَوَايِ ۵ اِلَّا اَكَا مَبُوْ وِتْرِ مِيْمِ
 حَبِيْرَانِ اَلْكُدُوْ ۵ حِسْبِ رَوَا جِ وَا كِيْمُوْ ۵ نَحْجِ هِيَا فَا اِيْبِ تُوْ ۵ اِلَّا اَلْعَمَالِ كَتَقْدَمِ
 خُسْرِ نَحْجِ وَا لِيْ بِنَارِ ۵ خَتِيْرِ نِيْ بِنَارِ ۵ خُصْ مَسْجِدِ اَتَا فَا كَرِهْ سِيْمِ بَحْتِهْ نَحْجِيْمِ
 دَرِيْلِ نَحْجِ كِتْعِ حُنْ ۵ دَرِيْ بَرَسْ هُنْكَ سَنَ ۵ دَرِيْ دَرِيْ اَلْكُتْبُوْنِ ۵ كُوْكِتْ دَرِيْ كِسْ دَرِيْمِ
 دَرَبِ نَيْفِ نَوَاتِ ۵ دِهْرِيْ مَكْدِ سِيْغَا بَ ۵ دَلْ قَرَانِ اَلْرُكْبِ ۵ كِيْسِ سِيْوَ اَلْكَرْمِ
 رَحْ بِدُنْيَا اِسْكَفَرِ ۵ رِيْ مَوُوفْ وَا لِكَلِيْرِ ۵ رَحْجِ اَتَقْبِ نَحْشَرِ ۵ رَحْجِ سِيْوَ نَكْلَا لَامِ
 رُوْ دَرِيْ بَرِ كَتَقْتِ ۵ رِيْزِ اَلْعَزِيْزِ ۵ رُحْدِ طَلْعِ هِيَا اِيْتِ ۵ تَبَا اِيْمِيْ اِنْ اَدَمِ
 سَفَرِ يَدِشْ مَرِ بَعِيْدِ ۵ سِيْمَتْ كَرِ اَسْرُوَارِ ۵ سَبْدِ لَدِيْ اَلْكَشَا دَرِ ۵ نَكْحِيْ كُوْمَتِ وِيْمِ



غ	Gharibu wabaya papo Mgu	ghibu nipokea matoni mwangu
	Ghururi potofu za ulimiwengu	na ziko nusuru na Jahanama.
ف	Fahamia mambo nalokuwasa	vile isirari ukiyapisa
	Furaha za nyoyo ukiyafusa	yeo siye mbee huna rehema.
ق	Qalibi unani upotezee ?	qatili cha Mola uteuzie
	Qurubia ta'a ukakamie	ufie dinini mwake Hashima.
ك	Kamwe sikuoni kukiri uja	kiza cha juhali ukapambaja
	Kula 'amali mbi henda kungoja	kheri tanguliza 'amali njema.
ل	Labuda moyowa nimekwambia	likwangamizalo ni ma'asia
	Ludhu bi' Llahi nakuusia	kesho siratini uwe salama.
م	Mauti sidhani yana muhula	milele ziumbe hufa ghafula
	Muumini hapa chenda kilala	sipambaukiwi nili mzima.
ن	Nawe siliwae ukaikuwa	ni hakki mauti yafaridhiwa
	Nyuma nyuma ta'a ukikutiwa	ufie dinini mwake Hashima.
و	Wallahi billahi thama taalahi	usipowa'adhiwa utanabahi
	Ulate amri wake Ilahi	hukunyang'anyia kwako kuuma.
ه	Hadi limudhili mwenye	hiba na 'adhia tupe 'afua kwongoa
	Hudalibushura alotongoa	kesho siratini tuwe salama.
ي	Ya Rabi twaomba waume wake	yun la ghorofa ukatuweke
	Yule afurahi yule ateke	tukitana'amu nakuterema.
	Na aliotunga Bunu Amini	Aini na mimu ree mwisoni
	Nazo baiti ni thalathini	Isimu ya dura Mwandhuma.

1. Write, O scribe, and send forth the script !
Set in the forefront the Name of the Lord.
Put in (carefully) the diacritic marks and the vowel points,
So that readers may not mistake.
2. After the Name, there is the Introduction :
In honour of the Prophet we will utter praise.
The tidings of Paradise also let us publish abroad.—
May the Lord grant us fulness of blessing.
3. The repentances of the creature—if he repents,
Then it is for the Prophet to pray for him.
Repent, ye creatures, in this world,
That ye may be safe to-morrow on (the Bridge of) Sirat.
4. A reward, if the creature desire it,
(Is that) thy soul be not encompassed by distress.

Strengthen thine obedience to the Lord ;
He will grant thee fulness of blessing.

5. The gracious garden in Paradise,
Both Jinn and mankind desire it.
(But) the mass of mankind will never see it,
Save only those who do good (deeds).
6. Then, when the reckoning is made
And the accounts of mortals made up,
Entreaties avail not, even though thou utter (them),
Except through good (works) going before (thee).
7. Loss is of the mortal who chooses (for himself) (?)
His choice is the house of fire.
Set apart one hour that thou mayest meditate
On the house of Paradise and the house of Hell.
8. The mark of a mortal who desires Paradise (is this) :
He holds fast to the faith of the Prophet ;
And he has seen the world—the inside of it,
That it is a thing of nought, without value.
9. Gold and silver I leave (behind, and all) ornaments.
In thine amassing of treasure, be not turned aside.
The heaper up of riches, what has he gathered ?
Then (comes) his end, as regards the things without end.
10. Let not the comfort of this world deceive thee,
Nor do thou grow great through usury and wickedness.
When the life is cut off, there is an assemblage (of people)
Who utter loud cries and entreat mercy.
11. What is the store for the journey ?
Those shakings (agitations) thou hast not yet passed them.
The abstinence of obedience thou hast not yet brought.
Why art thou so careless, O son of Adam ?
12. Go carefully on thy journey, the way is perilous :—
It is not for the traveller who carries no store,
When the difficulties of the road increase,
And thou fearest to be left behind.
13. The law says that him who has (acquired) no merit
Difficulty and trouble shall torment.
The healing of the Prophet, which is so comfortable,
Will be far from him and not support him.

14. Is not Hell a grievous matter ?
Cries and sobs in the fire,—
The shapes of those who burn, amid the raging heat.
The heat and the boiling up and roaring.
15. In thy meditation forget not
The torments of the fire, nor make light of them.
(They are) a tempest like to one
Which should devastate the whole world.
16. When layer upon layer of fire blazes
Beneath, even the great rocks shall be beaten down.
What hope is there for thee to escape ?
Why art thou so careless, O son of Adam ?
17. (As to) the tyrant in this world—
The humble dweller in the hut is not placed beneath him.
His tyranny sends him into the fire,
(Even) the house of great snakes as (huge as) mountains.
18. Many scorpions, beyond counting,
Bite in the fire, with sharp teeth ;
When rebels against the Lord arrive there,
They snatch from them (parts of their bodies) with pain.
19. The wicked (have to) disappear where God is ;
Let me receive the mystery into my eyes (?)
The crooked deceits of the world
They also are helps towards Hell.
20. Understand the matters which I counsel thee :
If thou so neglect them, . . . (?)
It is joy of hearts if thou follow them.
If to-day thou go not forward, thou shalt find no mercy (?).
21. What art thou, soul, that thou shouldst perish
And choose the enemy of the Lord ?
Draw nigh to obedience and strive with all thy strength
And die in the faith of the Hashimite.
22. I have never seen thee consenting to slavery
Or embracing the darkness of ignorance.
Every evil deed goes to wait ; (?)
But do thou rather prefer good deeds.
23. Perhaps, O my heart, I have told thee :
That which destroys thee is rebellion ;

- Take thy joy in the Lord, I counsel thee,
So that to-morrow thou mayest be safe on Sirat.
24. Death, I think, has no fixed time.
Mortals day by day die suddenly.
If I, a believer, go to sleep (at night),
I may not see the dawn being alive.
25. And thou do not forget and grow boastful.
It is just that Death should be binding (on all).
After obedience, if thou art overtaken (by it)
Thou wilt die in the faith of the Hashimite.
26. O God! by God and His greatness,
If thou wilt not be warned, consider:
If thou departest from the commandment of God (?)
Thy pains will tear thee to pieces (?)
27. (?)
As a free gift grant us deliverance (?)
. he who speaks
That to-morrow we may be safe on Sirat.
28. O Lord, we pray Thee, both men and women,
That thou wouldst place us in the highest abode—
That he may be glad and she may laugh
When we are blessed and rejoice.
29. And he who made (this verse) is the son of Amin—
(His name is spelt with) Ain and Mim, and Re at the end.
And the stanzas are thirty.
His household name is Mwandhuma.

NOTES

Stanza 3. *Mja*, an old word for "slave", when used (as frequently in poems and proverbs) as a religious term, may be rendered "mortal". The same expression is sometimes to be preferred to "creature", as an equivalent for *kiumbe*.

Stanza 4. The rendering of the second line is that suggested by Mr. Howe, who takes *تَقِي* to be meant for *صَقِي* (properly *ضَيْقِي*), as in stanza 15. As there seems to be no authority for any word which could be identified with the former, the initial consonant may have been altered to fit into the acrostic.

In the last line *atakujaziwe* = *atakujazi weve*: the enclitic (and redundant) object pronoun is not infrequent in poetry.

Stanza 5, line 1. *فَلِ جِنَانٍ* can only be transliterated as in the text.

Stanza 8, line 3. "The inside of it," *ndaniye* = *ndani yake*. It seems necessary to read this, as *nda nia* = *ni ya nia* (for *دَنِي*, as in the MS.) "it is of intention", gives no sense.

Stanza 10. *غُرُ* from *غَرَّ* "deceive, allure". It is difficult to account for the vocalization of Arabic verbs when adopted into Swahili.

Stanza 11. *Zawadi*, in Swahili, usually has the sense of "present". But that given in the text (see Hava's *Dictionary*, s.v. *زاد*) seems to suit the sense best.

Hujapita = Lamu dialect for *hujapita* ("Not-yet" tense).

Stanza 12. *Nendeto*: the suffix *-to* is (Krapf) "a particle denoting propriety, energy, goodness"; the commonest example is *manukato* "scent" (from the verb *kunuka*). Here we might render either "carefully", as in the text, or "vigorously, with energy".

Stanza 14, line 3. *mivukuto*, properly "bellows", so might mean "the blown-up flames", but, according to Krapf, equivalent to *jasho* "sweat", or (more generally) "great heat".

Stanza 15. *Dhurubu*, more usually *dharuba*.

Stanza 16, line 1. This seemed the only possible meaning for *طَبَقْ*. Krapf gives "*tabaki*, lining, fold, the thickness or quality of any material".

Stanza 17, line 2. *ظِلِّ* is properly an abstract noun: "the abasement of the hut" (*عَرِيشَ* "trellis, shed"—Hava), but the rendering in the text seems permissible.

Stanza 19. The transliteration of this line is difficult: *papo* seems the only possible reading for *پَبْ*—no doubt written inadvertently for *پَبْ*, though this scribe is usually consistent in his use of *پ* for *p*.

The word could be read *pambo*, but this will not fit the context. *Gharibu wabaya*, taking the first word as a verb, is not, perhaps, an unusual order where special emphasis is desired; but we might also render: "Strangers (are) the wicked where God is."

Stanza 20. *Wasa*, "counsel" is not given in the dictionaries; but it might have been coined as a supposed ground-form of *wasia* (from وَصَى).

Lines 2 and 3 are unusually difficult. *Isirari* might be derived from سَرَّ "rejoice", or be connected with *siri* (سِرِّ) "secret, mystery". *Fusa* seems impossible to identify: Mr. Howe suggests *fuza* = *fuliza* "go forward without stopping"—but it does not seem likely that any but a very ignorant scribe would write ز. for س. If such a substitution could be admitted, a derivation from فوز (فوز)

"acquire" might be considered. In that case, the translation would read "It is joy of hearts if thou acquire them" (the matters which have been counselled). If we adopt Mr. Howe's suggestion it is difficult to account for the object-pronoun *ya*. The conjecture *fuasa* (really a causative of *fuata*, "follow") is perhaps not too far-fetched for poetical licence.

pisa for *pisha*, causative of *pita*; *nyoyo*, pl. of *moyo*. (See Stigand, *Dialect in Swahili*, p. 50, where it should have been pointed out that this form of the plural is confined to vowel stems.)

yeo = *leo*; *mbee* = *mbele* (Kiamu).

siye for *usiye* = *usiye*; seemingly equivalent to *usipokuja*.

upotezee seems to be Kiamu for *upotelee*, and, similarly, in the next line, *uteuzie* for *uteulie* (*teua* = *chagua* in standard Swahili). *Qatili* "slayer"—here, of course, "would-be slayer," or "mortal enemy, i.e. Iblis" (Howe).

Stanza 22. *Uja* might be rendered either "slavery" or "service"—the former (the negative conveying commendation) seems to be implied by the next line. The fourth word in line 3 could be read either *henda* or *hari*: the first would stand for *huenda*, the second, by a rather forced construction, would yield the meaning "Heat (i.e. the fire of Jahannum) awaits every evil deed."

tanguliza, lit. "cause to go forward"—i.e. put in the first place.

Stanza 26, line 2. The MS. reads **وَسِيبُ وَعَظٌ وَظَاتِبُهُ** (*wesipowa'adhi wadhī utanabahi*, the last word being written distinctly above the line). *Wesipo* . . . might be meant either for *wasipo*. . . or *usipo* . . .; the latter seems to suit the context best, and the following *wa*, though not joined on to the preceding letter, evidently belongs to the word. The second **ظ** I cannot account for, unless by illegibility of the original MS., of which the copyist had to make what he could. *Utanabahi* might be either 2nd pers. subjunctive, or an abstract noun formed from the verb.

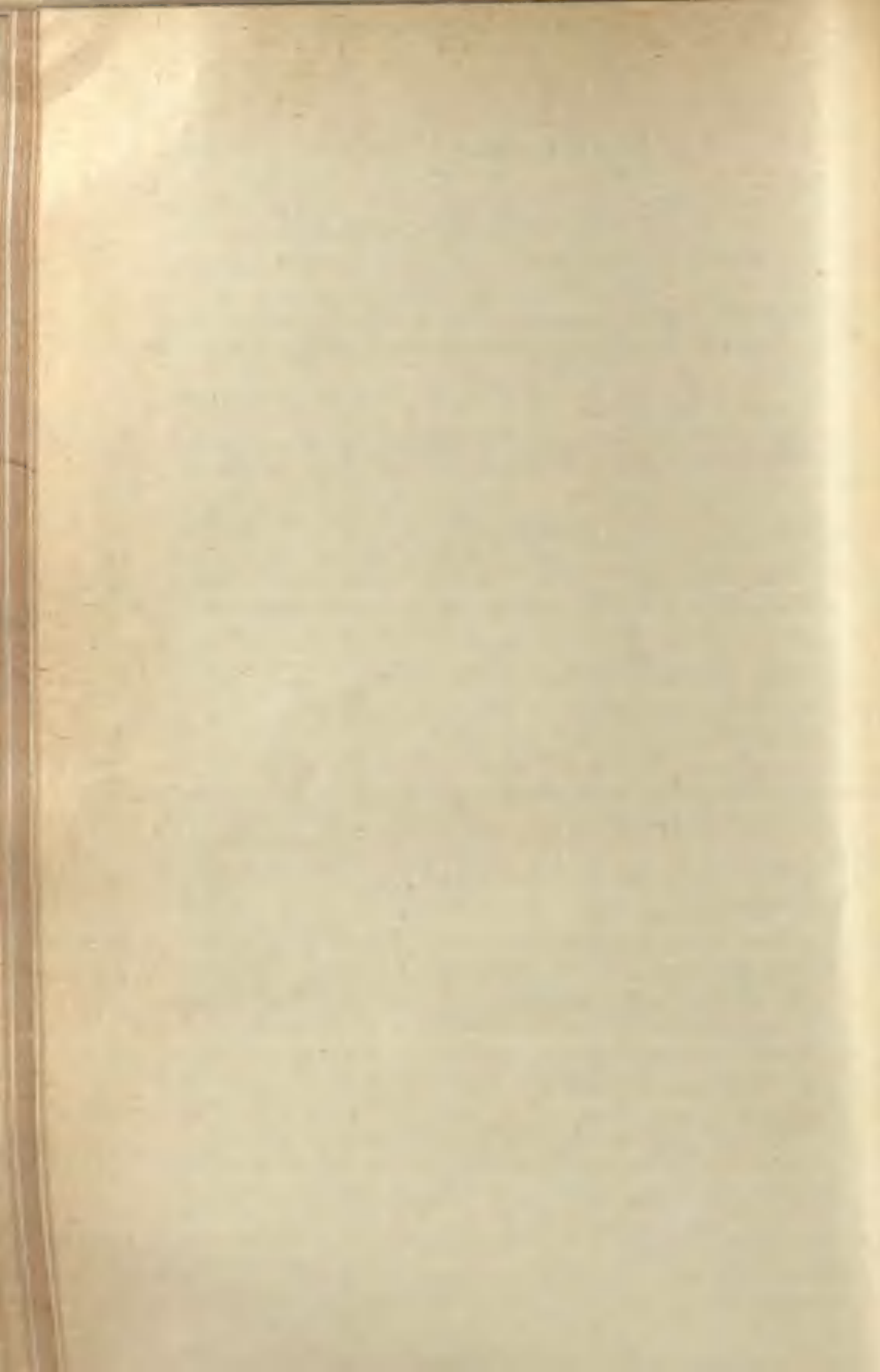
In the fourth line, *nyanganyia* (MS., no doubt by inadvertence *nyangangia*) seems to mean "snatch from", as in stanza 18.

Stanza 27. Lines 1-3 are extremely difficult, and probably corrupt. *Hadi* as a noun of Class 5 might possibly mean either "guidance" or "limit" (though the latter is assigned by Krapf to Class 3); but neither will yield a satisfactory sense. **ظِلٌّ** = "abase". *Mwenye kuongoa* = "he who goes before", "the guide", "leader". *Hiba* (Madan, *s.v.*) in Swahili means "a gift" (from **حَبٌّ**?—though here written with **ه**); **عَطِيَا** (see Krapf, *s.v. adia* and *athia*), the same. The next line seems hopeless, whether we read *Huda libushura* or *Hudalibushura* (from **بَشَّرَ**) or *Hudaliposhura*.

Alotongoa might mean either "he who speaks" (*tongoa* in this sense is an archaic word explained as equivalent to *sema*), or, if we can admit an intransitive form, to *tongoza*, "who is allured," or "seduced".

Stanza 28. *ghorofa* "upper floor" evidently means the highest of the seven heavens. In line 3, while there is, of course, no distinction of gender in Swahili, it seemed admissible, in view of the mention of *waume* (*kwa*) *wake* in line 1, to take the first *yule* as masculine and the second as feminine.

Stanza 29. The statement that the poem consists of 30 stanzas is perplexing, unless we can suppose that an introductory one has been lost at the beginning. *Isimu ya dura* seems difficult to explain from Arabic. Possibly it is a Swahili coinage from **دَار** with the meaning suggested in the text. But in Galla (and Pokomo) *dura* is "first."



MABALE STORIES

(Continued from p. 378)

By J. TANGHE

lokulukoko na nkumba

THE PHEASANT AND THE TORTOISE

bakendake (1) dzisolo. (2) bakomi (3) o molako,
They went fishing. They arrived at a fishing-camp,

balambi (3) bile ti bakale. (4) nkumba jo ti:
they cooked food so they were going to eat. The tortoise he so:

"tobomba (5) bile; tokende (6) bo o dzisolo.
"let us put aside the food; let us go first to the dzisolo.

wantaka (7) biu na nsala tokale." (4)
(when) shall have come out we with hunger we shall eat."

lokulukoko aambi(3); bakwedgidza(8) nkandu (9) o bwato. (10)
The pheasant agreed; they put the hurdles into the canoe.

mwana wa lokulukoko aikadgi (11) o molako.
The little one of the pheasant stayed in the fishing-camp.

badgingi (3) dzisolo, baabi (3) nsolo, iidgi
They surrounded the dzisolo, they cut the grass, they were

nje (12).
finished entirely.

nkumba akodgi (11) ti: "lokulukoko, outa (13) otuta (13)
The tortoise said so: "pheasant, come out push in

lokandu." lokulukoko auti. (3) fu, fu, fu, (14)
the hurdle." The pheasant came out,

alambi. (15) nkumba auti. (3) adzwi (16) nsu: ibe.
he fluttered. The tortoise came out, he got fishes two.

atuni (3) lokulukoko jo ti: "wakadzalaka
he asked the pheasant he so: "thou hast been sitting down

bodgadzi." (17) adgindi (3) lo'su : (18) atuti, atuti. (3)
to sit down." He went into the water again, he beat, he beat.

mbia adgindi (3) na mondzibi, (19)
Afterwards he went into the water with a plunge,

səki, səki, səki, (14) angangodgi (11) lokanda, aikabima (20) o
he lifted up the hurdle and he came out in

molako. alei (21) nsu : jabombaka (22) bango,
the encampment. He ate the fishes which had killed they,

akobi (3) mwana wa lokulukoko mwaka o
he spread the little one of the pheasant palm oil (sauce) on

monoko, adzongi. (3)
the mouth, he returned.

lokulukoko amodgiledgi (23) ka, ka, ka ; (24) nkumba
The pheasant waited for him a very long time ; the tortoise

abimi (3) jo ti : " nsu : ja nsoma," (25) babidgi (11) moleka,
came out he so : " fishes very big," they took in the net,

bamokwedgidza (26) o bwato, ba²wei (16) nsu :
they embarked it in the canoe, they poured out the fishes

o bwato, badgingi (3) nkandu, bakai (21) o
into the canoe, they rolled up the hurdles, they went to

molako.
the fishing-camp.

nkumba jo ti : " lokulukoko, kakwa (27) nsu : ;
The tortoise he so : " pheasant, (go) to fetch the fishes ;

ibombiki (28) bin, tola nsala." lokulukoko
which put aside we, that we eat the hunger." The pheasant

akei, (21) aikakeka (20) nsu : ; bailei. (29)
went off, and looked for the fishes ; they had eaten them.

atuni (3) nkumba jo ti : " elei nsu :
He asked the tortoise he so : " it has eaten the fishes

nda ! " (30) nkumba jo ti : " mbele mwana wao.
who ? " The tortoise he so : " maybe the little one of thee.

keka (13) mwaka o monoka mwandr." lokulukoko
Look (at) the oil on the mouth of him." The pheasant

jo tr: "dgikambo we, tolamba (5) bi'su." (31) baamani, (3)
he so: "matter no, let us cook other." They quarrelled,

balei (21) bonamei. (32) baidgidga nelz, (33) baiti (3) nsu: mben
they ate so. They finished to eat, they dried fish fresh

o botala. butu (34) boindi, (3) batuki. (3) bokei. (34)
on the drying-stand. The sun darkened, they slept. It went on.

bakei (21) losu: (18) nekaaba dzisolo. (35) bafulodgi (36) nkandu,
They went again to cut the dzisolo. They unrolled the hurdles,

badgingi, (3) baabi, (3) dgiidgi (37)
they surrounded, they cut, it was finished.

nkumba akei na mondgi (19) aikabima (20) o
The tortoise went with a plunge and he came out in

molako, alei (21) bile, bibiabombaka (38)
the fishing-camp, he ate the food, which it had put aside

bango lo'su: (38) lokulukoko amodgiledgi ka, ka, ka, (23)
they again. The pheasant waited for him a very long time,

alembi. (15) adgingodgi (39) dzisolo. nkumba abimi. (3)
he was tired. He unrolled the dzisolo. The tortoise came out.

lokulukoko amotuni (40) tr: "onakende nekaimbea?" (41)
The pheasant asked him so: "art thou going to slumber?"

nkumba jo tr: "wako na bolodgi? (42) te
The tortoise he so: "Is here not with hard work? If

bolambw, onakoka? (43) badgingi (3) dzisolo
it (were) easy, are you able to?" They rolled up the dzisolo

lo'su: (18) badgilei, (44) bakei (21) o molako.
again, they left it, they went to the fishing-camp.

nkumba aluboi (45) aikakwa (20) bile bibiabombaka
The tortoise landed and he took the food which it had put aside

bango. (38) babilei (46) . . . atuni (3) lokulukoko tr: "bile
they. They had eaten it. He asked the pheasant so: "the food

bilei nda ? " (47) lokulukoko jo tr: "ngoko." (48)
has eaten who ? " The pheasant he so: "I don't know."

mbia nkumba jo tr: "bobeze mwana
Thereupon the tortoise he so: "maybe the little one
wao." lokulukoko akai (21) o mboka (49) ja molako.
of thee." The pheasant went to the end of the fishing-camp,

ani (50) ndgila enalubwaka nkumba; (51) abekidga (52)
he saw the path (by) which uses to land the tortoise; he laid

motambo.

a trap.

badgongi (3) o dgisolo, baabi, (3) dgiidgi (11)
They returned to the dzisolo, they cut, it was finished

nje. (12) nkumba anti, atuti, aidgidga, (52)
entirely. The tortoise came out, he pushed in, he finished,

akai (21) na mondgibi, (19) abimi o esika
he went with a plunge, he came out at the place

enabimaka (51) jo, apidgi (53) o motambo, pio!
where he was wont to come out he, he was caught in the trap,

abeki (3) mwana wa lokulukoko: "kantangola." (27)
he called the little one of the pheasant: "take me away."

atei. (16) lokulukoko amodziledgi, (23) amodziledgi.
He refused. The pheasant waited for him, he waited for him,

alembi. (15) abidgi (11) moleke, akwedgidga (8) nsu:
he was tired. He took out the bow net, he embarked the fishes

o bwato, aluki, (3) aikadgwa (20) nkumba o
in the canoe, he paddled, and he found the tortoise in

motambo, amotuni (40) jo tr: "enakelaka ndgokandi
the trap, he asked him so: "it uses to do so nevertheless

je (30)! mbia okoloko (54) tr binale (47) mwana
thou! then thou usest to say so it has eaten the little one

wanga, ndzoka, enakelaka majele bobele je!" (30) lokulukoko
of me, but, it used to do slyness only thou!" The pheasant

abeki (3) mwana: "kakwedgidga (27) bikiki bja biu,
called the little one: "embark the things of us,

toluka!"

let us paddle!"

bakwedgidga, (8) nje. (12) nkumba aikadgi, (11) baluki, (3)
They embarked, entirely. The tortoise remained, they paddled,

bakomi (3) o mboka. bamboka (55) batuni (3)
they arrived in the fishing-camp. The village-people asked

ti: "nkumba alo walo?" lokulukoko jo ti:
so: "The tortoise is where?" The pheasant he so:

"nkumba anakelaka (56) majele mikolo minso, nabekjaka (57)
"The tortoise uses to do slyness days all, I had laid

motambo apidga (53) o mwango. (58) nakamoiki (59) omomei.
a trap he was caught in it. I left him there.

elonggi (3) bobele lokulukoko. (30) waidgi. (60)
was right only the pheasant. Here is finished.

NOTES

(1) bakendeke < ba-a-kende-ke, remote definite past tense of kende, to go. ba- refers to lukulukoko na nkumba, a- is tense prefix, kende is the stem, and -ke, tense suffix.

(2) dgisolo. dgisolo is a special way of fishing. A certain area of grass along the bank of the river is surrounded by a lokandu or hurdle. The grass is subsequently cut and the fish is taken. A big bow-net is also placed in the middle of it. dgisolo also came to mean the place where such fishing is done.

(3) bakomi, balambi, aambi, badgingi, baabi, auti, atuni, adgiindi, atuti, akobi, adgonggi, abimi, baamani, baiti, boindi, batuki, badgonggi, baluki, batuni, indef. past tenses of koma, lamba, amba, dzingga, aba, uta, tuna, dginga, tuta, koba, etc.

(4) bakale, immediate future of le, to eat. Hence ele, something to eat; pl. bile, food. tokale is 1st pers. plural of the same tense.

(5) tobomba, 1st person pl. of the imperative of bomba, to hide, to put aside. Id. tolamba and toluka, from lamba, to cook, and luka, to paddle.

(6) tokende, 1st person pl. of the imperative of kende, to go.

(7) *wautaka*, future perfect tense of *uta*. *wa-*, locative prefix, *uta*, verb-stem, *-ka*, tense suffix. So, *wautaka biu* literally means: (when) here shall have come along we.

(8) *bakwedgidga*, indef. past tense of *kwedgidga*, to embark, causative form of *kwela*, applicative f. of *kwa*, to take. N. The indef. past tense of causative verbs always ends in *a*.

(9) *nkandu*, plural of *lokandu*, hurdle.

(10) *bwato*, canoe (pl. *mato*), is not a transformation of the English boat, but a noun of the *bo-* class derived from a verb *ata*, to split, to cleave, and meaning more especially here: to scoop out by splitting or splintering off chips. An interesting comparison, from a semantological point of view, may be made here with the Germanic *bait-*, Afs. *bát*, Eng. *boat*, Netherlandish *boot* (dial. *beitel*) from *bijten* = *splijten*, to split, or Germanic *skip-*, Eng. *ship*, High German *schiff*; in Netherl. *schiff*, Eng. *shive*, Old Norse *skifa* = to split.

(11) *aikadgi*, indef. past tense of *ikala*, to remain, to stay. (*l + i > dgi*.) Likewise *akodgi*, *aggangodgi*, *babadgi*, *dgiidgi*, *abidgi*, indef. past tenses of *kalo*, *nganggola*, *bila*, *ila*.

(12) *iidgi*, indef. past tense of *ila*, to finish; *i-* refers to *nsolo*, water-herbs. *nje* means quietly, as in *dzala nje*, to set down peacefully; also: entirely, as in *bile biidgi nje*, the food was finished entirely, i.e. all the food was eaten.

(13) *outa*, 2nd person sing. of the imperative of *uta*, to come out. Likewise: *otuta*, *keka* from *tuta* and *keka*. N. In the 2nd person sing. of the imperative, the pronoun may be either expressed or not: *outa* = *uta*, *otuta* = *tuta*, *keka* = *okeka*.

(14) *fu*, *fu*, *fu*, onomatopoeic adverb, imitating the noise made by the wings of the pheasant (wing = *dgi fu fu*, pl. *ma fu fu*). Cf. further *seki*, *seki*, *seki*, imitating the tortoise swimming.

(15) *alembi*, indef. past tense of *lamba*, to flutter. Cf. *alembi*, indef. past tense of *lemba*, (1) to ripen, (2) to get tired.

(16) *adgwi* (sometimes *adgi*) < *adgwei*, indef. past tense of *dgwa*, to get, to find. (Recipr. form: *dgwana*, to meet with one another.) N. The indef. past tense of the verb is made by changing the final vowel of the stem into *i*. Cf. note (3). Monosyllabic verbs in *ε* (*e*) and *ə* (*o*) add *i*: *ke*, to go, *akei*, he has gone; *na*, to rain, *dgikolo dginai*, the sky is raining. Monosyllabic verbs in *a* mostly change *a* into *e* and add *i*: *pa*, to give, *amopei*, he gave him; *ta*, to throw, *atei*, he threw, he hit, etc. (although some would say: *abai*, he climbed). Monosyllabic verbs in *a*, whose final vowel is preceded by a semi-

vowel (j, w), always change a into e and add i: ja, to come, ajei, he has come; wa, to die, awei, he is dead; swa, to bite, aswei, he has bitten; njwa, to drink, anjwei, he has drunk.

(17) wakadzalaka < o-a-ka-dzala-ka, remote past definite continuative tense of dzala, to sit down. o-, pers. pron. prefix, 2nd person; a-, tense prefix; ka-, continuative prefix; dzala, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. bodzadzi is the absolute infinitive of dzala (suffix -i).

(18) adgindi, indef. past tense of dginda, to go into the water. losu:, pref. lo- and su: other, refers to lodginda, a diving, from dginda, to dive. Likewise: bakai losu:, losu: referring to loka(nde), a going, from ka(nde), to go, and badgingi losu:, losu: referring to lodgingi, a rolling-up.

(19) mondzibi (pl. mindzibi), a plunge, else molibe In mondzibi, the n is inserted before the accent.

(20) aikabima, successive tense of bima, to come out. Likewise aikakeka, aikakwa, aikadzwa, succ. tenses of keka, kwa, and dzwa.

(21) alei, bakai, akai, balei, atei, indef. past tenses of le, ke, ta. Cf. note (16).

(22) jabombaka < i-a-bomba-ka, remote defin. past tense of bomba, to put aside, to hide. i = relative pronoun direct object, ref. to nsu: (sing. nsu:) fishes; a-, tense prefix; bomba, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. bango, independent personal pronoun, subject, referring to nkumba na lokulukaka.

(23) amodziledzi, indef. past tense of dgilela, applicative form of dzila, to wait. a- refers to lokulukaka, mo-, pers. pron. pref. object ref. to nkumba.

(24) ka, ka, ka, means a very long time; also ti, ti, ti.

(25) na nsomo = very (superlative) with adjectives, as in monene na nsomo, very great, or many with substantives, batu na nsomo, many people (= batu be). na nsomo literally means with fear. Cf. Engl. frightfully, Germ. fürchterlich.

(26) bamokwedgidza, mo- refers to moleka, net. See note (8).

(27) kakwa (go) and take, future infinitive of kwa, to take. ka, prefix to infinitives depending on the imperatives of ja, to come, and ka(nde), to go, either expressed or understood. Here ka(nde) is understood. Likewise kantungola: ka, prefix; n- < m, personal pron. prefix, 1st pers. sing., indirect object (for me); tangola, verb-stem, to remove, to separate; and kakwedgidza, from kwedgidza, to embark (see note (8)).

(28) *ibombiki*, from *ibombaki*, with assimilation, near past definite tense of *bomba*, to put aside, to hide. *i-*, relative pronoun, direct object, refers to *nsu*; *bomba*, verb-stem; *-ki*, tense suffix. *biu*, indep. pers. pronoun, 1st pers. of the plural.

(29) *bailei*, indef. past tense of *le*, to eat. *ba* = *batu*, people (understood); *i-*, pers. pron. pref. ref. to *nsu*.

(30) *elei nsu: nda?* In interrogative sentences the subject is generally put at the end. Then the verb is introduced by the prepositional pronoun *e-*, referring to *esika*, place, moment understood. Likewise: *enakelaka ndzokande je?* was it thou, that usest to do so?; *enakelaka*, here, is the habitual tense of *kela*, to do. *e-*, pers. pron. prefix; *na-*, indic. present tense prefix; *kela*, verb-stem; *-ka*, suffix of the habitual tense. This special construction is also used with emphasis: *enakelaka majele bobele jo*, it was he alone that used to play the jokes. *enakelaka*: *e-*, prepositional pers. pronoun; *na-*, indic. pres. tense pref.; *kela*, verb-stem, to do; *-ka*, habitual tense suffix. Also in *elongi bobele lokulukoko*, it was the pheasant alone that was proved to be right. *elongi*, from *longa*, to be proved to be right (in a lawsuit).

(31) *bisu*: *bi-*, pref., refers to *bile*, food, understood; *-su*, other.

(32) *bonamei*, thus, so (adv.), is properly the demonstrative pronoun of the 2nd form (suffix *-na*); *-mei* is an enclytic, emphatic suffix. *balei bonamei*; understand: they ate, and there was an end to the quarrel.

(33) *baidgidga nele*, they finished eating. *baidgidga*, indef. past tense of *idgidga*, causative form of *ila*, to finish. See note (8).

(34) *batu*, in Mabale means sun, in Boloki night (night in Mabale = *kja*). *makolo*, in Mabale means day (*mai*, day time), in Iboko *makolo* = night. Cf. *bweli*, in Boloki truth, in Iboko lie.

(35) *nekaaba*, future infinitive of *aba*, to cut down; *neka*, fut. inf. prefix.

(36) *bafulodgi*, indef. past tense of *fulola*, to unroll, reversive form of *Fula*, to roll up.

(37) *dgi'idgi*, indef. past tense of *ila*, to finish. *dgi-* refers to *dgisolo*.

(38) *bibiabombaka*, remote definite past tense of *bomba*, to put aside. The first *bi-* is the relative pronoun direct object; the second *bi-* is the personal pron. pref., both referring to *bile*; *a-* is tense prefix; *bomba*, the verb-stem; *-ka*, tense suffix. *bango* is the indep. pers. pron. referring to *lokulukoko na gkumba*. *lesu*, another, refers to *lobomba*, putting aside, understood.

(39) *adgingodgi*, indef. past tense of *dzingola*, to unroll; reversionary form of *dzinga*, to roll up.

(40) *amotuni*, indef. past tense of *tuna*, to ask. *a-* refers to *lokulukaka*; *mo-*, pers. pronoun prefix, indirect object, to *nkumba*.

(41) *onakende*, art thou going. Indicative present of *kende*. *o-*, pers. pron. prefix; *na-*, tense prefix. *nekaimbea*, future infinitive of *imbea*, to slumber. *neka-*, future infinitive prefix.

(42) *wako na boladgi*? *wako*, indicative present of *ko*, not to be (negative of *lo*, to be). *wa*, locative prefix. Also *eko na boladgi*.

(43) *onakoka*, indicative present of *koka*, to be complete, sufficient, to be able to. *o-*, pers. pronoun prefix, referring to *lokulukaka*; *na-*, tense prefix.

(44) *badgilei*, indef. past tense of *le*, to leave; *dgi*, pers. pronoun prefix, direct object, ref. to *dgisolo*.

(45) *aluboi*, indef. past tense of *lubwa*, to land, neuter form of *lubola*, to unload.

(46) *babilei*, indef. past tense of *le*, to eat. *ba-*, pers. pron. prefix, they, people; *bi-*, pers. pron. pref., direct object, referring to *bile*, the food.

(47) *bile bilei nda*? Literally, the food has eaten who? Notice this special construction, in which the subject (*nda*?) being put at the end of the interrogative sentence and the object (*bile*) preceding the verb through emphasis, the verb is introduced by the prefix of the object. Cf. *elei bile nda*? and the less usual (*moto*) *nda alei bile*? In *binale mwana wanga*, *bi* also refers to *bile*, the food.

(48) *ngoko*!, I don't know; probably from *nga oka*; *nga*, yet, *oka*? In *Lonkundu nga* or *ngoko* or *ngoe* mean thus.

(49) *mboka*, from *boka*, to end, to limit, to enclose, literally means enclosure but is the general word for village, in a figurative sense. *mboka*, like *bwato* (see note (10)), has a semantological evolution which is analogous to that of the corresponding word in the Indo-Germanic languages. Compare: Celtic *dānon*, Germanic *tūn* = enclosure. Hence Gaulish *dānon* = castle, Irish *dūn*, Welsh *din* = fortified town; Old Norse, Anglo-S. *tūn* = enclosed place; Engl. town, place; Netherlandish *tuin*, High German *Zaun* = enclosure, enclosed garden. Further Lat. *hortus*, Netherl. *gaarde*, Engl. *garden*, High German *Garten* = enclosed garden, + *omgorden*, Slavish (Russian and Bulgarian) *gorod*, *grad* = town.

(50) *aeni*, indef. past tense of *ene*, to see.

(51) *ndgila enalubwaka nkoi*, the path by which the leopard used

to land. *enalubwaka*, indicative present continuative of *lubwa*, to land. *e-*, relative pronoun pref., refers to *ndzila*; *na*, tense prefix; *lubwa*, verb-stem; *-ka*, tense suffix. Likewise: *esika enabimaka ja*, the place at which he always came out. *e-*, relat. pron. pref. ref. to *esika*; *bima*, verb-stem.

(52) *abekidza*, indef. past tense of *bekidza*, to lay (a trap). Likewise: *aidgidza*, indef. past tense of *idgidza*, causative form of *ila*, to finish.

(53) *apidza*, indef. past tense of *pidza*, used here in the sense of to be caught.

(54) *okolako*, you keep on saying, simple present continuative of *kola*, to say; *-ka*, tense suffix.

(55) *ba-mboka*, abbr. of *batu ba mboka*, the people of the village. Here *ba* is the possessive particle (*ba-a*).

(56) *anakelaka*, indicative present continuative of *kela*. *a-*, pers. pron. pref. ref. to *nkumba*; *na-*, tense prefix; *kela*, verb-stem; *-ka*, continuative tense suffix.

(57) *nabekjaka* < *na-a-bekja-ka*, remote past definite tense of *bekja*, to lay (a trap). *na-*, pers. pron. pref. referring to *lokulukoko*; *a-*, tense prefix; *bekja*, verb-stem; *-ka*, tense suffix.

(58) *mwango* < *mo-ango*. Independent pers. pronoun referring to *metambo*.

(59) *nakameiki*, indef. past continuative of *ika*, to leave. *na*, pers. pron. pref. referring to *lokulukoko*; *ka-*, continuative tense prefix; *mo-*, pers. pron. pref. 3rd pers. sing. direct object referring to *nkumba*.

(60) *waidgi*, indef. past tense of *ila*, to finish; *wa-*, locative pref.

CONNECTED TRANSLATION

They went out fishing. They arrived at a fishing-camp and prepared some food they were going to enjoy. The tortoise said: "Let us put aside the food and first go to the *dzisolo*; as soon as we feel hungry, we shall eat." The pheasant agreed. They put the hurdles into the canoe, whilst the little one of the pheasant stayed in the fishing-camp. They surrounded the *dzisolo* and cut all the grass, so that there was not a single blade left.

The tortoise said: "Pheasant, come along, push in the hurdle." And the pheasant came along, *fu, fu, fu*, fluttering in the air. The tortoise came out and he got two fishes. "Don't sit down like that,"

he said to the pheasant, "and act like a sluggard." And he went once more into the water, steadily pushing in the hurdle. And then he dived down to the bottom of the *dzisolo*, *seke, seke, seke*, he lifted up the hurdle and came out in the camp. He gobbled up all the fish, which they had put aside; he smeared palm-oil sauce on the mouth of the little one of the pheasant and then went back.

The pheasant had been waiting for him a very long time, and out came the tortoise saying there were indeed many big fishes in the *dzisolo*. They took the net out of the water, they pulled it on board and poured out the fish into the canoe. They rolled up the hurdles and went to the fishing-camp. The tortoise then said: "Pheasant, go and fetch the fish we have put aside, that we may eat with hunger." The pheasant went off, he looked for the fishes, but they were eaten. He then asked the tortoise: "Who has eaten the fish?" "Your little one, I should think," the tortoise answered, "just look at the palm-oil sauce smearing his face." "I don't mind," the pheasant said, "let us prepare some more." They had an altercation, but they ate and there was an end of the matter. When they had finished the meal, they dried some fresh fishes on the drying-stand. The sun darkened and they went to sleep. At daybreak, they went again to the *dzisolo*. They unrolled the hurdles, they surrounded the *dzisolo* and they cut the grass, so that not a single blade was left.

The tortoise dived; he came out into the camp and ate the food they had put away once more. The pheasant had been waiting for him a very long time, so that he got tired and he unrolled the *dzisolo*. The tortoise came out. The pheasant asked him: "Are you going to slumber?" Thereupon the tortoise answered: "Isn't this hard work, and if it were easy, would you be able to do it?" They rolled up the *dzisolo* again, leaving it as it was and went to the camp.

The tortoise landed and went to fetch the food, which they had put aside . . . but it was eaten. The tortoise asked the pheasant who had eaten the food. And the pheasant said: "I don't know." Thereupon the tortoise said: "Your little one and nobody else." The pheasant went to the end of the camp and saw the path by which the tortoise had to land and he set a trap. They went back to the *dzisolo* and cut it completely. The tortoise came along and pushed in the hurdle. When he had done so he dived and came out at the usual place. He was caught in the trap. He called to the young one of the pheasant, asking him to come along and help him out of it. The young one, however, refused. The pheasant kept

waiting for the tortoise and he got tired. He took out the bow-net, he pulled the fish into the canoe, he paddled and found the tortoise in the trap. He said to him: "Is it you, in fact, that did so? and you used to tell me it was my little one that ate the food, whereas it was you alone that played the rogue!" The pheasant called for his young one: "Put our things in," he said, "and let us paddle."

They put them in and nothing was left but the tortoise. They paddled and arrived at the village. Here the people asked: "Where is the tortoise?" And the pheasant answered: "The tortoise played the rogue, all the time; I set a trap and he was caught in it. I left him over there." The pheasant alone was declared to be in the right. This is the end of the story.

dzibandza dza baggenda nsambo

STORY OF THE YOUNG GIRLS SEVEN

baggenda (1) nsambo bakendeki (2) majebu. ba:dzwaka (3)
young girls seven went mushrooms. They (had) found

majebu be: (4); mpr bakzi (5) nekadzwa (6) dzo:ka (7) dziebu
mushrooms many; and they went to find one mushroom

dginene be: (4); mpr badgipidzi. (8) ja:pilaka (9)
big very; and they pulled it up. When they had extracted

baggo, mokidzi munso mobulungani. (10) mpr batu ba
they, the earth whole trembled. And the people of

mboka enso bakwei (5) makongo na nguba, bakzi (5)
the village whole took spears and shields, they went

nekabuna (6) na baggo. bana banamei, (11) babakendeki (12)
to fight with them. Children those, who had gone

majebu (2) bakuki. (13) jakukaka (9) baggo, baikadzwana (14)
mushrooms fled. When they had fled they, they met with

mweti monene, nkombo ti (15) jengolowongonda. wawi (16) mwana
a tree big, name thus Yengolongonda. One child

amobeti (17) lokata mpr mwete mokwei (5) o nse. baggo
hit it a blow and the tree fell to the ground. They

banso babai (5) o dgikolo dza mwete monamei. batu
all climbed on the top of the tree that one. People

banamei, bakolo dziebu (18) badgadzi (13) o nsina ja
 those, owners mushrooms sat down on the roots of
 mwete. mwete mwango nsina nane (19) be. (20) mokondzi wa
 the tree. Tree it roots big very. The chief of
 bango akadzi (13) ti: bo:ko (21) bato bakende nekakwa (6)
 them said thus: some men that they go to take
 mweja, bo:ko (21) bakwa (22) mbeki na mambayga mpo
 fire, some that they take pots with pepper thing
 ti (23) babalamba. (24) jaindaka (9) buta,
 thus that they cook them. When had darkened the sun,
 banamei bakuki (25) na kja o mboka anggo (26) wa bango.
 those fled at night into the village(s) father of them.
 batu banamei (1) babakililililili (27) baibadza. (28)
 The people those pursued them the women.
 baibadgwa (29) we. mbia badzongi (25) o
 They did not catch them not. Afterwards they returned to
 mboka ja bango. dzibandza dziidzi (30) bonamei (31)
 the village(s) of them. The story is finished thus.

NOTES

(1) bangondo, sing. ngondo, a handsome young woman. bangondo nsambo is also the name of the Pleiades.

(2) bakendeka < ba-a-kende-ke, remote definite past tense of kende, to go. ba-, pers. pron. pref. referring to bangondo; a-, tense pref.; kende, verb-stem; -ke, tense suffix.

N. The final object of kende, to go, and ja, to come, immediately follows the verb: bakendeka majebu, they went-to fetch-mushrooms; bajei dzikambo, they have come for a palaver.

(3) badgwaka < ba-a-dgwa-ka, remote definite past tense of dgwa, to get, to find. ba-, pers. pron. pref. referring to bangondo; a-, tense prefix; dgwa, verb-stem; -ka, tense suffix. N. Verbs in -a have -ka as tense-suffix, those in *z* have -ke, and those in *o* have ko.

(4) be, adverb, very. dzinene be, very big.

(5) bakei, indef. past tense of ke, to go. Likewise: bakwei, from kwa, to take; mokwei, from kwa, to fall; and babai, from ba, to climb. Cf. lok. na nk., note (16).

(6) *nekadzwa*, future infinitive of *dzwa*, to get, to find. *neka-*, infinitive future prefix. Likewise: *nekabuna*, from *buna*, to fight; and *nekakwa*, from *kwa*, to take.

(7) *dzo:ko* < *dzioko*, a certain one. *dzo:ko dziebu*. The regular word-order has been inverted. Cf. *wawi mwana* and *boko batu* instead of *mwani wawi* and *batu boko* < *baoko*. Note. In stories this inversion is very usual.

(8) *badzipidgi*, indef. past tense of *pila*, to pull out. *ba-*, pers. pron. pref. referring to *banganda*; *dgi-*, pers. pron. pref. object referring to *dziebu*. Note. In Mabale $1 + d > dgi$: *pidgi* < *pili*. Likewise *badzadgi*, they sat, from *dzala*, to sit, and *akodgi*, he said, from *kola*, to say.

(9) *japilaka* < *e-a-pila-ka*, remote past def. tense of *pila*. *e-*, pref. referring to *esika*, place, moment; *a-*, tense prefix; *pila*, verb-stem; *-ka*, tense suffix. Likewise: *jakukaka* and *jaindaka*, remote def. past tenses of *kuka*, to fly, and *inda*, to darken.

(10) *mobalungani*, indef. past tense of *bulungana*, to be disturbed, to tremble. The causative form is *bulinginia*, to disturb, to shake. *bulinginia* < *bulungania*, with regressive assimilation. The suffix is *-ia*.

(11) *banamei*, demonstrative of the second form (in *-na*); *mei* is enclitic emphatic suffix.

(12) *babakendeke* < *ba-ba-a-kende-ke*, remote definite past tense of *kende*, to go. The first *ba-* is the relative pronoun subject, the second the pers. pron. pref., both referring to *bana*; *a-*, tense prefix; *kende*, verb-stem; *-ke*, tense suffix.

(13) *bakuki*, indef. past tense of *kuka*, to fly. Likewise *badzadgi* and *akodgi*, indef. past tenses of *dzala*, to sit, and *kola*, to say.

(14) *baikadzwana*, successive tense of *dzwana*, to meet with one another. *ba* refers to *bana*; *ika-*, tense prefix; *dzwana*, reciprocal form of *dzwa*, to get, to find.

(15) *ti*, citative adverb, thus, so. Also found in Mbudza and in Bobangi and usually preceded by a pronoun to make a quotation. Mabale: *nkumba jo ti*, the tortoise he thus; Bobangi: *mokónzi jéjé'té*, the chief he thus; Mbudza: *andango a ti*, the tortoise, he so. In Swahili, it only survives in the quasi-interjection *ati!* whereas, in Luganda, it is also used, as *nti*, to introduce a quotation. Whitehead, in his *Bobangi Grammar and Dictionary*, p. 122, gives: "*ti*, adv., as, that, thus. It is usually abbreviated into *'ti* with the pronoun, when the verb to say or to speak should be understood."

It appears from the above examples that the original use of *ti* seems to be forgotten and that it has become an adverb.

Mabale, however, has a particle *jeŋi* (thou thus) used in the sense of "say"; e.g. *moto mosu: te ajei, jeŋi tomeŋi nebenda bwato o mokidgi*, when another man will come along here, say we could try to carry the canoe ashore. Is not *ti*, the verb, with the meaning "say" or "do thus", usually followed by a "Lautbild" or merely a gesture, as we still get it fully conjugated in Sesuto, Nyanja, and Zulu (*u-ku-ti*)?

(16) *wawi* < *o-awi*. The numeral one is *-awi*; it takes the pron. prefix *o*, to agree with class I.

(17) *amobeti*, indef. past tense of *bete*, to hit. *a-*, pers. pron. pref. subj. referring to *mwana*; *mo-*, pers. pron. pref. obj. referring to *mweti*.

(18) *baŋkolo*, sing *ŋkolo*, possessor. *baŋkolo dgiebu*. After *ŋkolo* the possessive particle is omitted. Compare Swahili: *mwenji intfi*, the lord of the country, *mwenji mali*, a rich man (a man of goods).

(19) *mweti mwango, nsina nane be:*. In this sentence *mweti mwango* is the subject and *nsina nane be:* the predicate. *nane* < *nnene*. Some say *inene*, but the prefix here is *n* with strong *i* resonance.

(20) *boko* < *baoko* is the indef. pronoun, some, certain. *boko . . . boko* = some, . . . others.

(21) *bakenda*. Subjunctive of *kenda*, to go.

(22) *bakwa*. Subjunctive of *kwa*, to take.

(23) *mpo ti*, in order to; literally matter, affair, reason thus.

(24) *babalamba*. Subjunctive of *lamba*, to cook. The first *ba-* is the pers. pron. pref. subject and refers to *batu*, people, men; the second *ba-* is the pers. pron. pref. object and refers to *bana*.

(25) *bakuki*, indef. past tense of *kuka*, to fly. *badgonggi*, indef. past tense of *dzonga*, to come back.

(26) *o mboka anggo wa bango*, at their father's. Comp. *o mboka ja anggo wa bango*, at the village of their father.

(27) *bakilililililili*, they pursued (them) with haste. Indef. past tense of a verb, probably *kila*, with reduplication of the syllable *li*. Cf. *kilingana*, to take to flight.

(28) *baibadga*, the women. < *basi-badga*. Sing. *moi* < *mosi*, e.g. *moi-dzamba*, an inhabitant of the forest, pl. *baidzamba*.

(29) *baibadgwa*. Negative indef. past tense of *dzwa*, to get. *ba-*, pers. pron. pref. subject referring to *batu*; *i-*, negative tense prefix; *ba-*, pers. pron. pref. object referring to *baibadga*.

(30) *dziidzi*, indef. past tense of *ila*, to finish. *dzi*-, pers. pron. pref. subj. referring to *dzibandza*.

(31) *bonamei*, so, in this way; practically the demonstrative pronoun of the *bo*-class, second form (in *-na*).

STORY OF THE SEVEN YOUNG GIRLS

Seven young girls set out to gather mushrooms. They saw a great many. They wanted to get a very big mushroom, and they picked one. They had hardly done so, when the whole earth began to tremble. The whole village took their spears and shields and went to fight with the children who had picked the mushrooms, and who now took to flight. As they fled they met with a big tree, called *Yengolongonda*. One child hit it a blow and the tree fell to the ground. All of them climbed to the top of the tree and the owners of the mushrooms sat down on the roots of the tree. The roots of the tree were very big. The chief said to the people: "Let some men go and fetch fire, and others take pots with pepper, that we may cook them." When the night came the girls fled to the village of their father. The people pursued them hotly. They did not catch them. Thereupon they returned to their village. That's the end of the story.

THE ORIGIN OF THE PINE-CONE DECORATION OF THE IMAMZADEHS OF KHUZISTAN

By J. M. UNVALA

(PLATE VI)

PERSIA is the land of imamzadehs or "the tombs of saints". Nearly every little town in this country is the fortunate possessor of one or more imamzadehs, to which hundreds of pilgrims come all the year round from far and near. The tomb, or very often a simulacrum of the tomb, as in the case of a good many imamzadehs no saint lies buried in it, forms its chief part, its sanctuary. There is hardly a sign of its orientation, except that the saint is buried with his face in the direction of the Kibleh. The shrine in which the tomb is placed is generally decorated by a dome. To this the imamzadehs of the province of Khuzistan in the south-west of Persia form a remarkable exception. They have all a tall cone, surmounting the flat roof of the shrine. This cone resembles a pine-cone with its series of shallow niches, which forms its only decoration. It ends in a short pointed metallic rod adorned with four metallic balls. This gilt ornament is common to most of the mosques and Muhammadan shrines.

The use of this pine-cone decoration in the imamzadehs of Khuzistan is not, I think, merely due to an architectural peculiarity. It is to be traced to Jewish influence, which was preponderant in Khuzistan up to the twelfth century of the Christian era. Benjamin of Tudela reports the existence of a considerable Jewish colony of seven thousand souls in Susa in his time (A.D. 1160-1173). Again, according to a tradition, Shuster, which succeeded to the importance of Susa after its downfall, was entirely inhabited by Jews. They are said to have accepted Islam *en masse*. If we consider the Susiana of the great Achaemenian monarchs, we see that after the liberation of the Jews from the Babylonian captivity many of their great men, like the prophet Daniel and others, not only lived in Susiana, but also held high positions at the Achaemenian court residing at Susa. Allusions to prove this are not rare in the Old Testament.

The origin of this pine-cone decoration is most probably to be traced directly to the nefeshes of the Nabataeans and indirectly, only as regards this form, to the baetulus of the Phoenicians. The word *baetulus*, Greek *βαίτυλος*, is of Semitic origin—*bēth ēl* "the house of God". It was employed generally for all sacred stones, but particularly for conic or ovoid, sometimes even for pyramidal ones. They are mostly considered to be of mysterious origin, like aeroliths, and as such they commanded the awe, admiration and adoration of primitive

peoples as divine residences of gods. The cult of baetuli was largely spread among the Phoenicians, and among peoples influenced by Phoenician civilization (Perrot et Chipiez, *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*. Tome III, Phénicie et Cypre, Paris, 1885, p. 59).

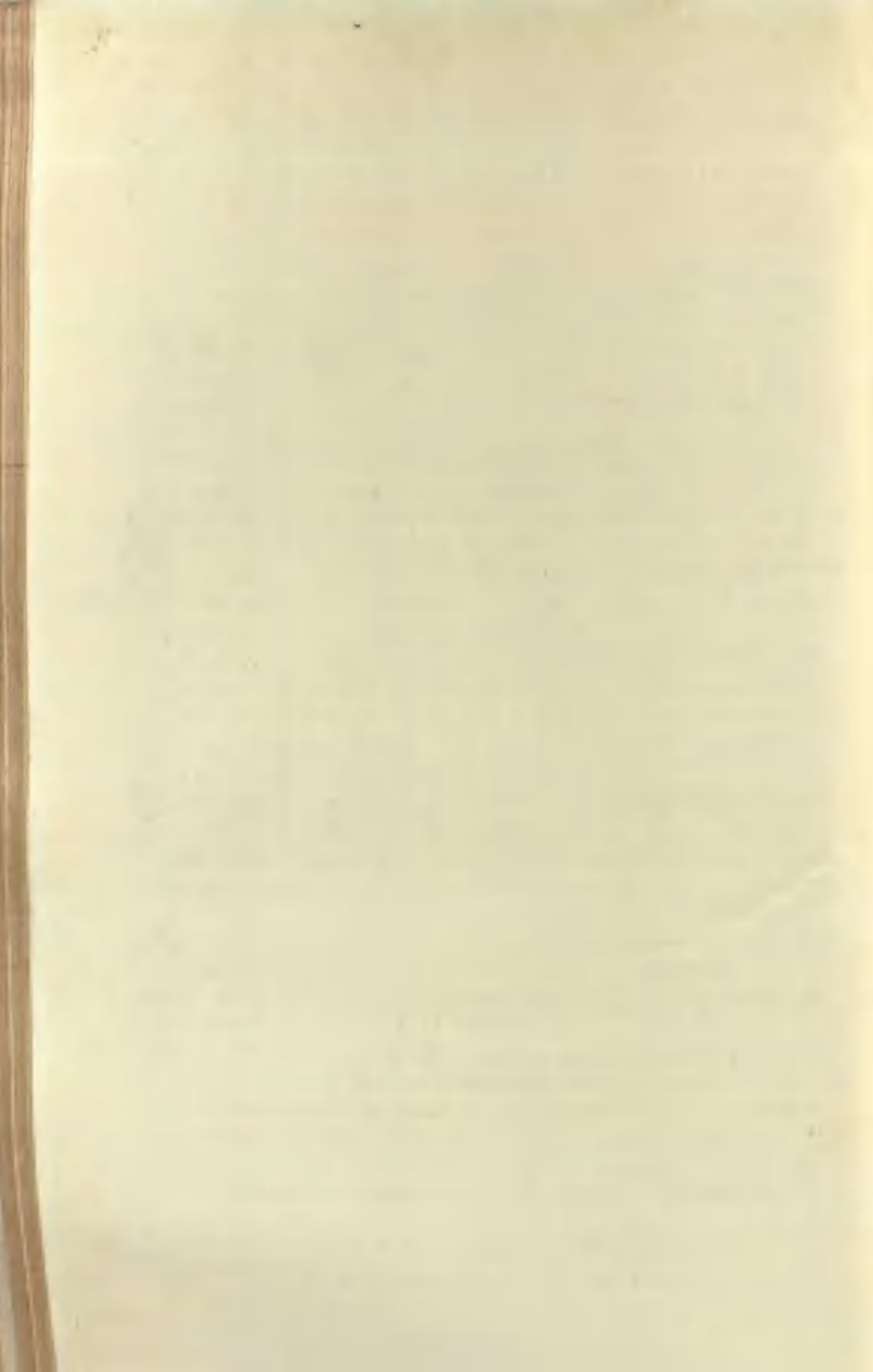
This cult of baetuli was very flourishing in the eastern provinces of the Roman empire in spite of the diffusion of Greek civilization and culture. Tacitus says that in his times Astarte-Aphrodite was worshipped in her celebrated temple of Paphos represented by a cone (Tacitus, *History*, ii, 3). The great goddess of Byblos is similarly represented by a cone, as is evident from the reverse of a coin of Byblos struck in the reign of Macrinus. The sacred stone is erected in the centre of a court encircled by porticos. This was the most celebrated baetulus of Phoenicia. Heliogabalus is reported to have been priest of the black stone of Emessa before he became emperor (*Herodian*, v, 5). This cult of baetuli was not restricted to the Syrian coast, but was spread through the whole of Syria up to the last days of paganism (Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, p. 60).

The dead are considered in all ages to lead an ultramundane life and to possess supernatural powers. They are feared and respected not seldom as demi-gods, and thus they become objects of a special cult. Stones are erected in their honour, to which offerings are brought. These stones, or cippi as they are called, are generally ovoid or pyramidal like baetuli, and are raised on a pedestal. A number of small cippi were discovered in the necropolis of Sidon. They were mostly ex-votos like those found in Malta and at Carthage. It seems that in their essential character they serve the same purpose as baetuli. They represent the dead who are demi-gods, whereas the baetuli represent gods. The cippi were erected by the Phoenicians and by peoples influenced by Phoenician civilization. They were spread as far east as the Bakhtyari Mountains, where on an isolated rock near the Teng i Saoulek there is a series of bas-reliefs of the Parthian period, one of which, according to George Rawlinson, represents the worship of a cippus by a Magian priest (Rawlinson, *The Sixth Oriental Monarchy*. London, 1873, p. 393).

At the beginning of the Christian era a cippus was attached to every Phoenician tomb. It is a small cube on which a cylindrical stone column is erected. The latter is decorated at its further end with a garland of leaves and other ornaments. The name and age of the dead are inscribed on the base. A cippus was found at the foot of every sarcophagus that was not violated. Sometimes the cippus



THE TOMB OF DANIEL, *Susa*.



formed the integral part of the sarcophagus. It is cut out in low relief on one of the smaller sides of the sarcophagus. This latter custom reminds us of the Muhammadan custom of erecting on the tomb of a man a small stone column decorated with a turban or a garland of flowers, according as the tomb appertains to a man or a woman (George Contenau, *La Civilisation Phénicienne*, Paris, 1926, p. 273).

Sometimes, as in the case of the sarcophagus of Um-el-Awâmid, a cippus mounted on a pedestal forms a sort of an altar erected in front of the sarcophagus. Such altars are not rare in Tyre. At these altars sacrifices for the dead were offered. It is possible that the small cippi found at Sidon were placed in front of the tomb itself, as is evident from a tomb of Tharros in Sardinia (Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, fig. 173 and fig. 174). In this connexion two monuments erected in the plain of Amrith in Phoenicia near the famous caves of Amrith are worth mentioning. They are cippi of a very elaborate design, one ovoid and the other pyramidal, placed near each other on the outside of the subterranean tombs of the rich. They are called *El-Awâmid-el-Megâzîl* or "spindle-columns" or only *El-Megâzîl* or "spindles". "The ovoid cippus is a masterpiece as regards its proportion, elegance and grandeur," says M. Renan, who judged it from the restoration of M. Thobias. It is about 9.50 m. high. It has a round base, flanked on all four sides by four lions with their back to the massive column, so placed that only their heads are visible. A cylindrical column surmounted by a hemisphere is raised above it. This forms a gigantic monolith cippus. Two garlands formed of sixteen big denticles and pyramidal cuttings à *gradins* encircle the column. Each garland protrudes about ten centimetres, thus forming with the base four storeys. The subterranean tomb is reached from this monument by means of fifteen steps. The second cippus is composed of two parts, the square base and a sort of a cylindrical monolith with a band in the middle and a pyramidon with five facets crowning it (Perrot et Chipiez, *op. cit.*, pp. 151 seq. and p. 149, fig. 94).

The nefeshes erected over the tombs of the Nabataeans are, I think, comparable, at least in their form, to baetuli and cippi, from which they are undoubtedly borrowed. But they are no longer the representations of gods and demi-gods to whom sacrifices are offered. They are the representations of the material soul, of the spirit of the departed, which is supposed to reside near the dead body (cf. *Syria*, vol. viii, 3, p. 261 seq.). 'Abd-'Obadath, the Nabataean strategos, erects two nefeshes over a tomb, one for his father Ithaibel and the other for his

son Ithaibel, who were killed in the war between Aretas IV and Herodus Antipas. The inscription which mentions this fact is dated A.D. 37 (Corpus Inscriptionum Semiticarum II, 196). The spiritual soul, the *ruah*, is never represented by the Nabataeans.

The famous "tomb of Absalom" in Jerusalem, which is hardly older than the Seleucide period, according to M. Perrot (Perrot et Chipiez, op. cit., Tome IV, Judée, etc., p. 278) is surmounted by a sort of a truncated cone, bulging out at the base, from which flames (?) are emerging. Is it not possible to interpret this cone as a nefesh erected over the tomb? In that case this nefesh would be doubly interesting, firstly as it would give us an idea of the nefeshes of the Nabataean tombs, of which it would be the precursor, and secondly as it would approach the form of the pine-cone decoration over the imamzadehs of Khuzistan. This peculiar pine-cone shape is most probably derived from the famous stalactite decorations of Persian architecture.

To sum up this paper, the pine-cone decoration of the shrine of the tomb of Daniel in Susa, and those of other imamzadehs of Khuzistan, shows the influence of the Jewish architectural tradition which produced "the tomb of Absalom". Similar pine-cone decoration is also found in Iraq, where Jewish tradition was very powerful as late as the twelfth century A.D. The domes of the imamzadehs of the rest of Persia go back certainly to the Sassanian architectural tradition, which is still kept up in Persia and other countries working under the influence of the Persian tradition. This tradition is so persistent that the new imamzadeh of Dizful built about five years ago has a pine-cone decoration over the sanctuary.

Finally, it must be remarked that in a site as old as Susa we see the two architectural traditions, Sasanian and Jewish, existing side by side. Besides the famous tomb of Daniel, Susa possesses two other imamzadehs, both reputed to be very old, which have domes and not pine-cones decorating their sanctuaries. It is interesting to note that when a new imamzadeh is built in Khuzistan the sanctuary is decorated invariably by a pine-cone, whereas in the case of the two old imamzadehs of Susa, which were recently rebuilt on their ancient sites, the sanctuaries are surmounted by domes as of old. Susa, though it had lost its importance as the chief centre of Khuzistan already in the time of Shapur I, retained its prestige as a considerable town in Sasanian times. It must have, therefore, possessed a couple of fire-temples, which like many others were either turned into mosques or imamzadehs by the Zoroastrians converted to Islam.

THE BIRTH OF LORIK
(MAGAHĪ TEXT)

Edited by SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON

IT has been my happy privilege to contribute a paper to the volume of Indian Studies lately published in honour of my old friend Professor Lanman.¹ It was an English translation of the Indian legend of the Birth of Lōrik, and, in the following pages, I endeavour to complete the presentation by giving the original text on which that translation was founded.

In the Province of Bihār, and in the United Provinces of Agra and Audh, the Gōwālās (*Gōpālakas*) or Ahīrs (*Abhīras*) are well known as an important pastoral tribe. Their caste-profession is cattle-keeping and selling milk and its products, and, though the milk they sell is not always free from suspicion—witness many proverbs—they are, as a body, looked upon with some consideration. There is a famous tribal legend concerning an Ahīr named Lōrik that is very popular among them, and the long folk-epic describing his birth and adventures is sung at all their festivals. A Bihār proverb runs:—

ketnō Ahirā hōhī siyānā

Lōrik chārī na gāwahī ānā.

“However learned an Ahīr be

Nothing but Lōrik singeth he.”

In the cold weather of 1888-9 I found myself in camp at Rajauli, the traditional scene in the Gayā District of the birth and early adventures of this Lōrik, and succeeded in getting copies of two recensions of the whole huge poem, taken down from the mouths of two reciters of repute. In the present paper I confine myself to giving the text of the first canto, as translated in the *Indian Studies* above referred to. In the former article, I dealt with the poem from the point of view of a student of Indian religions, and showed how, among the peasants of Northern India, the worship of Indra has still persisted, in the face of the Vaiṣṇava and Śaiva cults of the city classes. The present text will, I hope, be found to be of interest to students of Indian languages.

The poem is called a *Gīt*, or song, because, in recitation, it is sung or, rather, chanted; but, although uttered in measured phrases, it cannot be said to be in verse. Like other folk epics of northern

¹ *Indian Studies in Honor of Charles Rockwell Lanman*, Harvard University Press, 1929, pp. 243 ff.

India, it is composed in short sentences, the length and general swing of each of which are governed by the convenience of the singer's breath and by the rhythm of the chant. Whatever these short sentences are, they are certainly not metrical verse, whether we measure by accent, by length of syllables, or by counting syllabic instants.

The language of the poem, of course, varies from place to place. As recorded for me it was naturally couched in the dialect of the Gayā district, that is to say, in the Magahī dialect of the Bihārī language, which, with a few slight irregularities, is the same as that described in vol. iii of my *Seven Grammars of the Dialects and Sub-dialects of the Bihārī Language*, and on pp. 30 ff. of vol. v, pt. ii, of the *Linguistic Survey of India*. Very few examples of this dialect have hitherto been printed. Here and there, as might be expected in a widely known poem of this description, we come across borrowings from other dialects, as, for instance, the word *raiūrā* (< *rājakulaka*-) (225), the polite Bhojpurī form of the pronoun of the second person. Such irregularities will give rise to no difficulty, nor will the frequent nasalization of final vowels, which, as a rule, is not recorded in the grammars.

Attention may be drawn to the very common use of interjections, usually little more than pleonastic. Note, however, that *hō* is used in addressing a male, and *gē* when addressing a female. *Kī rē daībē*, literally, "What, O Fate!" is a common equivalent to our "Lo and behold!" or "What do you think happened next!" A typical Magahī interjection is *rē*, O! In other parts of India the use of this word is more or less insulting, and, except in abuse, its employment is prohibited by good manners. But, even in ancient times it was noted as a word of customary conversation in Māgadhī Prakrit,¹ and in the modern speech of the Magadha country, or Magah, it is very common, and, especially in interrogative sentences, is used without the slightest tinge of disrespect. There are many stories based on this peculiarity of the Magahī dialect. For instance, we have the verse:—

Magah dēs hai Kañcan-purī
dēs bhalā hai, bhākhā burī.
rahalā Magah, kahalā "rē",
tekarā-la kā marabē, rē.

¹ Compare the *Prākṛa-kalpitarā*, II, ii, 28 (Māgadhī section), *sambōdhanē* . . . "alē" as "lē lē". There is a somewhat similar use of *rē* in modern Bengali.

"Magah land is a golden scene;
The country's fine, but the speech is mean.
I lived there once, and hence my 'rē'.
Why do you drub me, rē, Sir, pray?"

The unfortunate speaker of this doggerel had once lived in Magadha, and had acquired the habit of using "rē" in every sentence. In some other part of India he does this and gets a drubbing for the insult; yet, so ingrained is the habit that, even while apologizing, he utters the objectionable word.

The text is printed in two versions, as given by the two different reciters. They differ considerably, but are mutually complementary. For further particulars, see the article in *Indian Studies*.

अथ गीत लोरिक ।

। जलमउती ।

सात तो भइअवा हई वावा इंंदरन । आठौं वहिनियाँ देवी दुखगा ।
इंदरासन के मालिक वावा इंंदरन । भइया में वहिनियाँ बखरा वाँटलकउ
। ५ । राज इंंदरासन इंंदरन लेलखनी । देवी दुखगा मरत भुअन देलन ।
देवी दुखगा अइलइ राज मरत भुअन । रात भरि रहलइ राज मरत भुअन ।
जब देवी अइलइ राज मरत भुअन । १० । कोई नर नहीं लेखी दुखगा के
नइकाँ मरत भुअन । राति वो भरि रहलइ गली गँदउरवा में । कोई नर
नहीं जपर दुखगा केरी नाम हो । प्रहइ बात बोलइ हो राज मरतन केरा ।
प्रह तो अइलउ झंडी रकसिनिया रे । १५ । ओ रे बछी सभ के अब करतउ
सँघार रे ।

रतिया भरि मरत में गमउलकइ । बिहने उठि चललइ हो इंंदरासन
हो । अगे माई सँउचे देहिया अगिया लगउलकइ । सँउचे देहिया दुखगा
अगिया लगउलकइ । २० । खपरी नेसले जटा उमइउले हो । सोझी भरलइ
देवी इंंदरासन दरबार हो । पीते पितलइ देवी आइ हलइ । अगे माई
गोसवो कपइते जा हइ देहिया हो । लागी चउकठिया हो ठाढ़ भेलउ
देवी दुखगा हो । २५ । नजरी उठाइ अब देखथी इंंदर-रानियन । तब
बात बोलइ हो इंंदर-रानियन । सुन हो सुन हो शामी इंंदरन । किआ
कचहरिया हो शामी लगउले हई । तोहरी वहिनियाँ हो दुखरा ठाढ़
हउ । ३० । एक तो सराप हो शामी देलकउ । हे शामी सातवो भइयन
भेलन निरबंस । अवरी सराप जो शामी देलकउ । हे सइयाँ सँउचे
इंदरासन जरि जइतउ हो । वइठो के जगहिया न देवी रखतउ । ३५ ।

वइठल हथी हो वावा इंंदरन । अउर वइठल हथी मुख मोहन वरिया
भागीरथ । वइठल चारो भइया चउधुरी हो देवान हो । तेब बात बोलइ

हो बाबा इंदरन । सुनहीं गे सुनहीं बहिनी देविया गे । ४० । तोरियो बहिनियाँ बखरा गे बाँटलूँ गे । तोहरी परलउ राज मरतव के । हमरा परलउ गे इंदरासन गे । हमहाँ रहलियउ गे इंदरासन में । तोहरा भेजलियउ राज मरतव गे । ४५ । कउन अइसन दुख मरतव परलउ । की रे देवी घुरि अहलहीं इंदरासन दरवार । तेकरी जवाब हो देवी देव° हइ । सातो भइया राज इंदरासन लेलहीं के । हमरा देलहीं मरत भुषन भेजाइ हो । ५० । रतिया भरि गलिया हो नेंदउरवा में रहनूँ । कोई नर नहीं नगर लेधी दुखगा के नाम हो । प्रहो बतिया बोलउ लोग मरत के । प्रह तो अइलउ झंडी रकनिय्या रे । सभ के सेंघार वो रे करतउ । ५५ । प्रहइ बतिया बोल° हउ मरत लोग ।

अब नहीं घुरि जइवउ राज मरतव हो । जा-लागी न सेवक देव° अकुतो नंद । ता-लागी घुरि न जइवउ राज मरत भुषन । तेकरी अवविया इंदरन देव° हथी । ६० । सुनहीं गे सुनहीं बहिनी देविया गे । सोरह सर सेवक इंदरासन में । की गे बहिनी चुनि सेवक लेहीं झोँटिआइ हो । सोरह सर सेवक ठाढ़ करलउ बाबा इंदरन । की ठाढ़ करलइ दुखगा के भीर में । ६५ । नजरी हिआइ दुखगा देख° हइ । अबे बात बोलइ देवी दुखगा हो । सुनहीं हो सुनहाँ भइया इंदरन । प्रहो की सेवकवा मोरा देखावहीं । ज-लागी न सेवक देवही अकुतो नंद । ७० । ए भइया त-लगू न जइवउ मरत भुषन राज हो । तवे बात बोलइ बाबा इंदरन । सुनहीं गे सुनहीं बहिनी देविया गे । कहाँ परवहीं गे अकुतो नंद । की गे बहिनी ओही सेवक मरि हेरा गेलउ । ७५ । तेकरी अवविया दुखगा देव° हइ । सुनहीं हो सुनहाँ भइया इंदरन । प्रहो तो कहनवा नहीं पतिअइवउ । एतना अवविया भइया हो देहीं मोर । जहाँ लुकइवउ हमर अकुतो नंद । ८० । जहाँ से सेवका हम हो परवउ । एतना झकुमिया इंदरन देहीं मोर । की हो इंदरन खोजि सेवक लेवउ हो निकालि हो । तेकरी अवविया इंदरन देलखनी । जहाँ सेवक मिलउ गे अकुतो नंद । ८५ । की गे बहिनी तहाँ से सेवक खोजि निकालीं हो । झकुम देलखनी बाबा इंदरन ।

घुरि घुरि इंदरासन देवी खोज° हइ । कहाँ नहीं मिलइ हो अकुतो नंद । झई से चललइ हो देवी दुखगा हो । ९० । की रे दरवा जुमलइ नंदन के वन । सोरह सर परियाँ हो नंदन वन । सोरहो सर परियाँ हो नचाव° हलइ अकुतो नंदन वन । जेरओ जेरओ परियाँ नई हो नाच° हथीं । मूड़ी काटि डिगरी बनाव° हइ अकुतो नंद । ९५ । देहिया काटि तबला बनाव° हइ । जैंधिया काटि सरंगी बनाव° हइ । हाथ काटि लकड़ी बनाव° हइ अकुतो नंद । सोरह सती परियाँ नचाव° हइ नंदन वन । जाइये जुमलइ देवी वो दुखगा हो ।

१०० । नजरी उठाइ अकुतो नंद देवी दुखगा कन्हीं देख° हइ । की रे दरवा भगलइ बरनी फुलवारी हो । वुतइ से वनरिया दुखगा ले

हर । सुन रे सुन बबुआ वुतखानी । जेउ मरद अबगन नाच लगउले
हलर । १०५ । की रे बाबू सेह मरद केने भाग गेलउ । तेकरी जवविया
वुतख अव दे हथ । सुनहीं मे सुनहीं देवी दुखगा मे । जेउ मरद अबगन
नाच लगउले हलर । तोरे पर नजरिया दुखगा परलर । ११० । की मे भाग
के गेलउ बदलर फुलवरिया रे । बदली फुलवरिया दुखगा जुमलर ।
घुरि घुरि फुलवरिया दुखगा खोज° हर । की रे दरवा कहहीं नहीं मिलर
अकुतो नंद लाल हो ।

जअउँ से अगारी दुखगा बदलर । ११५ । की रे दरवा गेलर महादेव
फुलवारी । घुरि घुरि महादेव फुलवरिया दुखगा खोज° हर । की रे
दरवा कहहीं नहीं मिलर अकुतो नंद लाल हो । जअउँ से दुखगा अगारी
बदलउ । की रे दरवा गेलर दुखगा महादेव के भीर हो । १२० । कठिन
पुजवा बदल बाबा महादेव अवे । की रे दरवा उठ° के जकुम नहीं हर
हो । सवा मन घीआ गूगल जलाव° हर बाबा महादेव अवे । पुरवे मुँहे
बदल बाबा महादेव अवे । की रे दरवा बदल हथी आसनी लगाद
हो । १२५ । तवे बात बोलर दुखगा महादेव सती° । सुनहीं हो सुनहाँ भइया
महादेव अवे । कठिनहीं पुजवा हहीं बदल तोही । की हो भइया कहाँ
रखल° अकुतो नंद । तेकरी जकुमिया महादेव देव° हथी । १३० । सुनहीं
मे सुनहाँ वहिन देविया मे । नहीं यहाँ अदलर हो अकुतो नंद । की मे
दरवा होतउ इंदरासन दरवार हो । तवे बात बोलर देवी दुखगा हो ।
ए से घुरि हेमँ भइया हो नहीं जइवउ । १३५ । ज-लगी दोनो बहियाँ नहीं
उठावहोक । त-लगी पाछे घुरि डेग नहीं देवउ हेमँ । एतना बतिया
दुखगा बोललर । की रे दरवा हँसर बाबा महादेव भभाद हो । दोनो
बहियाँ उठइले बाबा महादेव अवे । १४० । की रे दरवा अकुतो नंद अब
गेलर बहरार हो । जव अकुतो नंद बहरइलर । दउड़ि झौंटिया पकड़र
देवी दुखगा हो । तवे बात बोलर देवी दुखगा हो । अरे केते हरनियाँ
करले अकुतो नंद । १४५ । की रे अकुतो चलहीं मरत भुचन राज हो ।
तवे बता बोलर हो अकुतो नंद । सुनहीं मे सुनहीं देवी दुखगा मे । ज-लगी
हम न जइवउ इंदरासन हेमँ ने जइवउ । की मे दुखगा त-लगी मरत भुचन
डेग नहीं देवउ ।

१५० । जअई से चललर देवी दुखगा अकुतो नंद । की रे दरवा
दोनो गेलर इंदरासन दरवार हो । जइ के ठाड़ भेलर अकुतो नंद । जइ
के ठाड़ भेलर इंदरासन मेनी । की ठाड़ भेलर इंदरासन के भीर हो । १५५ ।
नजरी उठाइ इंदरन देख° हथी° । मने मन पक़ताव° हर बाबा इंदरन ।
केतवर जुलुम देवी करलहीं मे । की मे देविया खोज लेलहीं अकुतो नंद
लाल मे । अगे सोरह सर सेवक हलउ इंदरासन मेनी । १६० । के चुनि
सेवक लेइतीं झौंटिआइ हो । चुनिये सेवकवा मोरा जेतहीं मे । की मे देविया
ओआ मै आवत अपमोस हो । अगे सँवचे इंदरासन राइ मे करले हीं मे ।

अगे मनी येकवार ले ले जाहीं ने । १६५ । सातो भइया हमें इंदरनी । सातो के सेवक सेवा कर° हलइ । सवा सेर सरसो तरइथी तले सेवक गार° हलउ । सातो भइया अंग मरद° हलइ । बड़ सेवा कर° हलउ अकुतो नंद । १७० । अगे वहिनी सैंउमे इंदरासन कहले हीं विरान हो ।

तवे वाता बोलइ बाबा इंदरनहीं । सुनहीं रे सुनहीं अकुतो नंद । जवे तोरा झोंटिअउले वहिनी देविये रे । की रे सेवक जाहीं मरत भुअन राज हो । १७५ । अवे वात बोलइ अकुतो नंद । काँदिये काँदिये अकुतो नंद बोल° हइ । हाथ जोड़ उजुरिया अब लगाव° हइ अकुतो नंद । सुनहीं हो सुनहीं बाबा इंदरनहीं । तमाँ पीठ बहियाँ बनावहीक । १८० । ओही पर लिखिन हो इंदर करहीक । जेओ जेओ हम हो लिखइवउ । की हो इंदरन लिखि देहीं कलमाँ ओ दात हो । एते बतिया अकुतो नंद बोल° हइ । तब वात बोलइ बाबा इंदरनहीं । १८५ । सुनहीं रे सुनहीं रे अकुतो नंद । कउन से कलमिया लिखवहीक । तेकरी अवबिया अकुतो नंद देव° हइ । सुनहीं हो सुनहीं बाबा इंदरनहीं । एतना उजुरिया हमें माँग° हिअउ । १९० । एहि तो हरफ तो बहियाँ लिखहीक । जा-लागी ने देवहीं किशुन आसन घोड़ काटर मोर । ज-लगी दोओ तिरियवा जाँच में नहीं लिखवहीं । सोरह सइ परियाँ इंदरासन मेनी । की सोरहो सइ से किशुन अमुना केल कहलकउ । १९५ । दोए तिरिया अकुत इंदरन मरलउ । के दोनो तिरिया अमुना में दहि के मरलउ । सेह दोनो तिरिया जँघिया लिखहीक । अरु लिखहीं बाबा इंदरनहीं । जा-लागी ने पिठिये भार ने लिखवहीं । २०० । तवे-लागी नहीं हम देवउ मरत भुअन डेग हो । ज-लगी न देवहीं खाँड़ मइगर कतरी भीमसेन । हाथ के खाँड़ मइगर नहीं लिखवहीं । की हो बाबा इंदरन ता-लगी हम देवउ मरत भुअन नहीं डेग हो । अरु हो लिखहीं बाबा इंदरनहीं । २०५ । जेउओ तिरिया पुरुष तप करले होती । जेउओ तिरिया पुरुष सूतल होतउ कुस के चटाइ में । वारहो वरिस जेउ सुतलिओ होतउ । तेकरी कोखिया जलम मोर लिखहींक । की हो इंदरन तवे हमें मरत देवउ डेग हो ।

२१० । बइठल हथी बाबा इंदरन । अरु बइठल गउरी गनपती । अरु बइठल पाँचो पण्डनहीं । अरु ए बइठल गुरू मोहन बरिया भागीरथ । की रे दरवा बइठल चारो भइया चउधरी देवान हो । २१५ । तामइ केरी बहिया निकाल° हइ । की लिखे भइया चारो चउधरी देवान हो । पहिले लिख° हइ किशुन आसन घोड़ काटर हो । तवे लिख° हइ खाँड़ मइगर । कतरी भीमसेन हाथ के खाँड़ मइगर लिख° हइ । २२० । तवे तो लिख° हइ दोनो तिरियवा हो । तवे तो पिठिया भइया लिख° हइ । तेकरी अवबिया इंदरन देव° हथी । सुनहीं रे सुनहीं अकुतो नंद । नहीं तोरा पिठिया भइया तोरा न लिख° हउ । २२५ । हठी रउरा मूर तोरा नहीं मान° हउ । की रे अकुतो नंद लिख देली एक दुध के भार । रे हम गइले

वनउले भइया भेजवउ । की रे अकुतो नंद वहे तो तोरा दुध भाइ हो ।
तवे तो लिख^० हइ बाबा इंदरन । २३० । गउरे के पच्छिम कलउंदी गाँवाँ ।
तहई बासले हइ बूढ़ कुँअर ओ बूढ़ खुल्हनी । वही तिरिया पुरुष मरत
भुअन में बारह बरिस तप कइले हइ । बाँझी तो बैझिनियाँ नाम परले
हइ । बारहो बरिस रे बाबू तप करते वितलइ । २३५ । तबो नहीं बाँझ
बैझिनियाँ नाम छुटले हइ । तेरहो बरिस नुनुआँ चढ़लइ । अबे तिरिया
पुरुष गंगवा धासन चलउ । ओकरी कोखिया जलम लिख रे देलिअउ ।

यहाँ तो लिखिये इंदरन देलखनी । २४० । तवे चारो कोना राज
लिख^० हइ । तवे एक कलमिया टेढ़ कर लिखन्ही । की रे दइवा कउ
महीना लिखन कोइलाँ वनसार हो ।

लिखन पठन सबे भेलखनी । तवे बहिया समेटे पटवरिया हो । २४५ ।
ओहिये साइतिया ओहिये घरिया हो । की रे दइवा तिरिया पुरुष गंगवा
ले हइ धासन हो । अबे धासन तिरिया पुरुष लेल चललइ । सुतले सपनवा
दुहगा देलकइ । मतू धासन लेहीं बूढ़ी गे खुल्हनी । २५० । हमरे सेवकवा
गे अकुतो नंद इंदरासन के । लिखन पठन करिये हम अइलिअउ । की गे
खुल्हनी तोरी कोख में अउतार लेतउ गे । ओही साइतिये ओही घरिये
हो । की रे दइवा अकुतो नंद गरभ रही गेलउ हो । २५५ । अबे तो नउ
महीना कोखिया गेले बूढ़ी खुल्हनी हो । की रे दस महीना अकुतो नंद
लेलकइ अउतार हो । अब तो जलमिया मरता लेलकइ । ब्रह्मन बोलाइ
नइयाँ गनउलकइ । रास के नइयाँ हइ अकुतो नंद । २६० । की रे दइवा
दुलरे नइयाँ धरलइ जोरिक खंजार ।

In the following verses, which were collected from a different reciter, much of the preceding matter is repeated. They commence with invocations to Rāma and to Durgā.

उठइत राम राम बइठइत राम राम । राम के नाम जउँ हम जनइतूँ
तो कैचा पिन्डी हम देतूँ बना । गंगा जी के बैंगउटी माटी ला के पिन्डी
देतूँ नीपा । भाग बेरी सुमिर लेतूँ माता भगेशरी । २६५ । रहनी परे
दुहगा मा । इति सुमिरन ।

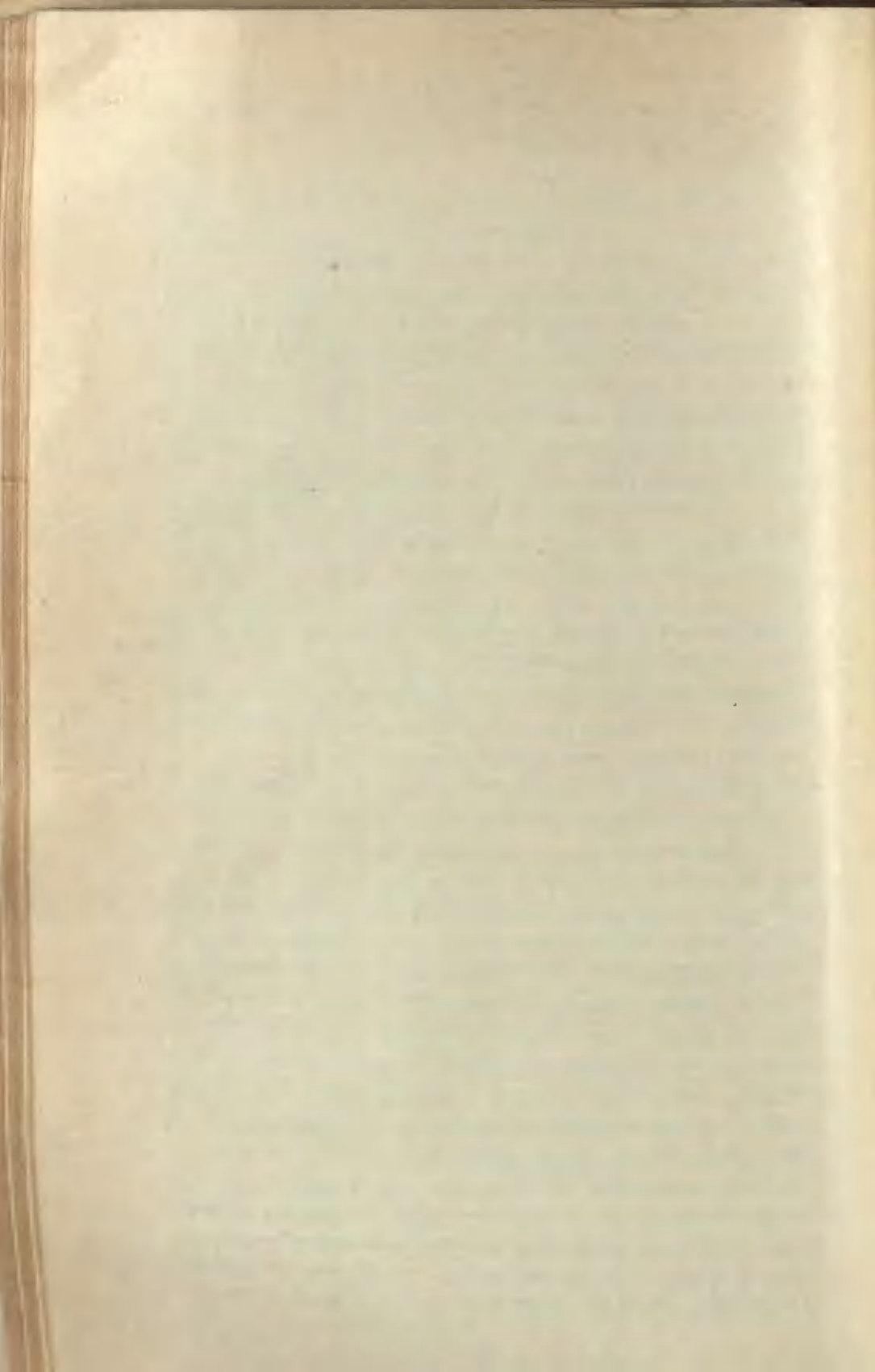
तव बोल उठलइ दुहगा मा । इंदर जी हमरा भेजलइ मरत भुअन ।
मरत भुअन में एक कर बइठल मोरा भेल । जाँघ में दीया लागि
गेल । २७० । तव मरत भुअन से उठ के दुहगा कविलास गेल । लेदरा
चेथरा पहिर के । खाँची भर के झाखुर फहरा के । रैड़ के पोकइ ठेऊरी
लगइले जाइ । जा के दुहगा इंदरासन के दुआरे भइलन ठार । २७५ ।
सातो भइया इंदरन सब दुहगा के देख के कपिइमान । तव इंदरन सब
बहिनी सो कहलक फरमाइस । कउन बतुस तोरा घटलउ के मरत भुअन
मे अइले कविलास ।

तब बोल उठल मर्या दुख्खा इंदरन सब समझा । हम भागल एता
मर्या मरत भुञ्जन । २८० । तीन अपराध सहल न जाइ । एतवर जोधा
मिरिजले हइ मरत भुञ्जन में । राजा हरेवा राजा परेवा अउ जोधा जोधी
पउरा । राजा हरेवा एतवर हइ अधम चँडाल । जउन कहदिया के
बंदीसार में बाँधे हइ । २८५ । बूढ़ा कहदी मर मर जाइ । अउ जुआन
कहदी बूढ़ा हो जाइ । राजा हरेवा के मंची मनार जीत । ओ भी अधम
चँडाल । कहदिया लोगन के अउटि अउटि के पनिया पिलावइ । २९० ।
अउ पाव पाव भर के चुनी चोकर के लिटिया खिलावइ । तेकरा में के आधा
आधा मंची ले लेइ । अदमी अन बिनु भुञ्जल अदमी के मास तीर के
खाइ । एतवर बरियार जोधी निकटपुर जोधिया । पवर अधम चँडाल । २९५ ।
सोरह सद कनिया के रखल हइ कुमार । जउन कनिया के आवे हइ
वरियात । गभरू मार के कनिया के एक रात रखे हइ सुताइ । जतिया
हरन के छोड़ दे हइ हो । एक गउरा में हलइ बुढ़िया गोआरिन । ३०० ।
नाम खुलहन निति उठि गंगा नेहाइ निति उठि दे हइ धूप जमाँध । से
तिरिया के परल हइ बाँझी नाम । हे इंदर जी हमरा बरिया दे दो ।

तब मर्या दुख्खा इंदरासन में भेली ठाढ़ । तब इंदर सब कहिन
अप्पन सेवक लेऊ उठाइ । ३०५ । तब मर्या दुख्खा ईसर महादेव के
लेलकइ पकर । तब ईसर महादेव गेलइ पराय । तब डाँक दानव के दुख्खा
लेलक पकर । तब डाँक दानव भी सब गेला भाग । मरत भुञ्जन में आवे
के कोई न करइ कबूल । ३१० । तब दुख्खा गेलन जमुना के किनार । तब
बबुआ कन्हैया जी खेल हला लड़िका के सरूप । तब दुख्खा बाँह धरि
के लेलकइ पकर । चल बबुआ हमरा साथ मरत भुञ्जन । हे दुख्खा मर्या
हम न जइवउ मरता के भुञ्जन । ३१५ । हमरा सात जलम मरता के भुञ्जन
में भेल हइ । पहिला जलम भेलइ हम मर्या दुख्खा मकरी-घर जलम ।
तब मूँहा सब बझाइ के माँस बेचि के खरलक । तब जलम भेलइ गे मर्या
दुख्खा वराह के रूप । राड़ लोगन मर्या भौक मारि देलन । ३२० ।
तब जलम भेलइ मर्या दुख्खा देवकी केर पेट । तब गे मर्या दुख्खा मामू
हलइ परम चँडाल । सेई मोर मर्या बाप के बाँध के नाइ देलक
बैधीखान । आधी रात भादो के महीना में जलम मोरा भेल । तब इंदरन
सब सोनौ के घुड़िया भेज देल । ३२५ । तब बाबा इंदरन जीरा अउ
जवहनिया के बोरसी देल भराइ । तब राजा कंस के खबरिया चलि गेलइ ।
तब राजा कंस मोरा खोजे जो अइलइ । तब हम जइसे जइसे उठे हलइ
पुनिया के चाँद । तइसे तइसे हमहूँ बड़ के भेलूँ हल जुआन । ३३० । बाँस
के बैसलिया ले के जमुना गेलूँ हल किनार । तब कन्हैया बैसली बजाइ के
मोरह सद राधिका के लेलन बोलाइ । तब सोरह सद राधिका मटुका
लेलक उठाइ । तब राधे सब चलजी जमुना के किनार । दही मोर खा गेल
मटुकिया देलक फोर । ३३५ । धरि बैहिया मोरा देलक झिकझोर ।

चिरवा पहिरले मोरा देलक ले के फारि । तव राधिका सब कंस हिँआँ
जा के कइलक हइ गोहार । सुनहाँ हो सुनहीं मोरा कंस बात । देवकी
पेटवा में कहइया पइदा लेल । ३४० । सोई मोरा कइलक बारहो
विगोह । तव कंस राजा जमुना किनारे जाइ गेल । तव बोलइ कहइया जी
कंस समुझाइ । सुनइ न सुन मोरा कंस मामू बात । हमरा मइया बाप के तू
कइल० हले विगोहर । ३४५ । अब हम तोहर मूँड़ काट कर राज लेवउ
हथिआइ । तव बोल० हइ कंस राजा कहइया समुझाइ । सुनइ न कहइया
तू बचन हमार । हमरा मार के कहइया लेव० राज हथिआइ । हमरा
दूइये बात केर देवइ पुराइ । ३५० । राख केर जोरवा देह न बटाइ ।
धूआँ केर कपड़ा देहीं न विनवाइ । तव हमर मूँड़ काट के लोह० तूहीं ।
तव कहइया जी राख केर जोरवा देलन बटाइ । अउर धूआँ केर कपड़ा
देलन विनवाइ । ३५५ । तव राजा कंस के मूँड़िया लेलक काटि । तव राज
करि लेलकइ कहइया जी सर्वेस हाथ में ।

तव कहइया जी धइलन भँँरा के सरूप । तव जाइ भँँरा बइठलइ
फुलवा के पास । तव मइया दुइगा बँहिया धरि लेलकइ पकर । ३६० ।
हमरा मइया दुइगा लेले जाँ ह० भीरि । जमुअन कउन कउन चीज के
खाए के झकुम देव० मोर । कउन चीज मइया दुइगा देव० पीए ला मोर ।
कउन हथियरवा मइया दुइगा देव० काँधे ला मोर । केकरा संगे मइया
दुइगा होतइ मोर बियाह । ३६५ । तवे मइया दुइगा देव० हइ जवाव ।
खाए केर मिलतउ बाबू अस्सी भट्टी रोज । अस्सी खस्सी चखना मिलतउ
रोज । अस्सी मन के खाँड़ा देवउ हथियार । बहंतर मन के बबुआ तोरा रे
अड़ान । ३७० । चउरासी मन के देवउ बबुआ कमर कटार । अउर चढ़ने
के देवउ बबुआ घोड़वा काटर । अउर पहिला विअहवा होतउ दउगा
मौंजर साथे । दोसरे उदार होतउ चँदाइन के साथ । तव तू राज करे
जइवे विकटपुर अगउड़ी के भूम । ३७५ । तव राजा करिंगा धरि के
बाँधतउ कवे रे महिनवा । तवे कवे महीना बबुआ रखतउ तोरा कुम्हरा के
आवा में । कवे तो महिनवा रहवे बबुआ नदिया गढ़ाने में । तोरा लोह
केर मार० से नहीं मरवहीं । अगिन के भाषी में तू नहीं मरवहीं । ३८० ।
अउर नदिया गढ़ाने में तू नहीं मरवहीं । तोरा मरन हम कउनो नहीं
लिखिअउ । पहिले राजा करमा बबुआ राजा हरेवा केर मारी । तव तो
कहइया जी उहाँ से चलि भेलइ । रास के नइयाँ लिख० हइ इंदर देव
बनावार । ३८५ । दुलार सेति नइयाँ होतउ विरवा लोरिक । अब दुइगा
चलि भेल बुढ़िया खुलहन केर पास । मइया दुइगा देलकइ फुलवा मुँघाइ ।
तव बुढ़िया खुलहन के गरभ रहि गेल । नवे तो महिनवे लोरिक पइदा
भेल । ३९० । बारहे वरस लोरिक भेलइ सेवान । तव भीत राजल धोबी
अउर लोरिक कर० हइ पोखरिया पर दंड । अउर उहाँ सहरा सती अउर
बिजाधर दूनो देखि के लोरिक के पड़ा मुमुकाइ ॥



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

THE GEORGE EUMORFOPOULOS COLLECTION CATALOGUE OF THE CHINESE AND COREAN BRONZES, SCULPTURE, JADES, JEWELLERY AND MISCELLANEOUS OBJECTS. By W. PERCEVAL YETTS. Vol. I: Bronzes, Ritual and Other Vessels, Weapons, etc. $17\frac{1}{2} \times 12\frac{1}{2}$, pp. xii + 89, pls. 75 + figs. 46. London: Ernest Benn, 1929. £12 12s.

The long first chapter, "Inscriptions on Bronzes" in Mr. Yetts' book is certainly by far the best introduction to the study of Chinese script and palæography that has been published so far. It is written with a strictly scientific exactitude and thoroughness, and at the same time it is easily read and interesting, with a good sense of what is essential and what can be left unsaid.

Mr. Yetts starts with a review of the traditional opinion of the history and evolution of Chinese writing, such as is embodied in the introduction to the dictionary *Shuo wên kie tsī* by Hū Shên. Then the author gives a rapid survey of the recent discoveries, which have forced us considerably to modify our views. If it ought to have been obvious long ago that the traditions about the most ancient stages of the Chinese script are so many myths, we now have to change our opinions still more radically, thanks to the discovery of the Honan oracle bones. The works of Lo Chên-yü, Wang Kuo-wei, Takata Tadasuke, and L. C. Hopkins now have to be taken into serious account.

The detailed discussion of the "six scripts" is useful and necessary as a background for all that follows. I wish to point out, however, a statement which must be said to be erroneous or at least misleading. Mr. Yetts says (p. 9): "Many words, formerly homophonous, have changed in pronunciation with lapse of time; and so the Phonetic Compounds . . . no longer represent a phonetic mode of script." Instead of "homophonous" one should say "nearly homophonous", for according to all linguistic experience there is a law—formulated by the "Junggrammatici" half a century ago—that the same sound combinations under the same conditions develop in exactly the same way. Hence, two words really homophonous in Archaic Chinese, say two different *kap*, could never develop into phonetically different forms in modern Chinese, so that one became, for example, *ko* and the other *kao* or something of that kind. They will always run along together, whatever their evolution might be, so that both become

ko in Pekinese and both *kâp* in Cantonese, etc. (except isolated deviations due to mixing of dialects). But if they were only *nearly* homophonous, the result of a diverging evolution may prove disastrous, in the way Mr. Yetts has in view. A *kap* becomes a Pekinese *ko*, and served as phonetic in a *kîap*, which has become (*kjâp* > *kiâ* >) *chie* in Peking—and then certainly the *hie shêng* character “no longer represents a phonetic mode of script”. Mr. Yetts in a very happy way brings out the results of recent researches, and adds materially to them himself, as, for instance, in the discussion of the existence of the writing brush already in the oldest script epochs.

A much more dangerous topic is the question whether the various script types, *ku-wên*, great seal, small seal, etc., are to be considered as consecutive stages, in accordance with the traditional opinion, or as parallel and co-existing modes of writing. It is the fashion at present to go very far in the latter direction, and Mr. Yetts unreservedly endorses the views of Lo Chên-yü to the effect that Li Si (or the experts which at his command made the small seal the standard writing of the Ts'in dynasty—whether Li or his coadjutors were responsible for the actual detail work is of little importance) was only a *standardizer*, not an inventor, and only made obligatory a script form, which had been in use in Ts'in for many centuries—indeed from Yin time, since thirty to forty per cent of the readable oracle characters agree with the small seal forms. Here Mr. Yetts concludes (p. 13): “In the light of the foregoing, it would seem rash to assume, as some have done, that Li Ssü and the other Ch'in standardizers failed to interpret old forms rightly, and consequently invented new characters. These supposed misinterpretations and novelties may have long been known in the west of China, where the State of Ch'in had for centuries exercised the chief power. Likewise, the alleged creation of phonetic compounds under the Ch'in seems open to question.”

This statement calls for objections in both its parts. That the Ts'in standardizers did really distort the earlier characters, giving them altered elements which spoil the etymology, and that they thus were really “inventors” and not only standardizers, can be easily proved. Take, for instance, the word 旬. The small seal makes it consist of 勹 and 日 (a “bundle” of days), whereas all bronze inscriptions, as far as I have been able to detect, make it (or its derivatives) from 日 and 勻 (phonetic); and the oracle inscriptions have still another totally different character, identified as 旬 by Wang Kuo-wei.

單 has in the small seal two mouths (*kou*) at the top, but in the very numerous cases where this character occurs in the inscriptions, you find two upward strokes ending in circles—something totally different from the “mouths” of the small seal (which were interpreted as phonetic by Hū Shēn). Again 乍 (u.f. 作 in the inscriptions) consists, in the small seal, of 一 and 亡, the latter having a 入 at the top. Among the hundreds of cases where you find this character in the Yin and Chou inscriptions, there is not a single case, as far as I know, where you can safely attest a 入 (*ju*) element in 乍. Many more cases could be adduced, but these will be sufficient. Since the small seal forms of these characters are *entirely missing* from the total material at our disposal from Yin and Chou time, we are certainly not entitled to guess that they “may have long been known in the west of China”.

As for the creation of new *hie shēng* characters, it obviously went on, not only in Ts'in time, but in Han time and for centuries into the Christian era. The number of characters in the Chou literature are only a few thousand. Hū Shēn, having hunted eagerly and long for characters, managed to bring together a thesaurus of 10,526 characters, and the K'ang-hi dictionary contains more than 40,000. It is of course impossible to suppose that all these myriads of characters (many of which are purely learned words) existed already in the Chou period.

The truth about Li Sī and his coadjutors will very likely prove to lie between the traditional opinion and the extreme one expressed by Mr. Yetts. A good half of the ancient characters used in Ts'in (and probably in various courts) since time immemorial were simple and practical enough to be accepted without further ado. Such as were not, Li simplified, and happened now and then, in so doing, to distort their composition. Mr. Yetts deciphers his inscriptions in a highly interesting and instructive way. For the shorter ones he has ample support in similar inscriptions in the big Chinese repertoires, for the longer ones he has been able to consult various modern Eastern scholars. But his own part is far from negligible. With great acumen and fine “flair” he chooses from the bewildering maze of interpretations the elements which seem most acceptable to a Western mind, and his commentaries, though brief, are very suggestive. It is to be hoped that Mr. Yetts, who has shown himself, by this work, to possess a thorough and scholarly acquaintance with the whole of the existing literature in this extremely difficult field, will carry on his researches and give us an extensive “bronze epigraphy of China” for the Western student. Some very good materials for such a work Mr. Yetts gives

already in the present volume: the extensive bibliography of both Chinese and foreign works on the topic. It is true that there exists a comprehensive Chinese bibliography 金石書目 *Kin shī shu mu* by 黃立猷 Huang Li-yu (No. 74 in Yetts' list). But as this appeared but recently, Mr. Yetts has had to bring together himself the great number of bibliographical data which he offers the student. And his list, so far as it goes, is superior to that of Huang inasmuch as it gives a description—short but to the point—of the works he recommends. Mr. Yetts' list is a good selection of the most important publications on the subject, and as a matter of fact nearly every work of greater importance has been recorded by him. One would like to add, nevertheless, two items which are quite important, especially as they are among those of which Wang Kuo-wei has made a useful index in his 國朝金文著錄表 (in the 王氏遺書):

從古堂款識學 *Ts'ung ku t'ang k'uan shī hūe*, by 徐同柏 Sū T'ung-po.

敬吾心室彝器款識 *King wu sin shī i k'ī k'uan shī*, by 朱善旂 Chu Shan-k'ī.

To the items on the Honan oracle inscriptions should be added the 龜甲獸骨文字 *Kuei kia shou ku wén tsī* (1917) by the Japanese scholar Hayashi (林泰輔).

In the list of Western books I miss some important German publications: B. Schindler: *Die Entwicklung der chinesischen Schrift aus ihren Grundelementen*, (*Ostas. Zeitschr.* iii); B. Schindler: *Die Prinzipien der chinesischen Schriftbildung*, (*ibid.* iv); and A. Conrady: *Die chinesischen Handschriften und sonstigen Kleinfunde Sven Hedins in Lou-lan* (1920). On the whole, however, the bibliography is quite exhaustive, and greatly enhances the value of Mr. Yetts' beautiful work.

B. KARLGREN.

When it comes to the question of collecting Chinese antiquities, it may be justly said that the earth can be divided into three main areas. The first may be named the home province, China and Japan, with the magnificent Government collection at Peking and private Chinese collections still not catalogued, and for this reason much too imperfectly known to Western connoisseurs. Japan stands pre-eminent because of the wonderful art treasures of the Shosoin and the unparalleled Sumitomo Collection of bronzes. Second in age and importance comes Europe, with many collecting centres, Government museums as well as private collectors. The third region, of most

recent age but full of promising possibilities, is the United States of America.

Hsüan-ho po ku t'u lu, the illustrated catalogue of bronzes in Emperor Hui-tsung's collection, is the prototype of catalogues of Chinese bronze vessels, and probably it is one of the earliest archaeological works handed down to our own time. Another imperial catalogue was published by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, and in more recent times grand-seigneurs like Tuan Fang and learned scholars like Lo Chên-Yü have carried on the tradition. In Japan the masterly publication dealing with the Shosoin treasures and the catalogue of the Sumitomo Collection of bronzes stand out as admirable modern contributions to the literature of art catalogues. Collecting in the American region is of too recent date for serious and systematic catalogue work to have started yet. It is still bent exclusively upon the conquest of art treasures, but the unlimited financial resources and the scientific spirit of the American students of Far Eastern Art is an ample guarantee that in due time our American colleagues will contribute their full share to the literature on the antiquities of Ancient China.

Among the many collections of Chinese antiques in Europe only one, the Eumorfopoulos Collection in London, in view of the wealth of its material and the splendour of the Catalogue, is worthy of mention side by side with the famous collections of the Far East. In the building up of this unique collection Mr. George Eumorfopoulos has been guided mainly by his unfailing taste and profound knowledge of Chinese art treasures. In planning the catalogue of his collection he had been highly favoured by the close and enthusiastic collaboration of prominent British scholars, such as Hobson, Binyon, and now Dr. W. Perceval Yetts. Of these Dr. Yetts is the one who possesses by far the widest background of Far Eastern learning. As a medical officer in the Navy and later at the British Legation in Peking, Dr. Yetts spent many years in China, and used his time to the best advantage by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the spoken and written Chinese language as well as the literature on Chinese antiquities.

This splendid volume, the ninth of the Catalogue, which was published last February, bears abundant witness to Dr. Yetts' familiarity with the native literature on Chinese bronzes. Professor B. Karlgren has already discussed Dr. Yetts' valuable analyses of the inscriptions on the bronze vessels, and here it suffices to mention his successful effort to bring order into the chaotic nomenclature of the

various types of bronze vessels. Another most valuable contribution is his study of the methods employed by the ancient Chinese artisans in casting their bronzes, a line of research which he has pursued not only with the aid of literary sources and the examination of actual specimens, but also in the light of the technique of bronze casting in general.

It goes without saying that the illustrations of the bronzes come fully up to the admirable standard set by the earlier volumes by Hobson and Binyon. In fact, these marvellous plates, and especially those reproduced in colour, give to the enchanted reader such complete illusion that only the sense of touch remains unsatisfied. It seems only just to give due credit for this wonderful illustrative material also to the publishers, Messrs. Ernest Benn, Ltd.

In describing the tripods, Dr. Yetts correctly emphasizes the fact that there exist intermediate specimens between the two main types, *Ting* and *Li*. This statement is fully corroborated not only by the bronze vessels reproduced by Yetts but also by several Neolithic clay tripods in the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm. I have little doubt, however, that these intermediate forms are only secondary and that each of the two types of tripods originated quite independently of the other. It seems entirely probable that the *Ting* tripod originated as a clay bowl, which was used for cooking by placing it upon three supporting stones, which were later replaced by three clay-legs attached to the cauldron. This cooking utensil with three solid legs has a world-wide distribution. In striking contrast to the universally known *Ting* tripod stands the *Li*, which seems to be an inheritance of the Chinese people alone. I have treated this problem in my *Preliminary Report on Archaeological Research in Kansu*, pp. 46-8, where I have made an attempt to explain the origin of the strange *Li* vessel as having been invented by the merging of three vessels with pointed bottoms in order to form a household utensil that could stand by itself, while at the same time offering a large contact surface to the fire when used for cooking. Independently of me, and even earlier, Hubert Schmidt has expressed the same idea (*Zeitschrift für Ethnologie*, 1924).

Dr. Yetts has devoted an interesting passage to the interpretation of the family of bronze weapons that are known among the Chinese antiquaries under the names *k'uei* and *ko*. There is only one remark to be made on this part of his work: the use of the term "halberd" to denote these weapons will only add to the confusion already existing.

Earlier I have followed Schetelig in comparing the *ko* with the *hache poignard* of the early Bronze Age of Europe, and there is certainly a general similarity between the two types, though they are undoubtedly of quite independent origin. These Chinese arms have nothing in common with the halberd, as the true halberd always had an elongated pike-head at the end of the staff. On the other hand the Chinese antiquarians mention a weapon named *chi* which appears frequently upon the Wu Liang tomb reliefs of Shantung. This type *chi* in some essentials comes much nearer to the true halberd than the *ko* and *k'uei*; nevertheless, I feel very strongly that all these Chinese types of arms should best be designated by their Chinese names. Specimens of the type *chi* made in iron have been discovered by the Japanese archaeologists during their excavations in Korea. It may be worth mentioning that the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities in Stockholm has recently received two *chi* made of bronze, one very similar to text-figure 46 of Yetts' work, the other quite a different type. Together with the two *k'uei*, A 152 and A 153, Yetts illustrates a weapon, A 154, which he speaks of as a knife. This statement is entirely incomprehensible, as A 154 is manifestly a *k'uei* with the clearly visible mark of the transversely attached wooden haft. In the Museum of Far Eastern Antiquities we have some *k'uei* of exactly the same type and with evident traces of the transversely attached haft.

The more familiar we become with the small Chinese bronzes (tools, weapons, horse trappings, etc., as opposed to the bronze vessels) the more clearly do we realize that there exist among the material derived from the Peking market two entirely independent styles of art, which influenced one another in the course of their geographical contact, but were in their main features very different. One is the genuine Chinese style of art undergoing a marked development, from the style of late Chou to that of Ch'in-Han, the other is the style of art of the steppe nomads living in the deserts and on the grassy plains of the North. The Chinese style of art has long been known and extensively studied, the style of the steppe nomads has been recognized in Northern China during the last two decades only, and has been named by most authors *Scythian*, a term which has been used by Dr. Yetts only within quotation marks, evidently in order to show that this careful scholar is well aware that the term is not appropriate when used for objects from the northern borderlands of China. In my lectures in London, Cambridge, Paris, and Berlin in the early part of this year I advocated a somewhat modified terminology,

using for the whole vast area covered by the style formerly named "Scythian" the term suggested by Hubert Schmidt the "Eurasian Animal style", and I furthermore distinguished within this region four main provinces: *Euxine*, *Ananino*, *Minusinsk*, and *Suiyuan*, the last name denoting the Sino-Mongolian border-lands. The vast majority of the small bronzes in the Eumorfopoulos Catalogue belong to the Chinese style of art, but a small number are to be regarded as belonging to the animal style.

The two specimens that are described by Yetts as "Scythian" I consider to be somewhat doubtful members of the family. A 151, an axe-head, seems to me rather closely related to the Ch'in stage of the Chinese bronze style, though it should be readily admitted that the Ch'in stage is specially closely interwoven with the animal style of the Northern steppes. A 156, a sword with antennæ, has a distant connection with some daggers of the animal style, but is very far removed from the typical specimens. In the Catalogue there are four other objects, which I consider to belong probably or certainly to the animal style: A 168 is beyond doubt a knife of this group; and A 145 and A 146, two axe-heads, can be proved to belong to the animal style, thanks mainly to a specimen in the David Weill Collection in Paris. I consider it probable that A 97, an ornament belonging to the top of a staff, is also a member of the animal style group, but it would take me too far to give here the whole series of deductions which have led me to this opinion.

I think it very appropriate to conclude this small note by paying a tribute to Mr. Eumorfopoulos, the builder of that wonderful monument which has been so admirably described by three British scholars, Hobson, Binyon, and Yetts. It is only thanks to a most fortunate combination—rare among amateur collectors—of a scientific spirit and perfect æsthetic taste that he has been able to carry out such a splendid achievement. All the world over students of Chinese art and antiquities think of the Eumorfopoulos home on the Chelsea Embankment as a Holy Mecca, to which they long to make a pilgrimage for study and inspiration.

J. G. ANDERSSON.

A HISTORY OF ARABIAN MUSIC TO THE XIIITH CENTURY. By H. G. FARMER, M.A., Ph.D. pp. xv + 264. London: Luzac & Co., 1929. 15s.

Dr. Farmer's studies in Arabian music are too well known to require comment. By the extent and thoroughness of his researches he has gone a fair way towards revolutionizing our knowledge of both the technique of Islamic music and its influence in mediaeval Europe. His new work is the first volume in a systematic survey of the whole field, and forms a sort of historical prolegomena to the more technical side of the subject. The chapters follow the conventional chronological divisions (i, The Jāhiliya; ii, The Rise of Islām; iii, The Orthodox Caliphs; iv, The Umayyads, etc.). Each chapter is subdivided into three sections, the first expounding the relevant political and cultural data, the second the various factors, social, legal, and technical, which influenced the musical life of the period, the third "the biographies of all the celebrated composers, singers, instrumentalists, theorists, scientists, and *littérateurs*". Apart from the importance of these detailed surveys for the history of Arabian music, the materials which Dr. Farmer has put together with such diligence are likely to prove of great value in other fields of Arabic studies. Chapter ii is mainly devoted to a discussion on the place of music and musicians in Muslim Tradition and law, which is of special interest to students of Islamic jurisprudence. A still wider field of research which he has opened up (though without himself touching on it at all) is the influence of music on the development of Arabic poetry—a subject which has hitherto received surprisingly little attention from Arabic scholars. The large repertory of facts collected in chapters i, iii, and iv, even though many of them will doubtless dissolve into air under a closer scrutiny, should prove of the greatest service to the future investigator of this insistent problem. On these subjects as well as on music, Dr. Farmer's book promises to be one of the most stimulating productions of recent years.

A few errors of detail have crept into the historical sections. Why *rajaz* is defined as "unrhymed poetry" on p. 9 is not clear, since in its customary form *rajaz* has just twice as many rhymes as the more complex metres. On p. 188, by a curious misunderstanding, the Murābiṭs (Almoravides) are called Murāwids. In his account of Ishāq al-Mawṣili Dr. Farmer has not brought out the fact, stated by Ahlwardt, that Ishāq followed the classical school of music of Ibn Jāmi' in preference to the school of his father Ibrāhīm—a point

of some importance if it is true. With a bibliography covering seventeen pages, there can be little that the author has overlooked; the principal omissions which I have noted are Martin Hartmann's brochure *Metrum und Rhythmus*, Mez's *Die Renaissance des Islams*, Ahlwardt's introduction to the *Weinlieder* of Abū Nuwās, and an interesting treatise of al-Jāhīz (رسالة في البيان), published by Dr. Finkel at Cairo in 1926) which supplements the notices on singing-girls contained in the *Aghānī*. The very detailed material contained in volumes iv and v of Nuwayrī's encyclopædia does not seem to have been utilized, though the work is quoted in the Bibliography, but possibly the issue of these volumes came too late to allow Dr. Farmer to draw upon them.

H. A. R. G.

AT AJANTA. By KANAIIYALAL H. VAKIL, B.A., LL.B. Foreword by W. E. GLADSTONE SOLOMON, I.E.S. With 38 illustrations. Bombay: D. B. Taraporevala Sons & Co., 1929. Price 6s.

The literature on the Ajanta Caves and their frescoes has already grown to considerable dimensions, but many of these books are costly and some of them are now unprocurable; in any case, the present volume, in consideration of merits of its own, is a welcome addition to this literature. Mr. Vakil gives a detailed description of the more important caves, with accounts of the paintings, architecture, and sculpture, and a critical estimate of the character of the art they represent. He writes as an enthusiast, and his text is as attractive as it is well informed. The illustrations have been carefully chosen and are remarkably clear. The work reflects great credit not only on the author, but on the publishers, who have attained a degree of excellence seldom found in productions of the Indian press.

T. W. ARNOLD.

MANDŪ, THE CITY OF JOY. By G. YAZDANI, M.A. pp. xii + 131, and 50 illustrations. Oxford: University Press, 1929.

Everyone interested in the Muhammadan architecture of India is acquainted with the deserted city of Fathpūr Sikrī, but the still more extensive ruins of Mandū in Central India, having been rather more difficult of access before the days of motors, have been little visited and are consequently less familiar to the average reader. Mandū was the capital of the independent Muhammadan kingdom

of Malwa for 130 years until in 1531 it was annexed by Bahādur Shāh, Sultan of Gujarāt, and was incorporated into the Moghul empire by Akbar about thirty years later. During the period of its independence it was governed by a series of rulers whose annals make entertaining reading, the last of whom Bāz Bahādur has attained undying fame through the romantic story of his love for Rupmati. Their capital was situated on the summit of a hill more than 2,000 feet above sea-level and separated from the main plateau of Malwa by a deep ravine; the top of the hill, which is almost flat, was protected by walls about 25 miles in length. Several of the Sultans of Malwa were great builders, and their palaces and mosques of considerable architectural merit still remain in a fair state of preservation, though for more than two centuries the ruins have been abandoned to wild beasts, and panthers still patrol the streets at night. Mr. Yazdani, the talented Director of Archæology in H.E.H. the Nizam's dominions, has compiled an attractive guide to the monuments of this city, and, unlike most guides, it affords pleasant reading even to those who have not the good fortune to visit the site. The volume is finely illustrated with photographs and plans.

T. W. ARNOLD.

A COPTIC DICTIONARY. Compiled by W. E. CRUM. (Part I: A-ⲉⲓⲣⲉ.)
Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. 42s. net. (To be completed in five parts; subscription price for the whole, £7 7s.)

For previous Coptic lexicography, see the heading *Wörterbücher* on p. 447 of Stern's *Koptische Grammatik* (Leipzig, 1880). I transcribe his list, shortening his entries and giving them numbers:—

- (1) Kircher, *Lingua aegyptiaca restituta*, Rome, 1644. (Contains the *scalae* of medieval Egyptian scholars.)
- (2) Lacroze-Scholz-Woide, *Lexicon aegyptiaco-latinum*, Oxford, 1775.
- (3) Rossi, *Etymologiae aegyptiacae*, Rome, 1808.
- (4) Tatham, *Lexicon aegyptiaco-latinum*, Oxford, 1835.
- (5) Peyron, *Lexicon linguae copticae*, Turin, 1835.
- (6) Parthey, *Vocabularium coptico-latinum* . . ., Berlin, 1844.
- (7) Goodwin, *Gleanings in Coptic lexicography*, ÄZ., 1869-71.
- (8) Kabis, *Auctarium lexici coptici A. Peyron*, ÄZ., 1874-6.


So far Stern. To these add:—

- (9) *Auctarium ad Peyronis lexicon copticum*, Berlin, 1896. (Compiled from (7), (8) and other contributions to Coptic lexicography published in ÄZ.)

(10) Claudius Labib, *πιδεζικον ἡΐαστι ἡτε ηἰρεκῆχηαι*, Cairo, 1895-1915. (Coptic-Arabic, five parts, α-ζ only; it ceased publication at the death of its author, and his remaining materials were dissipated.)

(11) Spiegelberg, *Koptisches Handwörterbuch*, Heidelberg, 1921.

Of those, (1) is a source-book, (2) (3) (4) out of date, (6) a compilation from (5) and (4), depending too much on the unscientific (4), and (10) is of little practical use to Western scholars, though it contains some material not accessible elsewhere. We depended almost entirely upon (5), with which we bound up (9), if we were so fortunate as to possess it; so that our working dictionary was nearly a hundred years old, supplemented by contributions to the technical Egyptological journal.

(11) marked a great step forward: but its aim was primarily etymological; the entries are ordinarily little more than a single line, and its essential feature is a column giving the ancient Egyptian equivalent of each Coptic word, in hieroglyphic script and transcription. There are almost no citations or indications of grammatical use—it is a vocabulary with derivations, not a dictionary. But it saved Mr. Crum much labour and his printer much expense. "Its most conspicuous novelty," he says of it, "is the addition, in all cases where justifiable, of the hieroglyphic or demotic etymology of the Coptic form. Some students will regret the absence of this important element from the present work and it was only after much hesitation that I decided to omit it. I cannot claim an independent judgment as to the appositeness of a demotic etymology, while to reproduce these in hieroglyphic type—for a mere transcription satisfies no one—would greatly have increased costs and yet have added nothing of adequate importance to what Spiegelberg has already given us." This may be illustrated by a single example. *ḥome*: *harp*, says Mr. Crum, "meaning assured by determinative of hieroglyphic *bnt*"; and turning up the word in Spiegelberg we find its derivation .

The works of the English and the German scholar are complementary.

But it is time to speak of Crum's labours in the field of lexicography strictly so called. He has for a good deal more than twenty years been working through the whole of published Coptic texts, and has drawn upon much material yet unpublished: it is really an extraordinary feat for a single scholar, and this dictionary places him in the ranks of those orientalists who have advanced their studies

by a whole stage. It is safe to say that henceforward nobody will ever edit a Coptic text or discuss any aspect of the Coptic language without Crum's help, and that his work will remain a lasting asset to British scholarship. The greatest accretion of material since Peyron's day is in the region of non-literary texts, which were practically non-existent a hundred years ago. Owing to the absence of Greek originals, they are far more difficult of interpretation than literary matter, and Crum has quite often to admit of a word "meaning uncertain" or even "meaning unknown"; but in countless instances his skill and knowledge have adduced a certain or probable explanation, on many occasions by an ingenious emendation modestly put forward with a mark of interrogation.

Considerations of space and expense of printing have forced him to omit proper names and the Greek words which occur with such frequency in Coptic, but even here he has supplied some valuable help. When a Greek word is so deformed that it has assumed a Coptic form, he includes it; e.g. $\delta\iota\eta\alpha\varsigma$ (= $\pi\acute{\iota}\nu\alpha\varsigma$) and the enigmatical $\theta\eta\eta$ sulphur, which must apparently be $\theta\epsilon\acute{\iota}\omega\upsilon$; and though proper names are not entered as such, he gives them as derivatives; for instance, at the end of his article on $\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$ ($\lambda\lambda\omega\lambda\iota$) *grape*, he quotes personal names $\pi\alpha\lambda\omega\lambda\eta$, $\pi\alpha\tau\lambda\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\pi\alpha\tau\lambda\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\Pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\lambda\iota$, $\pi\alpha\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\lambda\tau$, $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\omega\rho\iota\omicron\varsigma$, $\Pi\alpha\lambda\omega\lambda\iota\varsigma$, $\Pi\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\tau\alpha\lambda\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\lambda\lambda\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\tau\epsilon\rho\epsilon\rho\omega\tau$ and place-names $\pi\eta\alpha\rho\alpha\lambda\omega\lambda\iota$, $\pi\alpha\lambda\eta\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\tau\acute{o}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$, $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\omega$ $\pi\alpha\lambda\alpha\alpha\lambda\iota$, $\pi\eta\eta\alpha\lambda\omega\lambda\epsilon\tau$ = ܡܝܬܐ , $\Psi\alpha\epsilon\lambda\omega\omega\lambda\epsilon$, of course all with references.

There is hardly any element of Coptic grammar more difficult than its prepositions. For an example of skilful arrangement I would recommend the reader to test the article on ϵ -, which Crum introduces as follows (I expand contractions):—" ϵ - Sa'idic, Bohairic, Fayoumic A-Achmimic, Old-Coptic, with suffix $\epsilon\rho\omega$. ($\epsilon\rho\omega$ in 2nd person plural) Sa'idic and Bohairic, $\lambda\rho\alpha$ Achmimic and Old-Coptic, $\epsilon\lambda\alpha$ Fayoumic, preposition (hieroglyphic τ), simple or compound with noun: $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$, $\epsilon\kappa\alpha\tau$, $\epsilon\rho\eta$ -, $\epsilon\rho\alpha\tau$ -, $\epsilon\tau\beta\epsilon$ -, $\epsilon\tau\omega\tau$ -, $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\eta$, $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\rho\eta$ -, $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\omega$, $\epsilon\chi\eta$ -, or with article and noun: $\epsilon\pi\kappa\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\epsilon\chi\eta\tau$, $\epsilon\pi\tau\eta\rho\eta$, $\epsilon\pi\omega\tau\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\omega\omega\iota$, $\epsilon\pi\rho\alpha\epsilon$, $\epsilon\pi\chi\iota\epsilon$, $\epsilon\theta\eta$; also in verbal prefix third future $\epsilon\epsilon\epsilon$ - Sa'idic, Bohairic, $\epsilon\epsilon\alpha$ - Achmimic. Often strengthened by preceding $\epsilon\beta\omega\lambda$, $\epsilon\rho\omega\tau\eta$, $\epsilon\acute{\rho}\rho\eta\iota$, $\epsilon\rho\rho\alpha\iota$, with hardly changed meaning. Used for many purposes, chief of which are here illustrated. . . . " The illustrative citations then occupy four

columns, and the treatment appears to be both exhaustive and clear.

The dictionary is to be completed in five parts: every orientalist will wish Crum the health and strength to put his work through rapidly and to have the satisfaction of receiving the congratulations of the learned world on a linguistic monument *aere perennius*.

S. GASELEE.

ENGLISH-PUNJABI DICTIONARY. By W. P. HARES, of the Church Missionary Society. $7\frac{1}{4} \times 5$. pp. iii + 478. Lahore, 1929. Rs. 5s.

This a very useful little dictionary, larger than its predecessors. It gives the Panjabi for over 14,000 English words and owing to its small size is a very convenient book to carry about. The number of words translated assures one's being able to find some rendering for nearly all the things one wants to talk about. The Panjabi words are good, and if a European learns them all he will have an extensive knowledge of the language, while the proverbs quoted will enable him to add spice to his conversation.

The book gives one the impression of having been sent to the press before it was quite ready; when a second edition is called for it should be carefully revised. With a view to increasing its usefulness I may venture to make some suggestions.

It would be helpful if the compiler stated clearly which dialect of Panjabi he has chiefly kept in mind, whether the Eastern (Amritsar and the east), or the Western (Lahore and the west). A missionary is very unlikely to live long enough in the two areas to be able to deal satisfactorily with both forms of speech, and it might be better to take one dialect, perhaps putting in brackets such words from the other as may have been collected.

We need an explanation of the pronunciation intended by the letters used, and some further signs are required. The sign *ṇ* is made to stand for four sounds which are usually distinguished, viz. cerebral *ṇ*, velar *ṇ*, dental or alveolar *ṇ*, and lastly nasalization of vowels. Consequently a reader is constantly in doubt as to the correct sound. Thus, to take random examples, we find on p. 1 *achāṇchak* and *nīwāṇ*; on p. 38 *jaṅgī* and *maṅkā*; and on p. 283 *gaṇṇ* and *dhaṇṇ*. Actually these words are *acāṇcak*, *nīvā*, *jaṅgī*, *maṅkā*, *gaṇ*, *dhaṇ*.

This vocabulary does not use cerebral *ḷ*, but unless the western area is definitely to be excluded, *ḷ* should be indicated whenever it occurs. Words like *nāl*, *kol*, *gaḷ*, *pālā*, in place of *nāl*, *koḷ*, *gaḷ*, *pālā*,

sound ludicrous in a western village. My servants often laughed at a "silly man who said *pālā* for *pālā*". Similarly cerebral *ṛ* should be printed much more freely (e.g. for most infinitives), and where western words differ from eastern in the use of *ṛ*, the difference should be indicated.

The compiler says in his preface that when a word is written in several ways he has tried to regularize the spelling and adopt the commonest. He is right in systematizing the spelling, but he might well do so more completely, for there are still many inconsistencies. (We find *dhīth*, *thīth*, *thīth* for the same word.) As regards the second point the aim ought surely to be not the commonest spelling, but that which best represents the pronunciation. The spelling of many words needs to be thought out again. Thus *wāstkoṭ*, *pyjāmā*, *mem-sāhib*, *hoshiyār* should be *vāstkoṭ*, *pajāmmā*, *memsāb*, *hushyār*.

Again many words are printed as they are spelt in the sister (or daughter) language Urdu. It would be more natural to give Panjabi words a Panjabi form.

A great deal of space could be saved by cross references. There does not seem to be any object in giving the same Panjabi words several times over, as for example under abandon, forsake, leave, relinquish, and reject; or command, enjoin, and order; or again, reprimand, reproach, and reprove, with their corresponding nouns which are all on the same page, each with a full list of Panjabi equivalents.

It would be a great improvement if the constructions of verbs were given. Thus *tāgīd karnā*, enjoin; should one say *o'nā tāgīd kītī* or *o'nā tāgīd kītā* or *o'āī tāgīd kītī*? All are theoretically possible, but only one is correct. But let us pass from these matters to the real solid work underneath.

This volume represents years of faithful labour carried on in the midst of many difficulties. I trust that Canon Hares will be much encouraged by the reception accorded to his dictionary.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. Vol. I, Part II. Edited by Sir GEORGE GRIERSON, O.M. 14 + 10 $\frac{1}{2}$, pp. viii + 30 + 337 + 2. Calcutta.

This is a companion to Part I of this volume reviewed in *Bulletin* V, Pt. 1. It contains a collection of 168 words or grammatical forms in 364 languages, most of which are spoken in India. A few non-Indian languages have been added for purposes of comparison. The

words for the Indian languages are nearly all taken from the earlier volumes of the Survey. Very wisely the alphabet of the International Phonetic Association has been avoided. This alphabet should be employed only when one is pretty certain of the exact sounds. The signs used are given on p. 2, and will on the whole command assent, though some may object to the use of two different signs for the aspirate; e.g. *mhārā*, *m'āro*. The Greek letters are satisfactory, being fairly well known. The following letters have been accidentally omitted from the list and should be added: *ç*, *ch*, *z*, *j*, *l*, *lh*, *r*, *rh*, *m̄h*, *nh*, *nh̄*, *y*, *q*.

The signs for Arabic letters on p. 30 will be approved except that for *خ*.

The Introduction, pp. 1-30, contains much useful information about tones.

Some of the material in this volume touches me very closely, especially what is founded upon information which I collected myself. It recalls to me many linguistic journeys in the Himalayas. It reminds me of the delight with which I discovered in 1908 the fact that *Ṣiṇā* distinguishes the three unvoiced sibilants *s*, *ś*, *ṣ*, with their voiced counterparts *z*, *ž*, *ẓ*; contains not only the usual affricates *ts*, *tsh*, *c*, *ch*, but also the cerebral affricates *ç*, *ch̄*; marks off the forward *t*, *d*, *r*, *n* from the back *ʈ*, *ɖ*, *ɽ*, *ṇ*; and finally separates the aspirated *th*, *ʈh*, *kh*, *ph*, *ch*, *ch̄*, from the unaspirated *t*, *ʈ*, *k*, *p*, *c*, *ç*. There was then no Indo-Aryan language known which had the three unvoiced sibilants in natural speech. In the autumn of 1908 I communicated these facts to Sir George, and it is a source of much gratification to me that in this volume he has accepted them all, particularly because for some time he hesitated about doing so; out of a feeling of loyalty he was unwilling to think that earlier workers had been mistaken.

In one other matter connected with *Ṣiṇā* I must express my thanks. I have several times begged Sir George to discontinue the use of "Brokpa" as the name of a dialect of *Ṣiṇā*. He has here given it up, and now he speaks of the *Ṣiṇā* dialects of *Drās* and *Ḍāh Hanu*. There is still a little left to correct. *t* and *d* are not alveolar, but purely dental as in Urdu, Panjabi, and Lahndi. Pt. I, p. 329, seems to say that there are three *d*'s, one alveolar there written *d*, and two others both written *d*, one post-alveolar and one cerebral; but it does not follow up the statement about the two *d*'s; no examples are given, or lists of words which distinguish them. The truth is

that there is only one *d* phoneme, not two. The difference between *t*, *d*, and *ṭ*, *ḍ*, is the same as in Urdu and Panjabi, and is equally easy to recognize. Of course, people unaccustomed to making sound distinctions will often fail to make them in a foreign language, even when the sounds are the same as their own.

In the Part before us, Sir George has printed an accurate Gilgiti list sent by Col. Lorimer to replace the old one of vol. viii; one regrets the more that for Cilāsī and Drāsī the old inaccurate lists have been utilized. I could have supplied him with the words for both these dialects.

I am grateful to him for accepting my statement about tones in Panjabi and giving a list with the tones marked. Tones should be given for Lahndi also. Their use is widespread; I have found them in nearly every Lahndi dialect I have studied. They extend into Western Pahārī. In Šinā, too, I thought I discovered one special tone which distinguished certain words. The phenomenon requires investigation and should not be lost sight of.

For Lahndī Sir George writes Lahndā, saying that it is an English word. Lahndi is just as good an English word as Lahnda, and better than Lahndā. What we want to know is the Urdu or Panjabi word for the language. As a matter of fact, I have found that scholarly Indians speaking Urdu or Panjabi use the word Lahndī as the name of the language. It is the natural word, whereas Lahnda would be used only by those who were copying some European.

The full and able treatment of Kaśmiri represents Sir George's best work. The Pandits' dialect, as Professor R. L. Turner has pointed out, yields the equation *ME* -*d* > -*r*-. The Survey makes no reference to the Village Kś. dialect which has *ME* -*d* > -*r*-. On this important difference see *JRAS.*, July, 1929, pp. 606-8.

Sir George must not hold the Phonetic Department of the SOS. responsible for my description of Sindhi implosives in *Bull. SOS.*, II, 4, 835, 6. The first paragraph there is an ordinary unoriginal statement of what "implosive" connotes. Paragraph 2 mentions the four implosives found in Sindhi. Paragraphs 3 and 4 describe what, after careful study aided by a hand-mirror, I believe to be my own method of making the sounds. The Phonetic Department may or may not agree with me. It has, in fact, suggested to me that the argument in para. 4 is open to question.

Four names are given in the *Survey* for the *ṭākrī* alphabet, viz. *ṭhākūrī*, *ṭakkārī*, *ṭākrī*, and *ṭākrī*. I have never heard any but the last,

ṭākrī. The derivation is unknown, but we may be sure it is not connected with *ṭhākur*. The *Survey* throughout uses *Landā* as the name of the shop-keepers' script in North India. This should be *laṇḍe*, for the word is always masc. plur.

Part ii of vol. i brings the *Survey* to a conclusion for the present; and hat in hand we take leave of Sir George Grierson and his colleague Professor Sten Konow, begging them to accept the assurance of our immense gratitude for many hours of enjoyment, past and future. *Salvete, valete.*

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

SADDANĪTĪ, LA GRAMMAIRE PALIE D'AGGAVAMSA. Texte établi par HELMER SMITH. I. PADAMĀLĀ. Acta Reg. Societatis Humaniorum Litterarum Lundensis XII, 1. 6½ × 9½. pp. xi + 314. Lund, 1928.

This edition has been printed in the series issued under the auspices of the Royal Society of Letters in Lund, which is familiar to Sanskritists from the equally important and skilled edition of the *Nirukta* by H. Sköld.

A reliable edition of the *Saddanīti* has long been wanting and we welcome in Mr. Smith's work a thoroughly scientific achievement which satisfies all requirements for historical study.

The *Saddanīti* has been highly esteemed in the centuries of the Pali-Sanskrit revival in Ceylon, which began under Parakramabāhu I. Its author Aggavamsa was a Burmese and one of the greatest lights of Pali studies in Burma. The date of the S.N. is traditionally given as A.D. 1154. Its importance consists in being the oldest authentic document about the condition of Pali and Pali knowledge in the twelfth century, i.e. 400 years prior to the oldest Pali MSS. which we possess, and it is to be regarded as the linguistic norm of the Pali Canon as we have it to-day. It is also important for the better readings of the Canon as it gives a great many quotations from the latter as examples of grammatical rules. With these we can test the oral tradition and its fixation in writing since the time of Vattaḡāmaṇi. We may justly ascribe to the *Saddanīti* as high a position as an encyclopædia of Pali philology as we are wont to ascribe to the *Visuddhimagga* as an encyclopædia of Buddhist Dogmatics.

This first volume, *padamālā* "word-garland", contains explanations, paradigms, and etymologies, as we know them from the older commentaries and other exegetical works and which all go back to

Sanskrit models. But the Saddanīti (i.e. word-rule; *sadda* = word as grammatical unit; *pada* as syntactical) is far more exhausting and thorough, and Aggavaṃsa criticizes Kaccāyana by expressly referring to the word-use of the Canon (*paḷinaya*). Thus the S.N. is a means of stating which Pali forms were actually in use as compared with those which are found in lexicographical lists (*koshas*) only. It is also invaluable for the study of synonyms, after the manner of the Niddesa which we find greatly enlarged here, but the beginnings of which we have already in the oldest Canonical books. Thus on p. 64 e.g. we have 22 synonyms for *satto* "human being" where the Niddesa (see Nd. i, 3 = Nd. ii, No. 249) has only 10. Among them we may note in passing the reading *hindagu* (= *Indraja* ? cf. *manuja*) for the *indagu* of the Nd.; I wonder if we may assume a "cockneyism" for this form, such as Kern saw in Pali *hāsu* "quick" for Sk. *āśu* ?

Language and style of the Saddanīti are on the whole the same as those of the Commentary literature of the tenth to twelfth centuries A.D., which represent a development of post-classical Pali under the influence of Sanskrit, as we find it e.g. in the Mahāvamsa Tikā.

The present edition has been done in Mr. H. Smith's usual scholarly and painstaking way with an arrangement of the text which makes clear reading and verification of references easy. The print is excellent. We are looking forward to the publication of the two remaining parts (the Dhātumālā and the Suttamālā).

W. STEDE.

HANDBOOKS ON THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE READERS OF JAPAN.

Vol. I. By KIKUE OJIMA. pp. 79. 9 in. Tokyo, 1929.

Vol. I consists of transcriptions from the texts of the National Language readers, divided into Lessons of suitable length. Each lesson is followed by instruction under the headings "Pronunciation", "Meaning", "Grammar", and "Note". Whilst the information given under "Pronunciation" is no doubt admirable, the practical value of a musical setting is very problematical. The grammatical notes contain a considerable amount of useful information, but unfortunately in using technical terms the author appears to have struck out a line for himself; thus, for instance, a form of the verb which is referred to as the "Present Tense" by such authorities as Aston, Chamberlain, Lange, Imbrie, etc., is labelled "Infinitive".

That neither definition is satisfactory is merely a perplexity of the language.

It is under the headings "Meaning" and "Note", however, that the chief value of this book will be found. Armed with this book (or set of books) by Mr. Ojima, the elementary student of Japanese will be able to prosecute his studies alone in a way hitherto hardly possible. He will, besides, have an illuminating commentary which will not only put him in close touch with simple everyday matters in Japan, but will also give him an insight into the spirit underlying the teaching given.

It is a pity perhaps that the English was not revised by a competent hand, but it would be unkind on this score to condemn a book which contains so much of what can be strongly recommended as wholly admirable.

N. E. ISEMONGER.

MŌWA JITEN. By M. HAN and H. OSHIBUCHI. 6 $\frac{3}{4}$ in. pp. 32 + 894 + 18. Ōsaka, 1928. Stencil reproduction.

Mongolian dictionaries have been practically unobtainable for some time, and this has presented considerable difficulty and inconvenience to the student of the language. Accordingly the book under review has the greater value, for anyone who is able to read Japanese in native characters can now have recourse to this dictionary—at least in the early stages of his study—without seeking aid from Kovalevski's *Dictionnaire mongol-russe-français*, or Golstunski's *Mongolsko-russkii slovar*.

It contains about 17,800 words, i.e. very nearly 3,000 words more than are to be found in Schmidt's *Mongolisch-Deutsch-Russisches Wörterbuch*, and as to its accuracy there should be no hesitation, for one of the authors, Mr. Han, is a native of Inner Mongolia, and has been for many years a lecturer in Mongolian at the Schools of Foreign Languages in Tōkyō and Ōsaka.

The words are given in the Mongol writing, but are so arranged that *o* and *u*, *ō* and *ū*, *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, *y* and *j* in the initial syllable, as well as the medial *k* and *g*, *t* and *d*, can be distinguished. The arrangement is indeed excellent, but is not faultless, which is very unfortunate. To mention a few errors *ōg-* "to give" and *ōtegūs* "old man" are given under *ū*, and *nōgōge* "other, another", *tōrūl* "birth", *mōnke* "eternal" are placed under *nū*, *tū*, and *mū* respectively.

The lists of grammatical terminations in an appendix are useful for constant reference by a beginner.

At the end of his preface Mr. Han states: *Moŋɣol üge küsekü abuyai-nar-tur kügürge metü bolɣasuyai kememüi* "It is my desire that this book may serve as a bridge to those who wish to learn the Mongolian language", but it will certainly do more than this and enable more advanced students to cross hitherto unfordable rivers.

It is a thousand pities, however, that the authors did not realize the fact that such a work as this might satisfy an urgent need, not only of the Japanese but also of Europeans who have not sufficient time to learn Japanese as a mere instrument for the acquisition of other languages. Admittedly, the compilation of a dictionary is no easy task, but a little more effort on the part of the authors would have made their work far more useful, if the meanings had been given in English also, or in French.

S. YOSHITAKE.

OUTLINE DUALA GRAMMAR. By E. A. L. GASKIN, of the Education Office, Buea, Cameroons.

This useful little book reaches us without date or publisher's imprint (the preface is dated April, 1927, but the actual publication seems not to have taken place before last year), but one gathers that it emanates from the Government Press at Buea. A handbook of Duala in English has long been a "felt want", as Saker's *Grammar* (1855) and *Vocabulary* (1862) have long been out of print, as well as the works of Merrick (1854) on the cognate Isubu. Students were entirely dependent on German books, such as Meinhof's small handbook (to which Mr. Gaskin acknowledges his obligations) and Dinkelacker's valuable *Dictionary*.

Duala is the most important of the north-western Bantu languages; Mr. Gaskin says that "with slight variations it is spoken and understood in the south of the British Cameroons by the natives of the Kumba and Victoria divisions. The estimated number of natives who can use this language in the British Cameroons is at least 10,000: this number will surely increase now that the Mandatory Power has definitely decided to encourage the use of Duala in the schools of Kumba and Victoria".

The present work being avowedly tentative, criticism of pp. 3-4, from the phonetic point of view, would certainly be out of place,

but it is clear that the sounds have been carefully observed and, one would judge, accurately distinguished.

The group of languages to which Duala belongs is remarkable as departing in some respects from the Bantu norm, probably through the influence of neighbouring Sudanic speech. It has, however, preserved Meinhof's 19th class—here called the fifth. (The order adopted in this book is that of Meinhof's small grammar, which, for some reason or other, departs from the arrangement followed in the *Laulehre*.) This is a diminutive class, with the prefixes *i-* < **pī* (in Kongo and Manyema, etc., *fi-*) and *lo-* < *lu*. Johnston refused to consider this as a separate class and identified it with the *vi-* (plural of *ki-*) class, as 8a. The *bo-* < *vu* class, chiefly consisting of abstracts and collectives, takes, when susceptible of a plural, *mi-* as its prefix; this is exceptional, as in all other cases, so far as I know, the plural prefix is *ma-*. The three locative classes, which Mr. Gaskin does not notice, have disappeared, except for a few traces, e.g. the adverb *wá* "there". The tones, a very important feature in Duala, are carefully marked; we may expect interesting results from further study in this direction.

Though its provisional character is insisted on, this is a most welcome and practically useful book.

A. W.

RĀBĪ'A THE MYSTIC AND HER FELLOW-SAINTS IN ISLĀM: Being the Life and Teachings of Rābī'a al-'Adawiyya al-Qaysiyya of Basra, together with some account of the place of the women saints in Islam. By MARGARET SMITH, M.A., Ph.D. pp. xxv + 220. Cambridge: University Press, 1928.

So much of the literature that has appeared upon the subject of Islam in recent years is made up of well-worn material and takes the form of compilations only, that it has appeared to some observers that the subject no longer affords opportunity for research, but the work of Dr. Margaret Smith has revealed an aspect of the religious life of the Muslim world which is entirely unknown to most persons and has received very little recognition even from the learned. To the common vulgar opinion that Muhammadans hold women in such low estimation that they do not even credit them with the possession of souls, the author of this work presents the life of a Muslim saint who was not only herself a woman but was the religious teacher of men to whom a high place was assigned in Muhammadan hagiology. Though

references to Rābi'a are to be found in more than one European work dealing with Muhammadan mysticism, no scholar has hitherto devoted a monograph to the life and teaching of this remarkable woman. Dr. Margaret Smith has carried out her task with a thoroughness which is deserving of the highest praise and she has based her account on an exhaustive examination of all the available sources, both printed and in manuscript, both in Arabic and Persian. To the account of Rābi'a herself she has added a study such as is not to be found in any other published work, of the place of women saints in Islam and of their extension throughout the Muhammadan world, and her account is all the more valuable since it is based not merely on the study of books, but on personal experience of the life of Muhammadan women from Syria to the Sudan. Her book has already received wide and appreciative recognition, not only among students of Islam but among persons interested in mystical thought generally, and she has added to the literature on Islam a work that is not only new in its scope, but is scholarly and exact.

T. W. A.

ZAKA ULLAH OF DELHI. By C. F. ANDREWS, with an Introductory Memoir by the late MAULVI NAZIR AHMAD. pp. xxx + 159. Cambridge: Heffer & Sons, 1929. Price 7s. 6d. net.

Extensive as the literature concerning the many aspects of the Muhammadan world is, for the English reader at least, there has been no adequate presentation of one of the most characteristic types of Muhammadan society, the man of learning. Devotion to learning manifested itself in a remarkable manner quite early in the Muhammadan era when scholars made long journeys to collect from the survivors among the Companions of the Prophet or the friends of these Companions such sayings of Muhammad and such record of his doings as they could remember. From the early period up to modern times there have been representatives of this devoted zeal for the acquisition of knowledge pursued without any thought of reward and communicated often without regard for remuneration, and such scholars have constituted a distinctive type in Muslim society. But the life of the majority of such persons was, from the very nature of the case, uneventful and the record that the historian gives of them generally includes little more than a few dates and an enumeration of their writings. The student looks in vain for a representation of personality and a revelation of the inner character

of such men. It is just such a picture as this that is provided by the biography that Mr. C. F. Andrews has written of Munshi Zaka Ullah, who was born in Delhi in 1832 when the distinctive ideals of cultured and devout Muhammadan society were still alive in that city. As a student his life was uneventful enough, and after thirty-seven years of service in the Muir Central College, Allahabad, as Professor of Vernacular Science, he returned to his native city and spent the remaining years of his long life there. It was not until Zaka Ullah was already an old man that Mr. Andrews came to know him, but from the subject of the memoir himself and from members of his family and his personal friends the author has produced an attractive picture of a fine personality, whom all who knew him remember with affection and respect.

T. W. A.

CHRISTIANITY AND ISLAM UNDER THE SULTANS. By the late F. W. HASLUCK, M.A. Edited by MARGARET M. HASLUCK, B.A. (Cantab.), M.A.(Abdn.). 2 vols. pp. lxiv + x + 877. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1929. Price 63s. net.

Mrs. Hasluck has placed all students of the comparative study of religion, and of Islam in particular, under a debt of gratitude by the publication of the studies which her husband made in preparation for two works, which his premature death prevented him from completing, *Transferences from Christianity to Islam and Vice Versa* and *Studies in Turkish Popular History*. Much of the material contained in these two carefully edited volumes is connected with a period of religious history that is particularly obscure and has received the attention of only a few scholars, namely, the history of the Christian population of the Byzantine empire after it passed under the rule of the Turks. Though the Ottoman historians wrote ample records of the progress of their victorious armies and of the political activities of the new empire, neither they nor the Christian clergy who had become subjects of the conquering power, seem to have cared to record the changes that took place in the field of religion, and it is only by a diligent search in literature which was not primarily written with the object of providing such information, and especially by the investigation of local cults and inquiries into the history of local shrines, that light can be thrown upon the obscure religious changes that took place between the fifteenth and the sixteenth centuries. The patient research and the extraordinarily wide reading which were

required for the elaboration of Mr. Hasluck's investigations are fine testimony to his unceasing industry and erudition. These two volumes are a perfect mine of material for the study of the religious history of the Balkans and of Asia Minor during these obscure centuries; they deal not only with the history of religious interactions between the rival faiths of Christianity and Islam—the spread and propaganda of such interesting sects as the Bektashis,—accounts of Christian sanctuaries frequented by Moslems and Moslem sanctuaries frequented by Christians, but also the classical scholar and the student of folk-lore and of primitive cults will find in them an immense mass of material difficult of access elsewhere. Only an editor familiar with the subject matter and the localities concerned, could have dealt in a competent manner with the manuscripts which the author had to a very considerable degree left in an unfinished state, and the completed work owes much to Mrs. Hasluck's own researches and investigations, particularly in Albania and Macedonia.

The ample index deserves special commendation and few persons except those who have themselves attempted to compile an index covering over an hundred pages in double columns, can appreciate the immense labour and the familiarity with the subject matter that such a task demands. Students working in very diverse fields of research will find this index of immense use, as it covers a much wider range of interests than the actual title of the book at first suggests.

T. W. ARNOLD.

THE HOLY CITIES OF ARABIA. By ELDON RUTTER. 2 vols.
pp. xv + 303 and vii + 288. London and New York:
Putnam's, 1928. 42s.

Mr. Rutter's book is possibly the best *Introduction to Arabia* ever written. The story of his adventures, interesting in itself, is remarkably enriched by his vivid portrayals, especially of the persons with whom he came into contact, coupled with a certain reticence that excites the reader's curiosity. His Arabian journeys began at al-Qahm in 'Asir, whence he made his way overland to Mecca. Unfortunately the marches were made by night for the most part and, his compass having been lost at sea, any extensive geographical observations were out of the question. The same considerations apply to his other journeys to and from Tā'if and to Madina and Yanbu'. At Mecca he stayed for some nine months, and after the Pilgrimage lived much as an ordinary Meccan citizen. His sly

descriptions of the life of the city make delightful reading, but there are no glimpses of that intense scholastic activity which was generally thought to occupy most foreign *mujāwirs*. At Madīna, on the other hand, he spent only a short time, visiting the sanctuaries, but his account of the city as it was in 1925 is most welcome.

To students of the East, in fact, it is for its account of the Hijāz during the first year of the Wahhābī occupation that the book is most valuable. (It may be remarked, in parentheses, that Mr. Rutter's publishers have done him no good service by trying to associate him—at Mr. Philby's instigation—with Burton, Doughty, and Snouck Hurgronje. As a contribution to our knowledge of Arabia, geographically, socially, and politically, his work is frankly disappointing. But as he himself makes no such claim, and no pretence to scientific accuracy or comprehensiveness, it would be out of place to criticize it on these grounds. What really matters is his own reactions to his environment.) The Ikhwān are given a fairly prominent, but by no means attractive, part, and their destructive activities are all noted with a quiet intensity of indignation. Mr. Rutter evidently shares the views of the Muslim commonalty (not to speak of the Hijāzī pilgrim-touts) on this subject, and has nothing but bitter words for the fanaticism of the desert-men. Yet his judgments on the townsfolk in their turn are not particularly favourable, and one is left wondering what his real feeling is towards the people amongst whom originated the religion to which—in a modernized and reinterpreted form—he is so obviously attracted.

H. A. R. G.

THE AUTOBIOGRAPHY OF OUSĀMA [IBN MOUNKIDH]. Translated by G. R. POTTER. pp. xii + 301. London: Routledge (Broadway Mediaeval Library), 1929. 12s. 6d.

Usāma's autobiographical anecdotes form one of the most precious of extant sources for the social life of Syria in the Middle Ages and what may be called the local history of the Crusades. There is consequently every cause for satisfaction that it has at last been made accessible to English readers. Dr. Potter, who is the Lecturer in Medieval History at Queen's College, Belfast, has produced a very readable version of Dérenbourg's translation, and has supplied brief but adequate notes to elucidate the casual references in the text. Quite apart from the pleasure which is furnished by these lively observations and hunting tales, the book is one which history students

in particular would be well advised to read. From a strictly technical point of view, of course, this translation raises the question of the attitude of the Orientalist when one of the few plums (from our point of view) of Eastern literature is gathered by one who has no first-hand acquaintance with the original. We should not, presumably, be content to have an English version of a German work made from a French translation, and it is difficult to see why the case should be different with an Arabic work. There is the farther point that the first translation of any Arabic work can hardly be free from a certain proportion of errors, which a subsequent reviser is likely to reduce; besides, when a style so spare and laconic as is Usāma's has to be rendered through the medium of a diffuse and wordy French translation, it is impossible to preserve anything of the flavour of the original. Such considerations, however, are not likely to appeal to the wider public, and on general grounds the book is heartily welcome.

H. A. R. G.

BEITRÄGE ZUR GESCHICHTE DES STAATSKANZLEI IM ISLAMISCHEN ÄGYPTEN. By WALTHER BJÖRKMANN. (Hamburgische Universität. Abhandlungen aus dem Gebiet der Auslandskunde. Band 28.) pp. viii + 217. Hamburg, 1928.

With the publication of that fine flower of mediaeval bureaucracy, Qalqashandī's *Subḥ al-A'shā*, in fourteen volumes (Cairo, 1913-20), one of the most important sources for the history of Islamic culture was at last made fully accessible to Oriental scholarship. The new edition has already been freely utilized, but the materials which Dr. Björkmann has put together in the present *Beiträge* demonstrate afresh how much still remains to be quarried from this monumental work. The fourth and fifth sections of his book are designed to facilitate its use, the fourth giving a classified list of Qalqashandī's sources, the fifth a detailed summary of the contents—both sections being the more welcome in view of the absence of any indices to the edition as it stands. The first section gives a brief survey of the beginnings of Islamic administration under the Umayyads and 'Abbāsids, together with a valuable bibliography of Arabic literature on the subject, including summaries of two MS. works, al-Baghdādī's *Kitāb al-Kutūb* and Hilāl aṣ-Ṣābi's *Ghurār al-Balāgha*. The second, and principal, section is an admirable monograph on the complicated history of the secretariat in Egypt. The third section comprises a draft list of secretaries of all the Caliphs and all the rulers of Egypt,

but with several lacunæ, which presumably remain to be filled up from other sources; the names inserted under the Ikhshîdids, for example, could have been supplemented from the history of Jamāl ad-Dīn al-Ḥalabī (in the appendix to Wüstenfeld's *Statthalter*, 4^e Abt.). The statement made on p. 18 that the technical use of the term *ḍurān al-inshā'* cannot go back as far as the Ṭūlūnids, may be correct, but it is worth noting that the word *inshā'* is used by Aḥmad b. Ṭūlūn's secretary himself in relation to state documents (كتب ائشى: Ibn Sa'īd (ed. Vollers), 41). A final word of appreciation is due to the forty pages of full and carefully classified indices.

H. A. R. G.

REVUE DES ÉTUDES ISLAMIKES, publiée sous la direction de L. MASSIGNON. Tome II. Année 1928. 4 cahiers. pp. 611. Paris: Geuthner. Subscription price 100 francs.

With the completion of its second volume, the methods and tendencies of M. Massignon's journal become more clearly defined. In every article some aspect of the social and intellectual structure of the present-day world of Islam is examined more or less fully. But just here, where one might expect the widest variety, there can be no overlooking the fact of a certain uniformity or monotony in its contents. The reason is not far to seek; M. Achille Sékaly Bey's collection of documents relating to "L'Université d'El Azhar" (having already filled 90 pages in the first volume) occupy no fewer than 273 pages, or half the space available for articles; and 224 pages of the remainder are devoted to a variety of Turkish and Central Asian matters. No one would deny that it is of interest, and even of importance, to students of the Islamic world to have at their disposal the statutes of al-Azhar *in extenso*, the detailed syllabuses for its three grades of students, and its revenue and expenditure account, but one may question whether it is the function of a journal of this kind to give up its space to what is in effect a lengthy book of a mainly documentary and statistical character. If this is to be a regular feature of the *Revue des Études Islamiques*, it seems a pity that M. Massignon did not retain the system of the old *Revue du Monde Musulman*, which had certain obvious virtues in the presentation of "études de (si!) longue haleine". The articles on Turko-Tatar subjects, on the other hand, deal with a variety of interesting topics,

including rural economy and workmen's legislation in Turkey (the latter translated from the Russian journal *Novyi Vostok*) and modern Turkish music, and only appear to bulk so large because so little room is left for anything else.

The remaining articles all relate to the Berbers of Morocco. M. Paul Marty publishes the *'urf*, or code of customary law, of the Beni M'tir, which is deserving of special attention as the first complete code to be published. An article by M. de la Chappelle on the tribes of the western High Atlas effectively illustrates, within a restricted sphere, the operation of the historical and geographical factors which underlie the whole of Moroccan history. Most interesting of all is a little study in four pages, the title of which, "Les Chleuh de la Banlieue de Paris," irresistibly recalls those "Voyages en Orient" of the elder Gautier—at the Crystal Palace. But few explorers in distant lands have had stranger discoveries to relate than that which Lieut.-Col. Justinard, aided only by his own acute observation and the municipal tramways, has made of the steady colonization of certain districts in the suburbs of Paris by tribal groups of Berbers from the still half-subdued territories in the extreme south-west of Morocco.

H. A. R. G.

A BAGHDAD CHRONICLE. By REUBEN LEVY, M.A. pp. xii + 279.
Cambridge: University Press, 1929. 15s.

The mediaeval history of the East has suffered sadly at the hands of chroniclers, both native and Western, and the appearance of a work in which political events are subordinated to social history is doubly welcome. Mr. Levy has already shown that Oriental scholarship and accuracy are not incompatible with the possession of an attractive literary style, and the ability to present his material in an interesting form. In this book he has drawn directly on a large number of original authorities, printed and manuscript, but the smooth-running narrative has no hint of the mosaic. Orientalists will probably find little that is entirely new to them, but almost all would confess that, after reading it through, they have gained a much clearer vision than before of the life of Baghdād under the 'Abbāsids.

In the long range of five centuries covered by the "Chronicle", it was inevitable that some statements should be open to question. The number which I have noted, however, is comparatively small, and few are of importance. The story related on pp. 11-12 belongs to the legendary narrative put together by Sayf, and one would have

expected some hint that it is in all probability entirely fictitious. Marwān II was certainly no "weakling Caliph" (p. 13). On p. 26 Mr. Levy says that Baghdād "was not a fortified depot for troops"; the impression given by the historians, however, is that it was precisely for that purpose that it was founded. The statement about the Barmecides on p. 28 should have been corrected in the light of the facts recorded on p. 51; *barmak* is almost certainly a Sanskrit title. The phrase "regular wives, whose children were freeborn and entitled to inherit from their father" (p. 61) gives the misleading impression that the children of concubines were not freeborn nor entitled to inherit. Though the latter were in the early days socially inferior to the former, they were in every respect equal in the eyes of the law. The practice of kissing the threshold of the Caliph's palace (p. 238) goes back at least to the fourth century of the Hijra. The *Futuwa* associated with the Caliph Nāṣir (pp. 241-2) still maintained some sort of existence under the Mamlūk sultans of Egypt after the destruction of Baghdād.

H. A. R. G.

IBN BATTUTA, TRAVELS IN ASIA AND AFRICA, 1325-1354. Translated and selected by H. A. R. GIBB. (The Broadway Travellers.) London: George Routledge & Sons, Ltd., 1929.

This is an admirable version of a most valuable work. "To the world of to-day," as Mr. Gibb says, "the men of mediaeval Christendom already seem remote and unfamiliar." "How much more," he justly adds, "must this apply to the great Islamic civilization that stood over against mediaeval Europe, menacing its existence and yet linked to it by a hundred ties that even war and fear could not sever." This would be his justification, if justification were needed, for placing in the hands of British readers this translation of the record of the travels of the indefatigable Ibn Battuta, who paints a more vivid picture of life in the many lands which he visited than any author of his age.

The work is styled "Selections from the Travels of Ibn Battuta", but so judiciously has the translator made his selections that there is no apparent breach of continuity, and the reader may rest assured that he has in his hand a comprehensive sketch of all the pilgrim's wanderings and experiences.

The method of compiling the record, by a secretary at the dictation of the traveller, has produced an attractive treatise in an easy colloquial style, which the translator has wisely, and well, retained;

but Ibn Battuta seems to have kept no notes, and no memory, however excellent, as his undoubtedly was, could retain, without an occasional lapse, a minutely accurate record of nearly thirty years of travel, and the result has been occasional errors in dates and in place-names. As Mr. Gibb observes, the errors are comparatively few, considering the enormous number of places and persons mentioned, and his valuable notes contribute much towards the correction of many of them, but some, and especially those of chronology, it may never be possible to correct.

The translation is preceded by a most valuable introduction, displaying great critical acumen and learning both wide and deep. Its first section contains an account and a criticism of Ibn Battuta's work, and the other two provide historical and religious backgrounds. The historical section gives an accurate and complete, but most judiciously compressed account of the history of the lands visited by the traveller, and the religious section a lucid and instructive view of Islam in the fourteenth century of its orthodoxy and its mysticism, and of the life, the creed, the mentality, and the religious differences of Muslims. It will enable the merest novice to understand the circumstances of the traveller's wanderings, his difficulties, and his comments on men and affairs; but there can be few students of Islam who can afford to neglect it.

The work contains few misprints, but one on page 39—"defying" for "deifying"—is especially unfortunate.

Mr. Gibb has earned the gratitude of all interested in oriental history, to whose numbers such work as his should add, and one of the chief merits of his book is that it is a foretaste of something better to come—a complete translation of *A Donation to those interested in the Curiosities of the Cities and the Marvels of the Ways* for the Hakluyt Society.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

CHRISTIANITY AND THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA. By ARTHUR MAYHEW. Faber & Gwyer. 12s. 6d.

This volume is not nearly so good as was Mr. Mayhew's former volume on education in India. The latter was well and carefully written; the present has the air of having been hastily scrambled together; it is adorned by such queer lapses as "epithet" where the author means "epitaph" and "propagation" where he means

"propaganda"; and he can write of "the coinage and effigy" of the Moghul emperor. Then, too, Mr. Mayhew's former subject was reasonably clear and definite, whereas the present is vague and general, comprehending the history of both Protestant missions and British rule in India. He is very well acquainted with the history of Indian education and the problems which it has had to meet; but he is less familiar with the two broad subjects which he has now endeavoured to compress into one slender volume. The essence of the view that he puts forward is that the Company's government was both cowardly and unwise in not patronizing more openly missionary activities, and that its attitude of religious neutrality had its part in bringing about the Mutiny. His argument is that since it was in fact a government of Christians, its assumption of neutrality was regarded by Hindus and Muslims alike as a mere mask behind which designs for the fraudulent disruption of their faiths might be matured. This seems to us a travesty of the facts. The Company was, we think, entirely right and completely justified in the view which it had consistently taken; nor can its conduct properly be described (with Mr. Mayhew) as "nervous vacillation". Dalhousie's active policy of reform undoubtedly played a large part in producing the atmosphere of unrest which made the Mutiny possible; and it would have had an even more marked influence had the Government been more closely associated with missionary activities. Akbar, Mr. Mayhew tells us, never aroused hostility; a remarkable commentary on the history of Badaoni. In short, the volume seems designed rather to illustrate a pre-determined thesis than to investigate the facts. H. D.

THE BRITISH CROWN AND THE INDIAN STATES . . . Drawn up on behalf
 . . . of the Chamber of Princes. King, 1929. 10s. 6d.

This slender volume aims at laying before the general public an account of the manner in which the relations between the Crown and the Indian States came into being. But it is a pity that it is not more judicial in tone and exact in statement. Thus the writer observes that the treaties concluded by the Company were inspired by "a spirit of equality of status". In most cases nothing could be further from the truth. The treaties did indeed exhibit a *formal* equality of status, but the most cursory examination of the documents shows clearly enough that the equality was a matter of form, not of substance. Again, regarding Wellesley's treaties, we are told that none stipulated for any limitation of armed forces in the States. The fact is so. But

when we remember that both in Mysore and in Oudh Wellesley took by treaty the power of giving advice which was to be accepted, it is clear that he was assuming authority over the whole state, and therefore over the extent to which the state maintained armed forces. The Fifth Report of 1812 is criticized for not dealing with the relations between the Company and the Indian States, as if that document had not been designed exclusively to deal, as indeed it formally declares, with the internal administration of the Company's territories. Nor, as was perhaps to be expected, does the volume admit the possibility that the text of the treaties has to be read in the light of subsequent historical development. Yet that fact obviously dominates the whole situation; it is apparent, for instance, that the assumption of government by the Crown modified the position of the Princes, although the text of the treaties was formally confirmed. The volume must therefore be read with a cautious recollection of the prepossessions with which it was naturally composed.

H. D.

CEYLON ZUR ZEIT DES KÖNIGS BHUVANEKA BAHU UND FRANZ XAVERS,
1539-52. Von G. SCHURHAMMER und E. A. VORETZSCH. 2 vols.
Leipzig: Verlag der Asia Major, 1928. 50 M.

The period covered by these important and admirably edited volumes is that of the origin of the Portuguese power in Ceylon. The island was divided into three realms. The principal king, Bhuvanaik Bahu, soon found himself involved in war with the subordinate kingdoms. He sought help from the Portuguese, who had already established a factory at Colombo; and, as the extension of their power in Ceylon was a favourite object with the Portuguese, and as the Zamorin of Calicut, their constant enemy, was supporting Mayadunna, king of Sitawaka, the Portuguese at last in 1539 managed to spare a body of troops, under the command of Miguel Ferreira, for the assistance of Bhuvanaik Bahu. Ferreira was an able and experienced soldier, who had served under Albuquerque. The king, thus relying upon Portuguese help, fell more and more under their control, and presently sent a Brahman ambassador, Radaraksa Pandit, to Lisbon, with an image of the infant prince whose recognition as successor Bhuvanaik Bahu desired. The pandit returned with the necessary orders, and with six Franciscans under Frey João de Villa de Conde. After long discussions and prolonged delays, due to their preoccupations elsewhere, the Portuguese sent in 1547

an expedition to assist another king, Vikrama Bahu of Kandi; but they soon found that he was not willing to carry out promises rashly made in his name by a Portuguese adventurer at his court. In the next year occurred the disastrous expedition to Kandi under Jorge de Castro. In 1550 Ceylon was visited by the viceroy in person. This led to a policy aiming more directly at the control of the island, and was soon followed by the death of Bhuvanaik Bahu in very extraordinary circumstances, being shot by a member of his Portuguese guard.

On the whole, the conduct of the Portuguese appears but ill in the documents assembled in these two volumes. Indeed, their Ceylon record is low. But the papers which Dr. Schurhammer has collected from Portuguese and ecclesiastical sources shows us clearly how the two main principles of their policy interacted. They sought, in Ceylon as elsewhere, spices and Christians, and evidently felt that their work was still undone so long as the island remained unconverted to Christianity. Missionary influence seems to have played a considerable part in diverting the Portuguese from one alliance to another with the rival Sinhalese princes. The documents which Dr. Schurhammer has here published therefore offer a fuller and more complete view of the historical development than those of Mr. Pieris's recent volume, besides providing the student with the texts themselves, of which Mr. Pieris only gives a translation. The editorial work has been done with fullness and precision, even though St. Francis Xavier does not play that important part which one would have expected from the author's title-page. We should welcome a further selection of original papers illustrating the later period of Portuguese dominion in Ceylon under the same skilled editorship.

H. D.

NOTES SUR LA BHAGAVADGĪTĀ, par ÉTIENNE LAMOTTE. . . . Avec une préface de LOUIS DE LA VALLÉE POUSSIN. pp. xiii + ii + 153. Paris, 1929. 8s.

The praise which M. de La Vallée Poussin in his preface bestows upon these *Notes* is well deserved. The book is accurate, judicious, free from prejudice, and very well informed. The study of the Gītā, as M. Lamotte says, is never finished; but he has greatly facilitated it by the skill and precision with which he has stated and discussed its main points.

After an introduction surveying the theories of the Gītā's composition

and stating the object of the present studies, M. Lamotte proceeds to deal with the poem in three sections. In the first he reviews the conditions under which it arose—the cult of Kṛṣṇa, the Bhāgavata sect, and Brahmanism in its earlier phases (Vēdas, Brāhmaṇas, Upaniṣads, and nascent Darśanas). In the second he analyses the Gītākāra's speculative doctrines in regard to the nature and functions of the Lord, matter, and individual souls; and in the third he examines his moral and practical teachings, represented by *jñāna-yōga*, *karma-yōga*, and *bhakti-yōga*. Then follow a summary of the author's conclusions on the nature and object of the Gītā, a telling criticism of Garbe's unhappy attempt to dissect the Gītā into two recensions, a bibliography, and indexes. Most readers nowadays, we believe, will agree with M. Lamotte's conclusion that the Gītā, as it stands, is mainly the work of a single writer, and that its unity lies in its general tendency and purpose, which is to win for the cult of Kṛṣṇa as many proselytes as possible by borrowing heterogeneous doctrines from many sources and unifying them more or less by breathing into all of them alike that spirit of devotion to a personal god of grace which was characteristic of the Bhāgavata church.¹

The moot problems of the origin of the Kṛṣṇa-cult are but briefly handled by M. Lamotte; and with what he writes I regret that I cannot fully agree. He denies to Kṛṣṇa historical reality (p. 11), quoting Barth's argument that it is "very improbable that Kṛṣṇa is directly related to the Kṛṣṇa of the Chāndogya [iii, 17], for how should the obscure disciple of a certain Ghōra have suddenly become the national hero of an important people of India, the warlike author of so many deeds of prowess?" With all respect I submit that this argument is fallacious, and that in the Chāndōgya Upaniṣad, in which Kṛṣṇa is represented according to old brahmanic tradition, the Older Epic, where he appears in the light of a Kṣatriya legend which was current outside his church, and the Later Epic, in which he figures as the Supreme Incarnate, we have three mutually complementary standpoints. The *facts* represented by them may well have been almost or quite contemporary. Kṛṣṇa listening to a sermon of Ghōra, Kṛṣṇa ruling a powerful tribe, Kṛṣṇa worshipped as All-God—these are events which might have happened within a few years, even within Kṛṣṇa's lifetime; but in literature they were handled from three different points of view—the Aupaniṣada, the non-Kṛṣṇaite

¹ "La bhakti est le centre de gravitation de tout le poème," he justly observes (p. 116).

Kṣatriya, and the Kṛṣṇaite—and at different times, and in the Epic the last two currents of thought are very imperfectly fused. To term the Kṛṣṇa Dēvakī-putra of the Chāndōgya “obscure” is to beg the question and to take an unfair advantage of the two meanings of the adjective: for “obscure” may denote both “insignificant” and “hard to identify”. That Kṛṣṇa Dēvakī-putra of the Chāndōgya was insignificant rests merely upon the *ipse dixit* of M. Barth; that he is hard to identify is just the point at issue. With all respect for the eminent scholars who have asserted the contrary (among whom I may name *honoris causa* my lamented friend Mr. Pargiter in *AIHT.*, p. 328 n.), I submit that his identification with Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva is based on very strong probabilities indeed. The name *Kṛṣṇa* is common; but the name *Dēvakī* is so very rare that the only bearer of it in Epic, Puranic, and Classical literature, as far as I know, is the mother of Kṛṣṇa Vāsudēva. Hence the combination of “Kṛṣṇa” with the practically unique “Dēvakī-putra” on both sides of the equation is in itself enough to prove that K. Dēvakī-putra of the Chāndōgya = K. Vāsudēva. But the context of the Chāndōgya furnishes additional proof. Not to repeat what I have already written elsewhere (*JRAS.*, 1929, p. 128), I will only say here that Ghōra’s sermon is exactly what we should expect a *summula theologiæ* of the early Bhāgavatas to be, expressed of course in the language of an Aupanishada—worship of the Sun-god as blessed universal spirit, to whom the souls of the faithful pass on death, and a primitive form of *karma-yōga*. In the Gītā all this reappears, with more or less modification, and fortified by much additional matter from other sources. It is surprising that so judicious a scholar as M. Lamotte should ignore these striking points of contact and by a bold *petitio principii* accuse the early Bhāgavatas of “indigence complète” in regard to theology. The Gītākāra himself indicates that he was the heir of an ancient *sampradāya* of sun-worship, which inevitably had also a theological and ethical side. In iii, 42 ff., in a chapter bearing the capital title *karma-yōga*, he gives us a theory of the gradations of being (sense-materials, sense-organs, *manas*, *buddhi*, Supreme) and of the Yōga based thereupon, which is essentially similar to Katha iii, 10 f., vi, 7 f. (with omission of *avyakta*); and the process by which nature as thus graduated is to be controlled in order to suppress “original sin” he describes as a Yōga which the Supreme taught to Vivasvant (a solar being), he to his son Manu, etc. (iv, 1 ff.). I refuse to believe that the Gītākāra invented this *sampradāya*: the facts

plainly suggest that before his time Bhāgavata tradition preserved an ancient theory of *karma-yōga*, associated with an ontology and ethics more or less like those of the Kāṭha, with which it connected an immemorial sun-worship.

In the Chāndōgya Ghōra enumerates as the virtues of his church austerities (*tapas*), bounty (*dāna*), simplicity (*ārjava*), harmlessness (*ahimsā*), and truthfulness. The Gītākāra has borrowed this list (a clear proof of his spiritual derivation from the Chāndōgya, with wide implications), and padded it out by the addition of seven more points (xvi, 1 f.). The Besnagar Inscription, however, reduces them all to "three immortal steps (*padāni*), which lead to paradise—self-control (*dama*), bounty (*cāga*), and heedfulness (*apramāda*)."¹ No doubt the writer's design in formulating these three "steps" was to rationalise or moralise the mythical strides of Viṣṇu; the question, however, is what virtues he meant by *dama*, *cāga*, and *apramāda*, to which he must have attached a wider meaning than they bear in the other lists. I am tempted to see in this triad a rude summary of the same principles as those of the Gītā. Under "self-control" are perhaps included most of the ideas which the Gītā treats under the headings of *jñāna-yōga*, *karma-yōga*, and *bhakti-yōga*. "Bounty" may denote not only gifts in general but also sacrifice, which occupies a prime place in the Bhāgavata religious life, for the Gītā insists on the necessity of sacrifice (*yaśṭavyam*, xvii, 11), while it purifies and spiritualises the act by allowing it to be performed with the humblest materials, or even in symbol. And lastly, "heedfulness" perhaps may be understood in the special sense of "harmlessness" (*ahimsā*), for heedlessness (*pramāda*) is constantly condemned as causing men to deprive other beings of life.¹

But *ohé, iam satis est!* it is time to conclude these observations on M. Lamotte's book, from whom we take farewell with much gratitude for his excellent studies, echoing the hope expressed by M. de la Vallée Poussin in his penetrating and suggestive preface that the author of the present work will follow it up by similar researches into the later cult of Kṛṣṇa.

L. D. BARNETT.

¹ Cf. the Jain use, e.g. in *Tattvārthakāṅgama*, vii, 8, *pramatta-yōgāt prāna-ryāro-paṇam kīṃśa*, "killing means to deprive another of life as a result of heedless activity."

THE BHAGAVADGĪTĀ: Translated from the Sanskrit with an Introduction and Argument and a Commentary by W. DOUGLAS P. HILL. pp. xii, 303. London: Oxford University Press, 1928.

Mr. Hill gives us a finely printed text, with a polished and scholarly translation and the notes necessary to its elucidation or defence (conveniently on the same page with the text); and an introduction in which he discusses the Kṛṣṇa-Vāsudeva cult, the date and circumstances of composition of the work, and its doctrine, and further elucidates his translation by means of a full argument. It is clear that he has spared no pains to make his edition as good as it could be; and he may justly congratulate himself on having produced a very good edition. Probably his translation was especially a labour of love: at any rate it gives the impression of care expended on the choice of every word and phrase: and the result achieved was worth the pains, for it is a pleasure to read the English version.

The Gītā is sometimes so difficult to determine to a precise meaning that the reader is inclined to raise the prior question whether the writer himself always had a definite meaning. Therefore, Mr. Hill's detailed statement of its argument is an essential part of his interpretation of the work; and reference to it is necessary in those passages in which the text does not obviously succeed in saying just what Mr. Hill—or, for that matter, any commentator or translator—thinks that it meant to say. Mr. Hill is among those who look for a definite and consistent body of teaching in the work. But there are different kinds of definiteness and consistency; and the kind which Mr. Hill finds in the work is not that which we look for in a systematic treatise. The Gītā has an extensive equipment of apparently technical terms which might suggest that a systematic philosophy or theology underlies them. And it may be that some of its terminology had a meaning to which we have lost the clue: Dr. Barnett states, for instance, that some of its terms and doctrines find their explanation in Pāñcarātra theology. But the suspicion lingers that they are sometimes borrowed from a fluid "Sāṃkhya" terminology which was the common property of epic and purāṇa, and sometimes invented *ad hoc*; and in neither case employed with technical precision (although later scholasticism may have fixed them to the precision of a systematic theology in some cases). That seems to be the suggestion in Mr. Hill's note on xv, 16, where he says that "Poetry rises superior to terminology and the very confusion of terms helps to suggest the oneness of all which is the ultimate

doctrine of the Gītā". A fluid terminology is not incompatible with consistent teaching, though it may be with systematic doctrine. Mr. Hill's position is perhaps not misrepresented by the statement that though he would not claim that the work is systematic he does believe that it is fundamentally consistent. It is necessarily tied down to a certain definiteness in its doctrine of Action simply because it starts with the question whether anything is worth doing, and could not afford to forget for long the need of an affirmative answer. This gives it the characteristically ethical outlook which is its chief interest for some readers: and though it does not raise the questions of the Good¹ and of the criterion of action, which a philosophy of conduct can hardly avoid, it does, in its reiterated conclusion (iii, 35; xvii, 47) *śreyān svadharmaṁ viguṇaḥ paradharmāt svanuṣṭhitāt*, and in its basic doctrine of *naiṣkarmyasiddhi*, suggest comparison with Plato's definition of justice as "doing one's own work" and with the Platonic analogy between the good man and the artist who, as such, is not concerned with "wages" and wants nothing except to make a job of his job. Mr. Hill, however (quite justifiably), objects to the tendency to place Action in the forefront of the Gītā's teaching, as a partial view. He is himself interested in the book as, above all else, an expression of the religious spirit—he is somewhat reserved in the expression of his personal attitude, but (see p. 51) he plainly regards the Gītā as a high expression of that spirit. And in the religious attitude inculcated in the work he finds a reconciliation of the conflicting claims of action thought and devotion which makes its teaching for him *fundamentally* consistent. He claims that it teaches the ideal of a balanced life in which action, knowledge and devotion each play their part—"the balanced man must develop to its best every element that makes up personality." (Perhaps this dictates his rendering of *śamatva* by "balance": though that word suggests rather neutrality or indifference.) Can we really find this Greek point of view in the Gītā? I cannot think that the relation between the three aspects is as organic in the Gītā as Mr. Hill's interpretation takes it to be. The various disciplines or *yogas* still seem to me to be presented as at best successive stages in the approach towards an

¹ The characterization of *śukham atyantikam* at vi, 21-2, in the words *yaṁ labdhvā cāparaṁ lābhaṁ manasā nādhikam tataḥ* is precisely parallel with Aristotle's formal characterization of the Summum Bonum as the Good which cannot be made bigger by adding goods to it. Mr. Hill's rendering of *adhikam* by "more excellent" conceals the parallelism. The meaning is that there is nothing *more* to be added to it.

ideal which does not realize what is of value in each but merely negates them all.

Mr. Hill follows the present tendency to assign a rather early date for the composition of the work: a tendency which is in the nature of a reaction from earlier suggestions that it was written under Christian influence. These suggestions have been discounted by the Beśnagar inscription which proves that the Bhāgavata cult of Vāsudeva prevailed early in the second century B.C. The work *may* then have been composed well before the Christian era. Mr. Hill thinks that internal evidence indicates that it was written early in the second century before Christ. But one of his arguments—that the Gītā does not stress the identity of Kṛṣṇa with Viṣṇu—has to face an emphatic assertion. In the revelation of his universal form (*viśvarūpa*) in the eleventh book Kṛṣṇa is not only addressed as Viṣṇu (Bhandarkar says that this is in contexts in which Arjuna may well have been reminded of the sun), but is described as bearing the emblem of Viṣṇu—*kirīṭinaṃ gadinaṃ cakriṇaṃ ca*. And there are passages which are not easy to reconcile with so early a date. Thus the reference at xiii, 4—*Brahmasūtrapadaścaiva hetumadbhiḥ*—certainly seems to indicate (if only by the word *hetumadbhiḥ*, which means “reasoned”, not “well-reasoned” as Mr. Hill renders) the logical methods of a *darśana*, and must perhaps be taken in the obvious sense—not explained as a reference to “Upaniṣadic passages and verses current in the Vedāntic school”. And passages (x, 22; xiii, 5; xv, 7) which treat *manas* as a sixth sense-organ seem to indicate a relatively late date, when it is remembered that Dinnāga criticised the *Nyāya-sūtra* for failing to class *manas* as an *indriya*.

It is not to be expected that a reader will always agree with Mr. Hill's renderings; but he will soon learn to respect Mr. Hill as an interpreter even when he disagrees. There is for instance the passage at the beginning of the fifteenth book which uses the metaphor of the *aśvattha* in speaking of the phenomenal world. The *aśvattha* is, as Mr. Hill says, the *pīpal*; not the *banyan* (*nyagrodha*); had it been the latter the epithet *ūrdhvamūla* at any rate would have been more intelligible. But the *pīpal* does not drop rootlets from its branches, like the *banyan*. Mr. Hill, however, notes that the *pīpal* is peculiar “in that its roots . . . do not altogether as in other trees lose themselves in a central rounded trunk, but, to a great extent retaining their separate form, climb up in a cluster. . . . Each root is thus continuous with its own branch . . . and therefore it is possible

to speak of the branch as descending to the earth and of the root as rising aloft". This novel and ingenious suggestion may be right. And yet this is no ordinary *pīpal*; and a cruder interpretation is possible—that it is pictured in the first couplet as literally upside down, because rooted in the heavens, and that the image is then corrected in the second couplet by the thought that after all the tree of *samsāra* is rooted *below* also, in human act and sacrifice. Of course the image as such then becomes hopelessly inconsistent: and the writer has to admit as much forthwith, *na rūpaṃ tasyeha tathopalabhyate*. Apart from such disagreements, Mr. Hill, like all translators, has his conventions and mannerisms. Why does he translate *deva* by "Heaven's lords" for instance? And he shows a tendency to an inverted order of words which sometimes leads to obscurity and occasionally suggests an inclination to fall into blank verse. But these are small defects in an admirable translation.

One solid ground of complaint against Mr. Hill is that he does not provide any *apparatus criticus*. There are variants; and, even though it is impossible to give anything like a complete conspectus of these, it would have been distinctly useful to a reader to know whether *variæ lectiones* exist in disputable passages. Mr. Hill sometimes, but not always, mentions in his notes known differences of reading.

H. N. RANDLE.

TREATMENT OF LOVE IN SANSKRIT LITERATURE. By SUSHIL KUMAR DE. pp. 87. Calcutta, 1929.

Although this little book be "meant more for the general reader than for the scholar", as Professor De himself modestly assures us, its importance is well warranted by the very name of its author. It deals with a topic which is all-important all over the world and perhaps nowhere more so than in India, viz. the treatment of love by poets and litterati. We would venture to assert that everyone of our fellow-scholars will read this fascinating little volume with the most vivid interest.

Dharma, *artha*, and *kāma* are the constituents of the Indian *trivarga*. There may even be a *caturvarga* if to these three be added *mokṣa* but *mokṣa*, although theoretically ready at hand to everyone, is in fact obtainable only by a very few. And besides, the materialists at any rate would scoff at *mokṣa* as being a void and dangerous fancy of their more superstitious fellow-creatures, for, does not Cārvāka

tell us that *mṛtyur evāpavargah*. These ill-disposed people deny the existence even of *dharma*, telling us blankly that *arthakāmau puruṣārthau*. But materialism, for what ever be its real value, is a barren and uninteresting system of thought, and luckily it does not hold sway over the average human mind—at least not in India. Thus the Hindu clings to the *trivarga* as he has done since days of yore. The *dharma* forms the basis of the society of castes, the only society where one reaps the fruits of activity; *artha* makes possible a material existence; and *kāma*, love, physical as well as spiritual, inspires the sublimest feelings, gives the highest pleasure, and guarantees the everlasting existence of mankind.

To Love is dedicated a great part of Sanskrit as well as of other literature. The classical literature of India is full of its niceties as well as of its less savoury sides. And the Hindus possess in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsyāyana the one scientific treatise on love that the world has so far seen. To most of those who have made a superficial acquaintance with this peculiar work it certainly appears to be a store-house of impurities, and comparisons are drawn with the *Ars amatoria* of Ovid. Such a parallel, like many others, is totally false. Ovid's poem, couched in elegant verses, is meant to be a favourite and instructive pastime to lascivious young persons of both sexes; Vātsyāyana's book, composed in a dry and tedious *sūtra* style, is meant to be a scientific encyclopædia on *kāma*, one of the three main constituents of human life and society. Ovid's life we know fairly well, and there is no doubt that he was a rake and a profligate; of Vātsyāyana we only know that he was a theoretician, but our knowledge of India would not preclude us from suggesting that he led the life of a recluse and even a saint.

As the subject of *kāma* plays such a dominating part in Indian literature it seems curious that no modern writer should have undertaken a wholesale treatment of it. Professor R. Schmidt, of course, has published his translation of the *Kāmasūtra* and his *Beiträge zur indischen Erotik*, and Dr. J. J. Meyer has made valuable contributions to the purely erotic literature. These, however, are works that would mainly interest the scholar—though it seems rather curious that works like those by Professor Schmidt should really be needed at all. The work of Dr. De again is one that satisfies the scholar and the literary public alike. Within a limited space its author has compressed a great many of the most beautiful and significant passages dealing with Love in various parts of Sanskrit literature. The materials

could, of course, easily be multiplied but we venture to think that Dr. De has shown a wise moderation in strongly restricting his choice.

The author begins with the two well-known hymns of the Rigveda, x, 95 and x, 10, dealing with respectively Purūravas and Urvaśī and Yama and Yamī. Both these little epic poems—for there can be no talk of either drama or *ākhyāna*—are filled with deep and heart-rending tragedy. The one tells us of the strong man who burns with love of a superhuman creature more coquettish and fickle-hearted even than her earthly sisters. In the height of his despair he threatens to turn away from the world for ever, perhaps even to commit suicide, but she only scoffs at him, and with a cynicism which if repulsive is at least honest she advises him to abandon women who have the hearts of hyenas. Even more filled with tragedy is the story of Yama and Yamī. To a primitive age incest was not the horror that it is to a civilized society. Regular traces of it are found in Ancient Persia, and a myth in the Brāhmaṇas betrays to us that even in India Yama and his twin-sister were once looked upon as man and wife. But Rigveda x, 10 is composed by a poet who belonged to another age and cherished other ideals. In his partly very obscure poem the sister, inflamed with impure passion, craves for carnal conjunction; but the brother, a wiser and better being, absolutely refuses her offer, and warns her of the spies of the gods, ever on the move and never sleeping. There is not the slightest doubt that those are the spies of Varuṇa, the Great King, who alone among the Vedic gods is the upholder of morality and wreaks terrible vengeance on the sinner.

The learned author touches only very slightly on Epic and Buddhist literature and turns nearly the whole of his interest towards classical Sanskrit literature where, no doubt, is found the greater part of his material. We hear of the great lyric poets, Amaru, Bhartṛhari and others, as well as of the most luminous stars in the galaxy of classical writers, Kālidāsa and Bhavabhūti. The anthology of Hāla also earns the vivid praise of Dr. De and he even has some words of recommendation for the unknown author of the *Caurapañcāśikā*. Gross and licentious as are some details of that little poem it always has appeared to the present writer to deserve a far greater attention and praise than it has received, and he is very glad to find that an authority like Dr. De apparently shares his opinion.

We are at one with the author that the classical poetry holds an infinite store of beautiful and fascinating love-passages. But after

all there is perhaps still more in it that is schematized, unnatural, and tedious. There is, however, another literature which has been touched upon far too lightly by the author, viz. the Epics, which gives pictures of love more sublime than even the finest ones met with in classical poetry. First of all there is the story of Rāma and Sītā, sung by Vālmiki, and by an endless series of lesser poets down to the great Tulsī Dās. Rāma is one of the chief darlings of the Indian people, and no doubt he is a very fine type, though he lacks the manliness and spiritual grandeur that characterizes his less prominent brother Lakṣmaṇa. Sītā is undoubtedly the ideal wife, and there is room for no other feeling than admiration of the magnificent way in which she endures her unhappy life. But neither Sītā nor Damayanti nor Śakuntalā for all their loveliness and moral greatness can vie with the sweet and wise daughter of King Aśvapati who wrestles with Death for the life of the man whom she has herself chosen and brings home the prize by her prudent and courteous words. This is a type than which Indian literature has created no higher, nor could it well do. And she has only one manly equal, the Brahmin boy Naciketas to whom Death, though long reluctant, has to yield the highest and eternal secret. To suggest that these two find their Western counterparts in the daughter of Cymbeline and the young Prince of Denmark is only to suggest that as literary types they will never and nowhere be surpassed.

However, our enthusiasm for the love-tales of the Epics is carrying us outside the limits set by the masterly little work of Dr. De. We allow ourselves to congratulate and thank him for his last eminent achievement.

J. C.

THE VAKROKTI-JĪVITA, a Treatise on Sanskrit Poetics, by RĀJĀNAKA KUNTAKA, with its own Commentary. Edited with Critical Notes, Introduction, and Résumé by SUSHIL KUMAR DE. (Calcutta Oriental Series, No. 8.) Second revised and enlarged edition. pp. lxx + 270. Calcutta, 1928.

The valuable treatise on poetics, called the *Vakrokti-Jīvita*, was long thought to be lost until happy finds of manuscripts at Madras and Jaisalmer made it clear that so was not the case. Its author, generally known by the anonymous appellation of the *Vakrokti-jīvitakāra*, is now mentioned in the colophon of the Madras MS. as *Kuntala(ka)*, while the Jaisalmer one gives the more correct form of

Kuntaka, a name previously known by quotations in the works of Bhaṭṭa Gopāla and Arunācalanātha. Dr. De has made it highly probable that this author flourished during the end of the tenth and the beginning of the eleventh century.

It is extremely lucky that the task of editing this new work on *alamkāra* was put into the hands of Dr. Sushil Kumar De, who is undoubtedly, with Professor Jacobi, the foremost living authority on that intricate and formidable *śāstra*. Unfortunately the Jaisalmer MS. contains only the two first *unmeṣa*'s with the beginning of the third, while the remnant of the third and the fourth are found only in the transcript of the Madras MS., which is described by the able editor as being "hopelessly corrupt". Consequently Dr. De has limited himself to editing the text of the two first and the beginning of the third chapters while an extensive résumé with numerous quotations gives a fairly adequate idea of the contents of the later part of the work. That the text has been carefully and excellently treated need not be emphasized here. A very pellucid introduction gives a detailed conspectus of the entangled poetical theories of Kuntaka. As we are, unfortunately, not at all at home in the mazes of the *alamkāra*, we shall wholly abstain from entering into details and may only state that Dr. De with his very good edition has rendered another real service to Sanskrit scholarship.

J. C.

LES MAÎTRES DE LA PHILOLOGIE VÉDIQUE. Par LOUIS RENOU.
(Annales du Musée Guimet. Bibliothèque d'Études. Tome
XXXVIII.) pp. 74. Paris : Paul Geuthner, 1928.

In this nice and interesting little volume M. Renou has drawn up shorter or longer pictures of those Sanskritists who were according to his opinion the leading masters of Vedic philology and interpretation. Among the numerous names mentioned here we find the dominating figures of Roth, Grassmann, Ludwig, Max Müller, Bergaigne, Pischel, Geldner, and Oldenburg. And no deep reading is wanted to find out that the author has chosen Bergaigne and Oldenburg as the chief stars of this magnificent galaxy.

De gustibus non est disputandum; for, although persons who perhaps know but little about scientific research believe it to be objective and impartial, it is purely a matter of taste whom a scholar chooses as the past masters of his own field of research. Bergaigne was undoubtedly a genius, that species of scholar in which France has

always been fertile; but what he did was not to make the Rigveda more human and intelligible. He founded a new mythology—one would fain say a new religion—which with its male and female principals strongly reminds one of the system of Yin and Yang; and according to this mythological theory he interpreted the hymns in a way just as fancifully as any pandit might do it. His work will always be looked upon as a monument of strange genius and stupendous learning; but instead of bringing the Rigveda down to the earth it has carried it away into a very lofty and abstract Nephelococcygia.

Oldenberg probably will appeal more to scholars outside Germany than to some of his own countrymen. His racial origin made him something of a cosmopolitan and he was decidedly unlike the average type of a German professor. He was not a genius nor was he a truly great scholar—he was not peculiarly well read, and he had a remarkable propensity for evading difficulties. But he possessed what is perhaps just as important, an uncommon quantity of *sens commun*, and he made the very best use of it. He knew not only what to write but also, unlike many of his compatriots, how to write; his style was lucid and agreeable though at times perhaps a trifle too flowery. But with all this the greatest work of his life, his Rigveda commentary, is scarcely a mile-stone in Vedic interpretation for, unfortunately, its most characteristic feature is that at nearly every really difficult passage in the text one looks in vain for guidance and help there. To suggest with M. Renou, that Oldenberg "a ruiné les *Vedische Studien*" is—if the present writer has correctly understood this rather oracular expression—an exaggeration which is rather unexpected from an author who like M. Renou seems to claim a high authority in *Vedicis*.

It is an easy task to find fault with the authors of the *Vedische Studien*, as it will always be easy to do with the founders of a new science. Undoubtedly the vehement and clownish polemics of Pischel made much to inspire diffidence in his methods, and, unfortunately, his efforts in pure linguistics were at times rather ludicrous. Against the late lamented Geldner no such objections could be proffered, and there is scarcely any doubt that the most valuable parts of the joint work came from his pen. However, with all their shortcomings—and such there must of necessity exist in every human piece of work—the joint authors of the *Vedische Studien* and after the death of Pischel the surviving one have made themselves better merited of Vedic researches than has hitherto

any Western scholar, the marvellous Roth not even excepted. Not to have understood this seems to the present writer a tragic and dangerous mistake of M. Renou. After that we are less astonished to find that the name of the late lamented Hillebrandt is casually mentioned five times in his book—not even the title of the *Vedische Mythologie* is to be found there.

Amongst the most prominent forerunners of modern historians of religions was a man called Euhemeros. If Pischel was otherwise not a great authority on religion and seems even to have lacked interest in its underlying foundations, his euhemerism was undoubtedly a sympathetic feature. M. Renou (p. 43 seq.) seems not to think highly of it; however, it has possibly escaped him that in recent days Professor Konow and Dr. Barnett, and perhaps even other scholars, have taken up a similar and certainly still more outspoken point of view in these things.

To enter into a criticism of details would perhaps lead too far, but we may allow ourselves a few passing remarks. Rosen's edition, of course, does not comprise the first *maṇḍala* (p. 3) but the first *aṣṭaka*. That *ūrmī-* and *ūrva-* should belong to the same group of words (p. 37) seems rather fanciful; the first-mentioned word seems to have clear relations, characterized by an original **u-l-m-* not only in Avestan but also in other languages, while *ūrva-* must probably have a totally different parentage. That *rad-* could ever mean "write" in the Rigveda (as Geldner thinks) is highly improbable. But the finds at Harappa and Mohenjo Daro make it clear that India knew some sort of writing long before the introduction of Kharoṣṭhī and Brāhmī, and it is not totally absurd to suggest that Vedic Indians might have at least seen and heard of some sort of writing. Geldner at that time could, of course, know nothing of Mohenjo Daro. The sentence on p. 66: "On sait que Meillet a reconnu récemment pour quelques gāthās de l'Avesta la nécessité de supposer un contexte en prose" is something of a novelty to those — even if they be acquainted with the little book in which M. Meillet has stated his theory—who had long ago read the very same suggestion in two well-known works, viz. *Vedische Studien* i, 286 seq. and *Die Gāthās des Avesta*, p. iv seq.¹

To sum up: we are highly indebted to M. Renou for some hours of interesting reading but we must, unfortunately, refuse to share most of his leading ideas.

J. C.

¹ Cf. *Die Suparṣage*, p. 71 seq.

LE CONCILE DE RĀJAGRHA. Introduction à l'histoire des canons et des sectes bouddhiques. Par JEAN PRZYLUSKI. (Buddhica, documents et travaux pour l'étude du Bouddhisme publiés sous la direction de Jean Przyluski. Première Série: Mémoires—Tomes II.) pp. vi + 434. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1926-8.

The activities of M. Przyluski are manifold and admirable. His knowledge of Muṇḍā and Mon-Khmer languages have enabled him to trace certain elements of the Sanskrit dictionary from the stock of Austro-Asiatic languages unfortunately inaccessible to most of his colleagues. His mastery of Sanskrit, Chinese, and Tibetan alike have made possible his extensive researches into the oldest history of the Buddhist congregation and the Buddhist scriptures of which we have here the latest and so far most important specimen.

The oldest history of Buddhism is obscure and has been interpreted in different ways by eminent scholars. The suggestions of Professor Stcherbatsky concerning the original teachings of the Buddha, set forth in his well-known works on *Dharma* and *Nirvāṇa*, are ingenious to a degree and seem to penetrate far into the mould of ideas from which rose the systems labelled with the name of the Tathāgata. At first sight they will perhaps seem to be incompatible with the theories of M. Przyluski. However, this is perhaps not the case after all. And the present writer would look upon such a possibility as being highly lucky; for, he has long felt himself strongly convinced of the probability of Professor Stcherbatsky's ideas. And he must now admit that also the suggestions of M. Przyluski appear to him in their great ingeniousness and simplicity, highly attractive. The one reason for doubting them seems to be that at times they are perhaps even too convincing.

To M. Przyluski "le Bouddhisme primitif était une religion de joie, de bienveillance à l'égard de tous les êtres, qui promettait à ses fidèles la félicité du *svarga*. Le Bouddhisme secondaire se propose un idéal d'impossibilité et d'indifférence; le but est l'anéantissement dans le *nirvāṇa*. Dans l'ancienne doctrine le sensible et humain Ānanda était le Saint par excellence. L'Arhat détaché de tout est le type du saint nouveau. Jadis, *śramaṇa* et maîtres de maison étaient étroitement solidaires; ils communiaient dans les fêtes où se reformait le Mahāsaṃgha. À présent, l'élite vit à part; le clerc s'écarte du laïc. . . . Monachisme aristocratique et nihilisme athée caractérisent le Bouddhisme secondaire.

Cette doctrine, peu faite pour satisfaire la masse des fidèles,

provoqua une réaction, d'où sortit le Bouddhisme tertiaire ou Mahāyāna. On croit de nouveau à la survie dans le *nirvāṇa*. Les anciennes vertus refleurissent : l'humilité, l'amour des fables, le zèle apostolique. La perfection stérile de l'Arhat, est dédaignée ; on ne se hâte plus d'entrer dans le *nirvāṇa*. L'imagination populaire se réveille ; l'iconographie et la liturgie s'enrichissent ; le panthéon se repeuple. . . ."

We have allowed ourselves this long quotation which illustrates better than any remodelling the new and fascinating ideas of M. Przyluski concerning the stages of development within old Buddhism. First of all the age of popular religion when men lived together piously and charitably and saw the goal of life in the happiness of *svarga*, the Heaven of gods. Then follows the Hīnayāna with its austere and forbidding doctrines ; and finally the Mahāyāna marks a sort of relapse into the old ideals.

Buddhism in its origins was closely bound to the institutions of the society within the pales of which it rose. In this connection it is only right to remember that several scholars have already emphasized the insoluble connection between Buddhist, Jain, and Brahmin monasterial and disciplinary institutions. But as Buddhism apparently rose within a country which was at that time only slightly Brahminized—a point of view underlined by M. Przyluski—these facts are perhaps of little importance here.

Now let us once more hear the *ipsissima verba* of the learned author. "Une religion naissante s'organize toujours autour d'un culte et, dans le culte, les fêtes sont probablement l'essentiel. Celles-ci sont des rituels destinés à maintenir ou à rétablir l'ordre cosmique et social. Elles supposent des représentations collectives du temps, du monde, de la société. A chacune d'elles correspond un récit mythique ou légendaire qui explique les origines de la fête par les actes d'un dieu ou d'un héros." These sagacious observations are meant to afford a key to the understanding of the original structure of the Buddhist community and the Council of Rājagṛha alike.

Buddhism undoubtedly rose in a country where, as M. Przyluski puts it, "le rythme des saisons est produit par l'alternance de la mousson sèche et de la mousson pluvieuse." Consequently, the whole life, agricultural and religious, turned round two cardinal points : the beginning and the end of the *varṣāḥ*. The festival of the setting in of the rains and the festival of their ceasing were the two great popular and religious times of the year. And as the Buddhist friars

during the first centuries of their existence did only live in fixed abodes during the rains and otherwise roamed about the country, they shared in the daily life of the common people, and consequently the great feasts of the country folk were also those of the Śākya monks. These simple conditions soon altered when the monks took up their continual abodes in the *vihāras*.

These explanations are simple and ingenious and so far we can only express our admiration and consent. M. Przyluski finds that the relations concerning the legendary First Council, of which he has translated and studied a great number from Chinese and Indian sources, fully prove these admirable suggestions. In some of these sources there is a curious story of an old *arhat* called Gavāmpati who entered *Nirvāṇa* close upon the decease of the Buddha. Behind this curious little story hides a reminiscence of the old sacrificial feast at the beginning of the wet period; we shall allow ourselves to return to this startling suggestion presently. Then follow the *varṣāḥ* during which the friars preach the Law of the Buddha to the lay community; and finally follows the festival marking the end of the pluvial season. Now, the relations of the Council of Rājagṛha have preserved the queer legend of the expulsion of Ānanda by Mahā-Kassapa owing to some alleged transgressions of a very futile nature. And this legend, according to M. Przyluski, preserves a remembrance of the old ritual purification of the community by the expulsion of a scapegoat.

M. Przyluski, in connection with his above-mentioned theories, has made profound researches into the development of the sects and the canonical scriptures which we cannot here follow in detail. No doubt most of what he has said here not only commands our admiration but also reveals the real historical development of the old congregations and their holy lore. Anyhow, it is quite obvious that we must revise, under the guidance of M. Przyluski, our "traditional" ideas of the formation of the *saṃgha*, the councils, and the canonical literature. It is e.g. extremely interesting to find him proving that Ānanda, the simple and lovable body-servant of the Master, was the real Saint of the old Church and the preacher of the original *dharma*. At a later period Ānanda was ousted by Kaśyapa and Upāli; but Mahāyāna again restored him to his old greatness and added new scriptures which were all said to rely upon his unquestioned authority.

That the expulsion of Ānanda does really represent the time-

honoured expulsion of the scapegoat, on which Sir James Frazer has written an admirable volume, we would fain believe, though the parallels adduced by M. Przyluski from Indian literature are of the very scantiest. As for old Gavāmpati, however, we are beset with rather grave doubts; and we shall allow ourselves, though with all due respect and diffidence, to differ from M. Przyluski on this point.

Gavāmpati, who is said to have lived in the "heaven of the Śirīṣa, is a curious figure; according to certain sources he had the hoofs of a bull, and he used to ruminate. We cannot follow the detailed argument of M. Przyluski, but it seems probable that he is right in seeing a Gavāmpati a Buddhist counterpart of the Śaivite Nandin. But we cannot follow him further when he wants to identify Gavāmpati with Śiva himself: "Qu'on l'identifie au taureau ou qu'on lui donne Nandin comme compagnon, peu importe: Rudra-Śiva est l'habitant de la montagne ainsi que le Gavāmpati du bouddhisme primitif et nous allons voir que ce séjour est celui qui convient à sa nature et à son activité."

To M. Przyluski Śiva is at one time the bull and the god of the winds and the thunderstorm; and precisely the same part is attributed to Gavāmpati by reason of certain legends concerning him in the Buddhist scriptures. Both of them represent old deities, with parallels in the East of Asia, who in some way or other are connected with the monsoons; Rudra as well as Gavāmpati are deities of wind and dryness battling at the beginning of the rainy season with the deities of rain and fertility. M. Przyluski then fixes upon the sacrifice known by the name of *śūlagava*. In it he finds a sacrifice originally attached to the beginning of the pluvial season: one killed a bull, which represented "le dieu de la Sécheresse et du Vent", offered his blood to the serpents, etc., all in order to invoke the powers of rain and to give expression to the wish that the deities of the dry season might succumb to those of the pluvial months.

Admirable constructions these, but upon second thoughts only slightly convincing. M. Przyluski apparently has not paid attention to the somewhat lengthy but really important contribution by Dr. Arbman on *Rudra* (1922); otherwise he would perhaps not have taken it for absolutely granted that Rudra was once a bull or that he is in reality the god of the mountains and the winds. There is probably more than one component within the dark and awe-inspiring shape of Rudra-Śiva; Brahminism here as elsewhere may have performed its work of compromise and contamination. We may

even admit that there is perhaps in Rudra-Śiva an element of a deity of the dry winds and the glowing heat—in other words what Hillebrandt thought to be the original nature of this god; but if such be the case this part of his nature might rather claim for Western than for Austro-Asiatic parallels. However, Dr. Arbman has no doubt proved that in the main he is a deity of quite another origin—an arch-demon of none too agreeable habits. And there can certainly be no tale of his having once been a sort of bull-deity. That Austro-Asians and Chinese imagined a god “de la Sécheresse et du Vent” under the shape of a bull or a buffalo we may take for granted upon the authority of M. Przyluski. In India, however, the buffalo, as will only seem natural, is mainly a water-spirit.

Consequently we do not feel able to follow M. Przyluski in his suggestions concerning the *śūlagava*. The rite, no doubt, is essentially of a primitive character, but it does not necessarily belong to the class of sacrifices among which M. Przyluski would like to enrol it. Cf. on the *śūlagava* Dr. Arbman, loc. cit. p. 104 seq.

If thus we feel unable to follow the learned author in some of his beautiful but rather adventurous constructions that does not, of course, diminish our admiration for his achievement as a whole. Few scholars have contributed more than M. Przyluski to elucidate the obscure and perplexing history of old Buddhism, and we hope soon to obtain more valuable and highly interesting information from him. By his venturesome and magnificent researches he has laid all his colleagues under a deep and never-ceasing obligation.

J. C.

VAIKHĀNASASMĀRTASŪTRAM. The Domestic Rules of the Vaikhānasa School belonging to the Black Yajurveda. Critically edited by Dr. W. CALAND. (Bibliotheca Indica, N.S. 1487.) pp. viii + 145. Calcutta, 1927.

The Sūtras of the Vaikhānasas have until quite lately attracted little attention from either Western or Hindu scholars. If we omit some Indian editions—all of them of limited value—there is scarcely anything to be remembered with the exception of a Leipzig thesis (*Über das Gṛhya- und Dharmaśūtra der Vaikhānasa*) by the late Th. Bloch, published in 1896. But during the last three years no less than four publications on the Vaikhānasasūtras have been issued, viz. Professor Caland's paper in the *Mededeelingen* of the Amsterdam

Academy (1926), his above-mentioned edition (1927), and his translation (1929), and finally a thesis by Dr. W. Eggers called *Das Dharma-sūtra der Vaikhānasa* (Goettingen, 1929). Whereas until lately we were possessed of very scanty means for making the interesting acquaintance of the Vaikhānasa ascetics, we are now endowed with fairly ample materials for studying this important but strongly neglected sect.

It goes without saying that Professor Caland's edition is the best possible to be achieved with the means now at his disposal. In a short introduction he gives us notices of the manuscripts and editions of which he has availed himself in preparing his text. By this publication he has once more made Sanskrit scholars indebted to him and evoked renewed admiration for his critical faculty and unparalleled knowledge of the ritual literature.

J. C.

A HISTORY OF TELUGU LITERATURE. By P. CHENCHIAH and RAJA M. BHUANGA RAO BAHADUR. Foreword by the Hon. Mr. C. R. REDDY. (The Heritage of India Series.) pp. 132. Calcutta : The Association Press ; London : Oxford University Press, [1928].

This is a short but useful conspectus of Telugu literature written apparently by two sons of the Andhradeśa. The fates of this literature are scarcely exciting, just as little as those of other native Indian literatures. The standards were set by classical Sanskrit, and the great plurality of writers contented themselves with either translating or imitating the famous masters of the *kāvya* style. Admirable as are the productions of the great poets of India they become less attractive when repeated or imitated in a parrot-like way by hundreds of poetasters. Still there is certainly much in Telugu literature—just as in Tamil and Canarese—which is well deserved of our attention and interest, and the natural sweetness of the Andhra language will always add to its attraction. The authors venture to think that there is still a period of revival and greatness in store for Telugu literature, and we concur with them in the sincere hope that this may be the case.

The opinions of the authors concerning the origin of the Telugu language (p. 15 seq.) are, if the present writer has correctly grasped them, entirely out of date. That Telugu and Sanskrit are not related to each other is too well-known a fact to be repeated here ; nor could such a relation be established in the way which the authors seem to think possible.

JARL CHARPENTIER.

THE DEVELOPMENT OF EXTRATERRITORIALITY IN CHINA. By G. W. KEETON. 2 vols. Longmans, 1928. 42s.

EXTRATERRITORIALITÉ ET INTÉRÊTS ÉTRANGERS EN CHINE. Par GEORGES SOULIÉ DE MORANT. Geuthner, 1925.

These two important books on a subject of great interest are to a large extent complementary. M. Soulié de Morant approaches the question from the point of view of the international lawyer, and seeks above all to define the exact limits of the extraterritorial privileges to which European subjects and certain persons under the protection of European States are entitled under the treaties with China. The work is done with skill and precision, and may be confidently recommended to all who seek to know precisely in what these bitterly attacked privileges consist.

Mr. Keeton's work seeks to rather show how and why they have come into existence, and gives us the history of the question as opposed to its legal definition. Extraterritorial privileges arose, as he has no difficulty in showing, from the clash of totally different civilizations, and were in no wise the mark of inferiority, as modern Chinese writers so often aver. In fact European and Chinese conceptions of justice were too far asunder to permit of Europeans subjecting themselves willingly to so alien a system. It was not merely that the Chinese legal code was so loosely worded as to convey no definite idea of the law, or that Chinese judges lacked judicial training, or even that the written law was liable to fantastic interpretation and interpolation, such as might entirely change its content; but that ideas like that of collective responsibility, familiar to and accepted by the Chinese, had been long outgrown in the West. The sort of difficulty that arose is well illustrated by a case that occurred in 1839 and had much to do with the precipitation of the so-called Opium War. A villager named Lin Wei hi was killed in an affray between a number of sailors and some Chinese villagers. The Chinese authorities invited the Superintendent of Trade to surrender five persons who had already been tried and found guilty, not of murder but of riot and affray, promising only to execute one of them; that being refused, they then hinted that a sailor recently found drowned might *pro forma* be declared the murderer; finally war-junks attempted to board H.M.S.S. *Volage* and *Hyacinth*, in order to compel the surrender of some person who might be executed for the murder. This was the incident with which the Opium War actually opened. So long as the Chinese insisted that a death of violence must be followed by the

execution of some person who might stand for the murderer, and whose actual guilt was a matter of quite minor importance, it was manifestly impossible for the Western nations to submit their nationals to either the courts or the laws of China. Extraterritoriality thus became an inevitable incident of commercial intercourse. H. DODWELL.

DIE ALTJAPANISCHE JAHRESZEITEN POESIE AUS DEM KOKINSHŪ.

In Text und Übersetzung mit Erläuterungen von ALEXANDER CHANOCH. pp. 147. Leipzig: Asia Major, 1928.

This excellent book, by a pupil of Dr. Florenz, gives text and translation of the first six books of the *Kokinshū*. The admirably close and literal versions will be of great assistance to students of the classical language. The Introduction is not so satisfactory. The author expresses surprise that in these poems "the personal is hardly ever touched upon". Surely this is natural; the poems he has chosen to translate are about nature, not about man. He has only to turn to Books XI-XV ("Love") and Book XVI ("Bereavement"), and he will find hundreds of poems both passionate and personal. The comparison which he institutes between Chinese and Japanese poetry is marred by the fact that most of the poems he quotes were not known to the Japanese in the tenth century. Thus on p. 37 a poem by Li Po is quoted. Li Po's works are mentioned in the catalogue *Nihonkoku Genzai Sho Makuroku* (end of the ninth century); but they are, so far as I know, never alluded to in literature of the *Kokinshū* period, and it is generally believed that they remained almost unstudied until the fourteenth century. Next comes a poem by a poet whose date is not given, "Liu Ki King." This is quoted from an article by Dr. Richard Wilhelm. What security has the author that it is a Chinese poem at all, any more than the poem on p. 238 of Wilhelm's *Die Seele Chinas*? Next, a poem by Chang Chiu-ling. This is rendered into German from Professor Giles's exceedingly free rhymed version. The result is something utterly unlike the original poem. Surely such a proceeding is unsuitable to work issued by so learned a body as the Hamburg Seminar für Sprache und Kultur Japans? A literal version could have been found in vol. v of Zottoli's *Cursus Linguae Sinicae*. Finally, Dr. Chanoch gives a poem by Tu Fu whose works were quite certainly not known in Japan in the tenth century. They were not indeed at all familiar until the fifteenth.

Sugawara (p. 9, note 1) is a clan-name and should be followed by "no".

A. WALEY.

TIBET'S GREAT YOGI MILAREPA: A Biography from the Tibetan, being the Jetsün-Kahbum or Biographical History of Jetsün-Milarepa, according to the late Lāma Kazi Dawa-Samdup's English rendering. Edited with Introduction and Annotations by W. Y. EVANS-WENTZ. pp. xx + 315, with 5 illustrations. 9 × 6. Oxford University Press; London: Humphrey Milford. Price 16s. net.

At last we have a complete and adequate version in English of the biography of that picturesque and lovable figure, the Tibetan poet-saint Milarepa (*Mi-la-ras-pa*), whose teaching hymns and life-story, recorded in the Master's own words by his disciple Rechung (*Ras-chun*), are as well known and popular among all classes of Tibetans to-day, as if he had lived in recent years instead of in the eleventh century. It is because this biography is primarily a very human, and often extremely naïve, account of a man's earnest striving towards spiritual enlightenment, following an early career of vengeance and evil-doing, and his final success after undergoing incredibly severe trials and penances as a purification from his sins, that it still proves attractive to the average religious-minded Tibetan, and that, even in translation, it retains considerable charm for the less sympathetic western reader. The story is simply told, with many a touch of quiet humour, the style is easy and the miraculous is closely intermingled with the incidents of everyday life.

The reader of this book will gain no small insight, not merely into the externals of the ascetic life, but also into the gradual development of a devotee's mind by methods and in surroundings far removed from western experience; and, though he will inevitably reject as absurd and incredible many of the supernatural events narrated, which the Tibetan has no difficulty in believing, he will find here an account of Milarepa's doings and teachings, which in the main may be accepted as authentic, and incidentally a vivid picture of the life of the period. And, as Sir Charles Bell has observed, "Life in Tibet does not appear to have altered very greatly during the last eight hundred years."

This work is, of course, in no sense a formal exposition of the Kargyütpa (*Bkaḥ-rgyud-pa*) doctrines, brought by Marpa from India, and transmitted by him orally to Milarepa, among other disciples. Unlike his guru Marpa, styled *Lo-tsa-ba*, or translator, Milarepa was no translator, professor, or commentator of the Buddhist Scriptures. His aim was to attain as quickly as possible to Buddhahood, and

systematic meditation the means. The only knowledge he needed was that which would expedite his spiritual progress. Except in so far as they directly and practically helped in this, to him scriptures, religious rites and observances counted as nothing.

This is distinctive of Milarepa and his ascetic school, and this is what J. Bacot means, when in his introduction to his *Le poète Tibétain Milarépa*, he writes "Milarépa—a dédaigné les Écritures bouddhiques . . . Il rejette en bloc tous les textes et même les tantra". And, having learnt the direct ascetic path to enlightenment, he strove to show his disciples how to traverse it and to avoid all by-paths. He was above all a practical mystic, if we may be allowed to use the term.

But besides oral instruction, much of it secret, and only transmitted to the disciple proved worthy to receive it (as Dr. Evans-Wentz often reiterates), we hear of several manuals or treatises, mostly translations from the Sanskrit, being studied by Milarepa. As it has been said, these "handbooks for the Mystic lay down the strange and difficult practices by which detachment may be reached and freedom won". Such were the *Phyag-rgya-chen-po*, or *Mahā-mudrā*, on meditation, the *Chos-drug*, Six Doctrines, or branches of yogic science (p. 144), certain tantras (p. 133), the *Drong-jug* (*Hgroñ-hjug*), on the "transmission of the mundane . . . into the supra-mundane consciousness", a rare and highly esteemed work (p. 146), the *Tūmno* (*Gtūm-mo*), on "generating Vital Heat" (p. 156), a separate treatise on one of the "Six Doctrines". Also we hear of him reading the *Prajñā-Pāramitā* (p. 112). On the special treatises, the first-named two of which Kazi Dawa-Samdup and the Editor have translated, some useful explanatory notes are given.

It is of interest to observe the reaction of a Tibetan's mind to instruction in such a subject as the *Dēmchog* (*Bde-mchog*) Maṇḍala (pp. 132-3), with which we are familiar from *Tantric Texts*, vol. vii (Arthur Avalon, London, 1919); the deities and places of the Maṇḍala became at one stage not only symbols of reality, but actual visible entities to him; while at a later stage he understood them to be merely states of mind and to have no value in themselves. The Kargyūtpa method, as noted before, was not to approach the Truths of Buddhism by intellectual means, by the study of logic, metaphysics, and the like, but after a prolonged and arduous discipline, so framed as to give complete mastery over body and mind, to attain by meditation to a direct insight or transcendental experiencing of them. While such meditation is a vital part of all forms of Buddhism, with the

Kargyūtpas mental concentration, or *Dhyāna*, with its successive stages, was all important. An efficacious system of mind-control or *yoga* was the one essential instrument, and this is what Marpa meant by "the Mystic Truths, handed down—by Naropa—whereby one can gain Liberation in a single life-time, and attain to Buddhahood" (p. 95), and by "The Short Cut of the Immutable Path" (*Vajra-yāna*).

So much for what we consider to be the main interest of the biography, without any attempt to follow the actual story of Milarepa's career. Much in the introduction and notes, and in particular the mode of presentation may displease the critical student, who would prefer a more dispassionate attitude to the Editor's enthusiasm, highly coloured language and fondness for the esoteric. For the Editor approaches the mysticism and esoteric teachings admittedly with complete sympathy and not critically, and, perhaps is apt to tinge them with a theosophical outlook. But in this book he has shown more restraint than in *The Tibetan Book of the Dead*, and now, as then, we are grateful to him for much information not easily accessible or indeed to be found at all elsewhere. If his style lacks the clear-cut brilliance of J. Bacot's masterly introductory sketch, this is compensated by his fuller treatment.

We should have welcomed the publication, even without critical treatment, of the Tibetan texts, upon which Kazi Dawa-Samdup's translations are based both here and in the *Book of the Dead*, but the Editor's interest being "anthropological rather than philological", this "remains for scholars of the future", and so the few students of Tibetan have no means of comparing the English with the original. Tibetan names, etc., have been consistently presented in a phonetic form suitable for the English reader, and in many cases the full transliteration has been added. Mistakes in this difficult matter are commendably few. Dr. Evans-Wentz in his revision of the Kazi's translation has had the advantage of utilizing J. Bacot's French version of the biography. He has also consulted and given references to the other western matter concerning Milarepa (*vide* p. 26, i). We may here note that the lucid simplicity of the style of the original, on which the Kazi has properly laid emphasis, is in part due to its being an indigenous composition and so free from the rather complicated artificiality of the language of works translated from the Sanskrit. Dr. Evans-Wentz's English is slightly archaic and explanatory, while J. Bacot's French is terse and lively.

The introductory matter—detailed descriptions of appropriately chosen and beautifully reproduced illustrations; appreciations of the value and place in literature of the biography; sections on the Tibetan Schools of Buddhism, in particular of the Kargyütpa, of which Milarepa was the fourth Guru, on modern ascetics, the hermit ideal, the Arhant problem, the text and its translation, and so on in the thirteen short sections of the introduction—has been kept within the moderate compass of twenty-nine pages. The footnotes are fewer and more concise than were those in the previous work. Both contain valuable information, most of it well presented and necessary to an understanding of the biography, some culled from *The Buddhism of Tibet*, by L. A. Waddell, and to a less degree from the publications of Sir Charles Bell, Miss A. Getty, Mme A. David-Neel, G. Sandberg, and others, and some transmitted to the Editor by his Buddhist teachers in Tibetan and other lands.

In the treatment of matters mystic, as already remarked, we find a tendency to over-emphasize and to range somewhat far afield for parallels; but readers interested in mysticism will appreciate the Editor's vivid mode of presentation of much difficult matter in a palatable form. "The Esoteric Buddhism of the Higher Lamaism" he justly states to be a subject of which "the uninitiated European knows very little, but about which he dogmatizes very much". Whether everyone will accept his claim to speak *ex cathedra*, as an "Initiate", is another matter. But where he conveys the teachings of his guru, the late Dawa-Samdup, he is on reasonably firm ground. Truly in such a field the explorer "requireth the Eyes of Wisdom and the Feet of Method". We have nothing but admiration for the excellent format of this book which comes from the Oxford University Press.

H. LEE SHUTTLEWORTH.

ALTAN GEREL: Die westmongolisch Fassung des Goldglanzsūtra nach einer Handschrift der Kgl. Bibliothek in Kopenhagen. Herausgegeben von ERICH HAENISCH. 9½ in. pp. viii + 122. Verlag der Asia Major. Leipzig, 1929.

The *Qutuytu degedü altan gereltü erketü sudur-nuyud-un qayan neretü yeke külgen sudur*, commonly known as the *Altan gerel*, is the Mongol translation of the *hPagspa gser hod dampa mdozdehi dwañspohi rgyalpo zes byaspa t'egpa c'enpohi mdo*, the Tibetan version of the

Sanskrit *Ārya suvarṇaprabhāsottama sūtrendrarāja nāma mahāyāna sūtra*. It is one of the two large collections of Buddhist Scriptures in wide circulation among the Mongols.

The *Kanjur*, the Tibetan version of the *Tripitaka*, containing the above *sūtra*, was completely translated into Mongolian in the early part of the seventeenth century under the guidance of Legaldan Khutuktu Khaghan of Čakhar, who reigned from A.D. 1603 to A.D. 1634; the translation was completed in the year 1623.¹ Later the *gSer hod dampā*, together with other scriptures, was translated into Mongolian by Gušri Khan (b. 1581),² and in the year 1659 the *Altan gerel* was for the first time printed in Peking in compliance with the orders of the Emperor Shun Chih.³

Three Tibetan versions of this *sūtra* seem to be in existence, but as to whether they were all translated into Mongolian, or whether the Tibetan translation of the Chinese *I-ching* (義淨) version was the only one to be thus rendered the reviewer can venture no opinion. Unfortunately only a few chapters have hitherto been published: Chapter xxi contained in Popov's *Chrestomathy*, Chapter xxvi in Schmidt's *Mongol Grammar*, and a third said to be commentated on by Pozdnyeev in his *History of Mongol Literature*, vol. iii. With these must be mentioned a *Dhāraṇi* published by Mr. J. Ishihama in *Shinagaku* (Part iv, No. 3). The original of this text is the only fragment that escaped the great earthquake of 1923, which destroyed the valuable collection of the *Altan gerel* preserved at the time in the Library of the Imperial University of Tōkyō.

The *sūtra* was also translated from Tibetan into Kalmuk by Zaya Paṇḍita in the middle of the seventeenth century, but nothing was known of the text until the publication of the book under review. Here we have for the first time, thanks to the work of Mr. Haenisch, the complete text of the Kalmuk MS. preserved in the Kgl. Bibliothek in Copenhagen, transcribed in roman letters.

The Copenhagen MS. is the Kalmuk translation of the Tibetan twenty-one chapter version and is accompanied with the title: "This is the *sūtra* called the *Altan gerel* preserved in the Library of Aidraخان (Astrakhan). The 12th day of the Hen-month in the year 1841."

In the present transliteration the author has taken pains to give in the footnotes the variants found in another MS. which is in the

¹ Laufer, *Skizze der mongolischen Literatur*, p. 218.

² Huth, *Geschichte des Buddhismus in der Mongolei*, p. 250.

³ Pozdnyeev, *Mongolskaya Ispytaniya "Erdenito Erice"*, p. 165.

possession of the Dresdner Landesbibliothek, thus rendering the present work all the more valuable.

As to the transcription there remains room for improvement. The author has followed in the main the transcription adopted by Jülg in his copy of the Dresden MS. with the alterations of *ss*, *j*, *j'*, and *č* into *s*, *y*, *j*, and *c* respectively. The two former of these substitutions are, we think, quite justifiable, but the two latter might have been left unaltered, perhaps with advantage. The alteration of Jülg's *s* into *ds* could also be bettered; it should certainly be replaced by *dz*. The most regrettable of all is the use of *h* for the velar fricative, for which nothing is better suited than the letter *x*.

All this, however, does not mar the significance of this work. It is in fact one of the most valuable contributions of recent years to the study both of the language and of the religion of the Mongols.

We sincerely hope that Mr. Haenisch will some day publish a comparative study of this Kalmuk text with the Tibetan original in the same way as he treated the Chinese translation of Sanang Setsen's *History of the Mongols*.

S. YOSHITAKE.

WHITE CAPITAL AND COLOURED LABOUR. New Edition, rewritten and revised. By Lord OLIVIER. pp. 348. London: Published by Leonard and Virginia Woolf at the Hogarth Press, 1929.

This book is not merely rewritten since its original publication in 1906, but subsequent events have necessitated additions which have more than doubled its size. It is a most valuable contribution towards the discussion of a thorny and complex problem, and one is grateful to the author for pointing out, among other things, that the results of emancipation in the West Indies are by no means as ruinous as has been popularly believed. There was, of course, a phase of depression, as in all transition periods; but the losses which bulked so large in the public eye were those of the great estates, whose prosperity, after all, rested on a morally rotten foundation. The gradual growth, amid many difficulties, of a happy and prosperous free peasantry, was, naturally, less conspicuous.

All through Lord Olivier has consistently and ably upheld the thesis that so long as there is any discrimination, social or economic, on account of race, no society can develop healthily. It is often stated that racial equality is impossible where there is no intermarriage; this we hold to be fallacious, as the fact that two races or two nations

do not intermarry does not necessarily imply that one is inferior; both may prefer to keep their types unmixed. Lord Olivier does not argue this point, but he maintains, and I think with some reason, that race-mixture is not necessarily an evil, though no doubt it may be, under some conditions, and where adventitious circumstances have certainly contributed to make it so.

The scope of the book is a wide one, as the conditions of native industry are examined, not only in Africa (Kenya, South Africa, and the Portuguese territories—of which we have an appalling picture, derived from first-hand information) but in the West Indies and the United States. The case is fairly and temperately stated and the settlers' point of view fully taken into account—yet, when all is said and done, one cannot but feel that European civilization, so-called, has no great cause for congratulating itself on its dealings with "backward" peoples.

Quite apart from moral considerations, Lord Olivier has clearly shown the unprofitableness and, in the long run, the sheer impossibility of what he calls "repressionism"—an ugly but convenient word.

A book which all Colonial Administrators, whether or not they agree with all its conclusions, will find abundantly worth while to read and mark. One would have been grateful for an index, though the lack of one is to some extent compensated for by the admirable "summary of contents" at the end of the volume.

A. W.

HISTORY OF FRENCH COLONIAL POLICY, 1870-1925. By S. H. ROBERTS. 2 vols. P. S. King, 1929.

It is at once surprising and discreditable that we should till now have had no English survey of French colonial policy—surprising because one would have expected a long colonial rivalry to breed close interest in the rival's doings, and discreditable because there are many points in which we may profitably compare our own methods with our neighbours'. It is probably realized by few save those who have studied colonial questions that in the last two generations the French have acquired dependent territories second in extent only to our own, and touching ours in every quarter of the globe. In one respect, of course, their colonial empire offers no similarity to ours. It includes no *colonies de peuplement*, no dominions. But on the other hand, it closely parallels us in tropical Africa and in Asia where it has had to encounter the same kind of problems that

have met us in Burma and India. The subject is therefore one of great interest. And Mr. Roberts's manner is on the whole worthy of his subject. Though perhaps his work might have been pruned with advantage, the information it provides is in general full and accurate, while the references furnish a very valuable guide to an extensive literature.

From our particular point of view, it is of special interest in three respects. The chapters on the North African colonies give an excellent survey of the difficulties encountered in dealing with a Muslim population; that on Indo-China does the same for the peoples of mingled Indian and Chinese cultures in South-Eastern Asia; while chapters i-v, and especially chapter iv, give a lucid and most instructive account of the general development of French policy.

Until recent times the dominant tendency of French colonial policy has been summed up in the word *assimilation*, as prominent in the policy of Napoleon III as in that of Colbert two hundred years earlier. The persistency of this idea has been not a little remarkable, and makes the articles which Diderot contributed to the *Encyclopédie* so curiously modern in tone. It was based on that false and most misleading psychology dominant in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, regarding man as "everywhere and potentially the same". Whether, therefore, he were a Berber or a Khmer, he was equally suitable for subjection to the *Code Civil* and capable of being transformed into a good Frenchman. Hence the vicious idea of treating the dependencies as if they were *départements* of France and subjecting the administration of justice in Tunis and Tonquin to the Minister of Justice instead of to the Minister of the Colonies. Indeed one of the most striking results of this attitude was that the Minister of the Colonies could deal only with trivial matters of *personnel* or the details of finance, instead of with colonial policy as a whole. Stated bluntly, nothing can appear less reasonable; and yet is it not fundamentally the principle that long dominated (if it does not still dominate) our relations with India? What else was the administrative policy of Cornwallis or the educational policy of Bentinck than a policy of assimilation? And though the efforts of British-trained governors-general were tempered by the ideas of men like Munro or Frere, more familiar with India than England, so also was the French policy by men like Lyautey in Morocco, or Paul Bert in Indo-China. The main difference lies in the fact that the French were more thorough-going and logical in their policy,

and that we never adopted the abominable system of attaching certain aspects of colonial administration to the logically related but essentially unsuitable home departments. The matter evidently raises questions far too complex for discussion here ; but the student of our Indian policy will find in Mr. Roberts's pages many most interesting parallels and illustrations.

H. D.

BERNAL DIAZ DEL CASTILLO : THE DISCOVERY AND CONQUEST OF MEXICO, 1517-1521. Edited by A. P. MAUDSLAY. Routledge : Broadway Travellers, 1928.

HERNANDO CORTES : FIVE LETTERS, 1519-1526. Translated by J. B. MORRIS. Routledge : Broadway Travellers, 1928.

THOMAS GAGE : THE ENGLISH AMERICAN. Edited by A. P. NEWTON. Routledge : Broadway Travellers, 1928.

MARC LESCARBOT : NOVA FRANCIA, A DESCRIPTION OF ACADIA. Edited by H. P. BIGGAR. Routledge : Broadway Travellers, 1928.

These volumes of the delightful and well-edited series of Broadway Travellers, though concerned with a side of the world in which we are not primarily interested, yet offer so many subjects for comparison that small apology is needed for introducing them to the notice of readers of these pages. The Spaniards in Mexico, with whom three of the four volumes deal, offer a very real and interesting comparison with the Portuguese in the east, while Lescarbot abounds in curious descriptions of tribal custom of general interest to all students of folk-lore.

Of these volumes Bernal Diaz's work, as here published, consists of extracts from *The True Story of the Conquest of New Spain*, published by the Hakluyt Society in five volumes in 1908. The present selection has been made in order to illustrate the capture and topography of Mexico. Diaz was himself one of the *conquistadores*, and his narrative was published at Madrid in 1632 ; but this edition suffered from an extensive corruption of the original text by the editor, and since Diaz is almost the most important witness for the conquest, an exact edition, such as that of the Hakluyt Society and the present extracts, was most desirable. But the importance of this work lies not only in the light it throws on the feats of Cortes, but also in the information which it provides regarding Aztec civilization, so far as the Spaniards observed it in the sixteenth century.

The *Letters* of Cortes fitly accompany the volume of Bernal Diaz. They furnish the kind of evidence we look for, for instance, in the *Cartas* of Albuquerque. They are not letters in the ordinary sense of the word, but official despatches. Written in vigorous style, with no affectations or rhetorical devices, they relate the vicissitudes of the conquest, the organization of the province, and the expedition to Honduras.

Gage, on the other hand, shows us the province a century later. Born in an English Catholic family, he went abroad to be educated for the priesthood and entered the order of the Dominicans about 1625. He joined a mission proceeding to evangelize the natives of the Philippines; but having proceeded on his way as far as Mexico, he resolved to remain there, and travelled widely in Mexico and Guatemala. Returning at last to Europe in 1637, he visited England, Germany, and other countries, and then in 1640 he resolved to renounce his faith and settle in England. He signalized his accession to Protestantism by giving first secret and then public evidence against his former associates. He later compiled his volume on Mexico, mainly it would seem for the information of Cromwell, and, accompanying Venables' expedition as chaplain, died at Jamaica in 1656. Throughout the volume the reader must make ample allowance for the rancour of the renegade; but his work is undeniably vigorous. Gage was not merely a treacherous rascal, but also a shrewd observer and effective writer.

The fourth volume, that of Lescarbot, is like that of Bernal Diaz, part of a larger work. It was translated into English by the Huguenot Erondelle in 1609. An abridgement is to be found in Purchas, and Erondelle's translation was twice reprinted in the eighteenth century, in the *Harleian Collection*, vol. ii, and in Churchill's *Voyages*. Lescarbot is chiefly concerned with the foundation of Acadia, in which he took part, so that here, as in the rest of these volumes, we have the narrative of an eye-witness. Lescarbot, too, was deeply interested not only in the doings of his countrymen, but also in the customs of the strange peoples whom they found in Acadia. The whole of his second book is devoted to a systematic exposition of their mode of life from birth to burial, coupled with numerous comparisons with such of the manners of the ancients as were known to him. This ranks high among the similar works of his period, although his attitude is necessarily remote from that of the modern anthropologist.

H. DODWELL.



NOTES AND QUERIES

QUTBĀBĀD—ANOTHER NAME FOR DEOGIR (DAULATĀBĀD)

In an interesting ode in his fifth diwān *Nihāyat-ul-Kamāl* (Brit. Mus. No. 25,807, fol. 459 b), written after the capture of Deogir by Prince Jūnā Khān (Muḥammad Tighlaq), Khusrau gives a glowing description of the manifold charms of that Deccan fortress and supplies us with a new name for it. This name, Qutbābād, which, curiously enough, has not been mentioned by any historian, was given to the city by Qutbuddin Mubārak Khaljī. In the first two verses the poet says :—

زهی مبارک شهر شه خجسته بلاد * که نام یافت زقطب سپر قطب آباد
چو کفر بود در آن خلق را گرفتی دیو * از است دیو کهن دیو گیر نام نداد

“Oh, auspicious (Mubārak) city of the king of happy dominions which received the name of Qutbābād from the Qutb (Pivot) of the world! When infidelity (Kufr) prevailed in it, demons (dev) tormented its inhabitants, and that is why the ancient Deo (Mahadeo?) called it Deogir . . .”

The mention of the names Qutb and Mubārak would indicate clearly that the city acquired this title in the time of Mubārak Shāh, but evidently it retained it even in the reign of his immediate successor Ghiyāthuddin Tughlaq Shāh. It was the latter's son and successor Muḥammad who changed it into Daulatābād.

It is interesting to note in this connection that E. Thomas in his *Chronicles of the Pathān Kings of Delhi*, describes a rare coin of Mubārak Shāh (No. 142, p. 179) which has the following marginal legend: “This coin was struck in the fortress of Qutbābād in the year A.H. 718.” He remarks :—

“This coin presents us with the name of a new place of mintage. We have no direct means of ascertaining the locality indicated by the designation *Qutbābād*. This, however, is the less a subject of regret, as there seems good reason to suppose that the term was only momentarily applied to that portion of the many-cited Delhi, which had the honour of constituting the immediate residence of Mubārak Shāh.” It is amply clear, on the other hand, that the coin in question was struck in Deogir, a well-known place of mintage in those days. Moreover, no portion of Delhi is known to have been called Qutbābād at any time.

M. WAHID MIRZA.

THE DIFFERENTIATION OF GENDER IN THE SEMITIC NUMERALS

A SUGGESTED EXPLANATION

Perhaps the strangest phenomenon in the grammar of the Semitic languages is the peculiarity of the differentiation of genders in the numerals. The numbers three to ten take the feminine form when the noun following is masculine, and the masculine form when the noun following is feminine. Philologists have been puzzled by this anomalous usage, but it cannot be said that the explanations so far put forward have carried conviction, although the theories of Reckendorff in his *Die syntaktischen Verhältnisse des Arabischen*, pt. ii, p. 265 ff., are certainly most ingenious, even if they appear somewhat forced.

I offer a new explanation for this remarkable phenomenon. I go back to folk-lore for my explanation, and I suggest that the confusion of genders is deliberate and is due to the desire of the primitive mind to outwit the Evil Eye. That the Jews in Biblical times had an aversion for counting is well known. David's punishment for taking a census was swift and ruthless.¹ This same aversion to counting is shared by many primitive peoples including nomad Arabs to this day, and it even persists amongst many orthodox Jews. I have myself known such Jews who, when compelled to count people, will say, "Not one, not two," etc. By putting a negative before the number they consider they have warded off the Evil Eye from themselves and the company. The primitive mind is largely a mixture of the naïve and the subtle. What could be more characteristic of that mind than to differentiate deliberately the genders of numeral and noun in order to confound the Evil Eye?

As far as I know, this explanation has not been put forward before. It may perhaps help to solve the most baffling phenomenon in Semitic grammar.

J. LEVEEN.

¹ For a fascinating exposition of this theme, see Sir James Frazer's chapter entitled "The Sin of a Census" in his *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*. I am indebted to the author for this reference.

Sheikh Kadhim Dojaily, of Baghdad, who has been at the School for the past five years as lecturer in Iraq Arabic, has composed the following poem as a farewell to his friends:—

”الى أحبائي في المدرسة،“

أَحْبَابُنَا إِنِّ مُصَابِي جَلِيلٌ	وَشَرَحَ حَالِي فِي هَوَاكُم طَوِيلٌ
إِنِّي إِذَا أَزْهَلْتُ عَنْ أَرْضِكُمْ	فَلِي قُوَادٌّ لَا يُحِبُّ الرَّحِيلُ
وَإِنْ تَكُنْ بِمَدَادُ عَنْ لَدُنْ	نَائِيَّةٌ بِضَمَّةِ آلاَفٍ مِيلُ
فَسَوْفَ تَبْقَى لَكُمْ صُورَةٌ	فِي فِكْرِي تَذَكُّرُكُمْ بِالْجَمِيلِ
لندن ٣١ تموز سنة ١٩٢٩	كاظم الدجيلي البغدادي

KTIEB IL-GENESI MAQLUB MILL-LHUDI U MFISSER MINN
DUN P. P. SAYDON

There has been of late a good deal of activity in the field of Bible translations into Maltese. Commendatore A. M. Galea has published in quick succession translations of Proverbs (1926), Ecclesiastes and Wisdom (1927), Tobiah (1927), Ecclesiasticus and the Song of Songs (1928), and Job (1929); but all his translations adopt the spelling of the old Xirka Xemia in which the *kāf* appears as *C* or *Ch*, and the *qāf* as *K*. Now, however, Dr. Saydon has come to the scene with the first of the projected series of historical books in which, for the spelling, he follows the system recommended a few years since (1924) by the “Commission of Maltese Writers”.

It is needless to point out that, to outsiders, Bible translations are always invaluable inasmuch as “cribs” are always to hand in plenty whenever the student finds himself faced by any difficulty. The most obviously useful “crib” in this case being the Arabic Bible of the British and Foreign Bible Society.

According to the spelling here used *K* stands for *kāf* and *Q* for *qāf*, and the only stumbling-block to the English reader is the use of *X* for *š* and of *j* for *y*, as in *li kienu jixtru* (“which they had bought”, 47¹⁴). The peculiarities of Maltese are plentifully illustrated in the present translation. For instance, for the word *bin* (a son) there is no Maltese plural and some other word has consequently to be used.

Jared lived after begetting Enoch *tmin mitt sena u wiled subien u bniet* ("eight hundred years and begat sons and daughters"). Again, though *Abu*, in its contracted form *bu*, is common enough in Maltese composite words, it has long ceased to convey the notion of "father": *u dan hu li gallhom missierhom* ("and this it is that their father spoke to them", 49²⁸). It is possible, though not likely, that this word *missier* stands for the Arabic *muṣawwir*, the well-known Quranic title for God, the Maker, Shaper, Schöpfer, but its feminine plural *missierijet* suggests a foreign importation. There are a good many contractions in which words, which are separate in Arabic, run together *kull ma kellu* ("All that he had" [*kien-la*], 46¹). *Intom tafu li tnejn wilditni marti* ("Ye know that my wife bore me two", 46²⁷). *Alla li jista' kollox dehiri* ("God who can do all things appeared to me", 48³), *u libbishomlhom* ("and He clothed them with them" [i.e. coats of skin], 3²¹). A few of the constructions have a curiously Hebraic ring. Abimelech said to Isaac: Let there be an oath *bejnietna, bejnna u bejneq* ("betwixt us, even betwixt us and thee", 26²⁸), on which see the Hebrew text and contrast it with the standard Arabic.

In the sentence *wissa . . . li jimlewlhom it-tlieles* ("he-gave-orders that they-should-fill their sacks", 42²³), the last word is Algerian Arabic (though with a Syriac analogue), and has much the same meaning as the word *Xkora* (42²⁷), on which see Dozy's *Supplément*. Elsewhere we are told that Hagar went and sat her down over against Ishmael *dags tafa' ta' qaws* (about a bowshot, 21¹⁶. *dags* = *taqs*, *tafa'* = *dafa'*).

On the whole—at least with the help of the crib—this translation should be quite easy to read. On the other hand I fear that, to write Maltese correctly is a much harder task. The intrusive and very elusive vowel-sounds have to be expressed and to anyone save an educated Maltese this is no easy matter. *Qal: imbierek Abram minn Alla* ("He said: blessed be Abram of God", 14¹³) and, yet, in the next yerse, *u mbierék Alla* ("And blessed be God" 14²⁰). Or again: *u tkun qrib minni, int u uliedek u ulied uliedek* ("and thou shalt be near to me, thou and thy children and thy children's children", 45¹⁰), and yet *uliedu u ulied uliedu* (his sons and his son's sons, 46⁷). The distinction in sound is very subtle, yet nevertheless apparent.

C. L. D.

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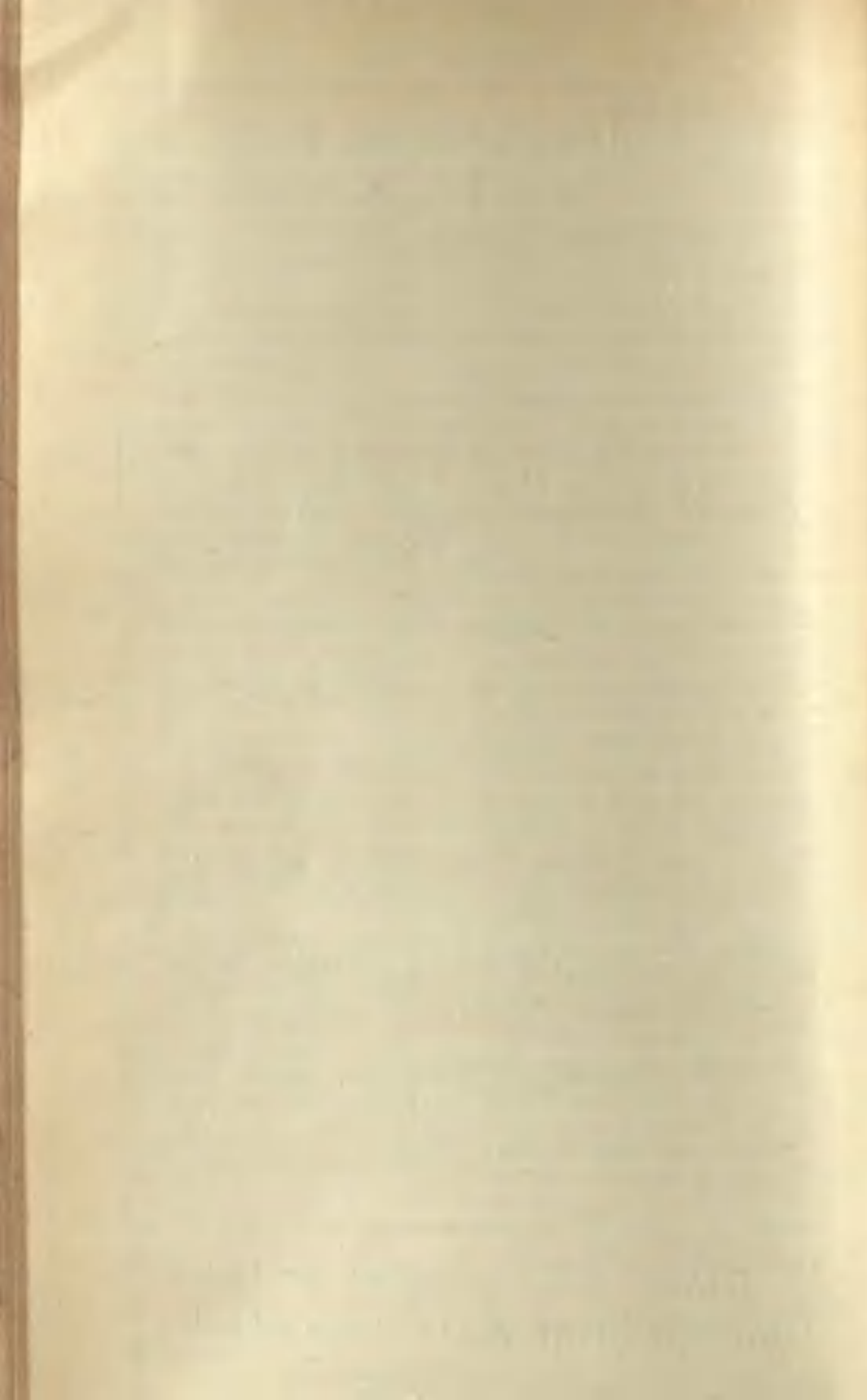
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BULLETIN

OF THE

SCHOOL OF ORIENTAL STUDIES LONDON INSTITUTION

PAPERS CONTRIBUTED

MIRZĀ MUHAMMAD ḤAYDAR DUGHLĀT ON THE
HARĀT SCHOOL OF PAINTERS

By T. W. ARNOLD

MUSLIM historians have put on record such scanty and insufficient materials for the biographies of painters that any fresh information deserves attention, especially if it is provided by a contemporary of the painters in question. The following extracts from the *Ta'rikh-i-Rashīdī* have hitherto escaped notice; the Persian text of this interesting work has not yet been printed, and these passages were not included in the abbreviated translation which Sir E. Denison Ross published in 1895. But he recently drew my attention to them, and kindly placed at my disposal two MSS. of the text in his private possession, and, further, revised and amended my translation; to his erudition are due whatever merits it may possess.

In addition to the two MSS. above mentioned, I consulted one in the India Office Library (No 39 (Ethé 2448), foll. 153-46) and two in the British Museum (Or. 157, foll. 152b-4; and Add. 24,090, foll. 133-46). There are variants in the text provided by these five MSS., but they are of little importance, as they appear generally to arise from carelessness on the part of one or other of the scribes.

The author, Mirzā Muḥammad Ḥaydar, is too well-known a personage to require any notice here; suffice it to say that he lived

between A.D. 1500 and 1551, and was thus contemporary with most of the artists to whom he refers. His interest in them was probably due to the fact (mentioned by his cousin, Bābur) that Mīrzā Haydar himself added the cultivation of the art of painting to his other accomplishments, having been (as he himself tells us) a pupil of Mawlānā Darvīsh Muḥammad.

Painters.—Shāh Muẓaffar is the son of Master Maṇṣūr. In the reign of Sultān Abū Saʿīd he (Maṇṣūr) was unsurpassed, he is a master in his art; he has a delicate, fine brush, and no other painter's brush has ever attained the same delicacy, with the exception of that of Shāh Muẓaffar; but he was somewhat more refreshing (as an artist) in that his strokes were firmer. But Shāh Muẓaffar surpassed him in many respects, for he had an exceedingly delicate brush, so clean and refined and matured that the eyes of all beholders were amazed. He died at the age of twenty-four. During his lifetime he completed eight group pictures (i.e. large compositions), and some persons possess examples of his pen and ink drawings. The masters of this art hold him in very high esteem.

Bihzād. As a painter he is a master, though he does not come up to Shāh Muẓaffar in delicacy of touch, but his brush is firmer and he surpasses him in his preliminary sketches and his grouping of his figures.

To an earlier period belongs Khwājah ʿAbd al-Ḥayy who lived under the Khāqāns of the house of Hūlāgū, who were rulers of ʿIrāq. It is the belief of these artists that he was a saint, and in the end he repented, and wherever he could lay his hands upon any of his own works he washed them off or burnt them; consequently exceedingly few of his works can now be found. He is unrivalled in purity and delicacy and firmness of brush, indeed in all the characteristics of the art of painting. After Khwājah ʿAbd al-Ḥayy come Shāh Muẓaffar and Bihzād, and after these up to our own times there has been none like them. Both of the two latter enjoyed the patronage of Mīr ʿAlī Shīr.¹

Qāsim ʿAlī, portrait painter. He is a pupil of Bihzād and his works come near to those of Bihzād, but in this style (of painting) any expert connoisseur can recognize that the works of Qāsim ʿAlī are rougher than those of Bihzād and that his original designs are more unsymmetrical.

Maqṣūd is a second Qāsim ʿAlī, (also) a pupil of Bihzād; his brush is in no way inferior to that of Qāsim ʿAlī. But his original designs and finish are crude compared with those of Qāsim ʿAlī.

¹ The talented friend and minister of Sultān Husayn Mīrzā (ob. 1501).

Mawlānā Mirak Naqqāsh. He is one of the marvels of the age, and he is the master of Bihzād. His original designs are more mature than those of Bihzād, though his finish is not equal to that of Bihzād. But he had to do all his work when he was not actually in attendance on the Mirzā,¹ either on journeys or at the court, either in the house or in the open air; consequently he was never able to settle down to work in his studio and stick to his easel (lit. paper). It is somewhat extraordinary that in spite of his occupations he used to engage in various kinds of athletics that are the very reverse of painting and drawing, and used to practise many violent exercises, such as wrestling and boxing, whereby he gained a reputation. It is strange indeed that he should have combined the painting of pictures with activities of this kind.

Another master is Bābā Hājī. He had an expert brush in painting, but his original designs were unsymmetrical. Throughout the whole of *Khurāsān* he is inimitable in sketching designs and drawing in charcoal. There is a story that in a certain gathering, in order to show off (his skill) he drew fifty circles and a half, which were exactly like those made by a pair of compasses, and there was not a hair's difference, big or small, between them.

Master Shaykh Ahmad, brother of Bābā Hājī, and Mawlānā Junayd and Master Husām al-Dīn the poignard-maker, and Mawlānā Walī—all these are skilled masters and no one of them is superior to the other.

Mullā Yūsuf is a pupil of Bihzād; he can work so rapidly that in ten days he can finish what it would take those masters one month to do; but he has not such an agreeable brush as those masters; his gilding is superior to his painting.

Mawlānā Darvish Muḥammad, who is my master, is a pupil of Shāh Muẓaffar; he has no equal in fineness of brush, nay he has even surpassed Shāh Muẓaffar. But he is not so symmetrical or expert or refined, and he is apt to make very crude strokes. He once drew a picture of a man on horseback, lifting up a lion on the point of a javelin; the whole of it only covers the surface of a single grain of rice.

There are a great many (other) painters, and so many of them are masters and proficient in their art that it is impossible to give an account of them all.

The Workers in Gold.—Yārī is a master in gilding, but his writing is better than his gilding. He is a pupil of Mullā Walī, but he has out-

¹ Le. Sultān Husayn Mirzā, who ruled in Harāt from 1470 to 1506.

stripped his master. Mawlānā Maḥmūd was a better gilder than Yārī, and he had planned an exceedingly delicate preface (of a manuscript) for Mirzā Sulṭān Ḥusayn, but it remained incomplete, though he had worked upon it for seven years.

* * *

In that period there were many workers in gold, but the only masters among them were the two that have already been mentioned."

HASAN-I-SABBAH AND THE ASSASSINS

By LAURENCE LOCKHART

(PLATES VII AND VIII)

PERSIA has on many occasions produced remarkable heresiarchs, several of whom have exercised an influence extending far beyond the boundaries of that country. One of the most notable of these heresiarchs is Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, the Isma'īlī propagandist and founder and first Grand Master of the Assassins.

Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ was born at Ray, in Northern Persia; the exact date of his birth is unknown, but, as far as can be gathered, it was in A.D. 1052 or A.D. 1053. Though claiming Ḥimyaritic ancestry,¹ Ḥasan was both by birth and upbringing a Persian, and belonged, during his earlier years, to the Shī'a Sect of the Twelve.

Many and varied are the stories and legends regarding Ḥasan's life and character. Owing to the almost total destruction of the Assassins' books and records at Alamūt after the capture of that fortress by the Mongols in A.D. 1257, our information in regard to Ḥasan is largely derived from hostile sources; as can be readily imagined, these sources are not free from bias. Ibnu'l-Athīr, in his *Tārīkhu'l-kāmil*, states that Ḥasan was intelligent and skilled in magic, mathematics, astronomy, and other branches of learning.²

We have to-day only one source of what may be styled "friendly" information respecting Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ. When 'Alā'u'd-Dīn Aṭā Malik-i-Juvainī, the well-known author of the *Jahān-kushā*, was ordered by his patron Hūlākū Khān, after the capture of Alamūt, to examine the Assassins' library there, and to destroy all heretical works, he only preserved one book. This book was a biography of Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, entitled the *Sarguzasht-i-sayyidnā*, of which Juvainī made considerable use when compiling that portion of his history which concerns Ḥasan and the Assassins.

According to the *Sarguzasht*, as quoted by Juvainī, Ḥasan was of a very studious disposition when a boy, being firmly resolved from the early age of seven to become a learned man. When aged 17, Ḥasan came under the influence of an Isma'īlī *dā'ī* or propagandist named

¹ His genealogy is given in the *Sarguzasht-i-Sayyidnā* as follows: الحسن بن علي بن محمد بن جعفر بن الحسين الصباح الحميري.

² See *Tārīkhu'l-kāmil* (Cairo edition of A.H. 1301), vol. x, p. 131. وكان الحسن الصباح رجلاً شهماً كاثراً عالماً بالهندسة والحساب والنجوم وغير ذلك.

Amir Durrāb, but, although the latter succeeded in considerably shaking Ḥasan's religious convictions, Ḥasan did not abandon the Sect of the Twelve and join that of the Seven until after he had undergone a severe illness. This event took place in the year A.H. 464 (A.D. 1071).

We now come to the legend—for it can be nothing more—of how Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, 'Umar Khayyām, and the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, when fellow students at Nishāpūr, made a solemn vow that, should anyone of the three subsequently achieve success, he would befriend the other two.¹ The Nizāmu'l-Mulk was the first to succeed in life, he, as is well known, becoming Vizier to the Seljuq Sultān Arslān. It is related that both 'Umar Khayyām and Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ then came to the Nizāmu'l-Mulk and reminded him of their vow. True to his promise, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk offered 'Umar Khayyām the governorship of Nishāpūr; 'Umar, however, "being a philosopher and a man of sense," asked instead for a pension, which was granted to him. The Nizāmu'l-Mulk then turned to Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ and offered him the governorship of Ray or of Isfahān. Ḥasan, having higher ambitions, refused, but asked for a post at the Court, hoping, it is said, to become Vizier himself in due course.

Professor Browne has shown conclusively that the story of the three schoolfellows' vow can have no basis in fact, since the Nizāmu'l-Mulk was a much older man than either 'Umar Khayyām or Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ.² It is curious, however, that this story should appear in the *Sarguzasht*.

Whatever may be said regarding the Nishāpūr legend, there is no reason to doubt that the Nizāmu'l-Mulk did befriend Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ and give him a post at the Court. Authorities, however, differ as to what occurred subsequently, some averring that Ḥasan, having by reason of his abilities, obtained influence over the Sultan, endeavoured unsuccessfully to oust the Nizāmu'l-Mulk from his position of Vizier and take it himself. Others state that the Nizāmu'l-Mulk, noticing the rapid progress his protégé was making, became alarmed lest Ḥasan should supplant him, and deliberately discredited him in the eyes of the Sultān by means of a trick. All that can be said for certain

¹ According to the *Sarguzasht*: خون یکدیگر بنفردند و عهد کردند که از ما هر کدام که بدرجه بزرگ و مرتبه عالی رسد دیگران را زیت و تقویت کند.

² For Professor Browne's reasons see his article "Yet More Light on Umar-i-Khayyām" in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society*, 1899, p. 409.

is that some event occurred which forced Ḥasan to leave the Court and converted his former benefactor the Nizāmu'l-Mulk into his implacable foe.

After his enforced departure from the Court, Ḥasan spent two years studying Isma'īlī doctrine at Iṣfahān under Ra'īs Abu'l-Faḍl. One day he significantly remarked to his teacher, "Had I but two reliable friends, I would overthrow this kingdom."¹ This remark greatly alarmed Ra'īs Abu'l-Faḍl who, fearing for Ḥasan's reason, began treating him for insanity, giving him special soups and dishes suitable for strengthening the brain.² Perceiving his object, Ḥasan deemed it expedient to leave Iṣfahān, and proceeded by easy stages to Egypt, where he arrived in A.D. 1078.

By reason of his Isma'īlī beliefs, Ḥasan was well received at Cairo, and was treated with marked favour by the Faṭimid Caliph al-Mustanṣir. It is said by some writers that Ḥasan received so many benefits at the hands of the Caliph, that the courtiers became jealous, and eventually forced him to leave the country. However that may be, Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ returned to Persia in A.D. 1080, and thereafter travelled extensively through Khurāsān, Transoxiana, and even, it is said, Kashgar, preaching his "New Propaganda" in favour of al-Mustanṣir and his son Nizār.

By degrees Ḥasan gathered a number of adherents about him, and so laid one of the foundations for the carrying out of his great scheme, namely the formation of the Order of the Assassins. When the idea of forming this Order first occurred to Ḥasan and what were his real motives will probably never be known with any degree of exactitude. It is possible that Ḥasan had the germ of the idea in his mind when he made the remark which so alarmed Ra'īs Abu'l-Faḍl; as for his motives, personal ambition and desire for revenge on his enemies probably formed part, at any rate, of them. The next step Ḥasan took was the acquisition, sometimes by force, but more often by persuasion and guile, of a number of strong places to serve as bases for his forces. Ḥasan began by winning over to his ideas the governors

¹ See Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfī's *Tā'rikh-i-Guzida* (Gibb Edition), vol. I, p. 517: اگر دیوار موافق داشتی این ملک را بر من میزدی. Mirkhwānd gives a somewhat different version of the remark: اگر دیوار موافق داشتی ملک این ترک و روستای را بر من میزدی.

² Some twenty years later, when Ra'īs Abu'l-Faḍl was at Alamūt on a visit to Ḥasan, the latter said to him "Which of us two was out of his senses? And which of us had need of the aromatic beverages and foods mixed with saffron? Thou seest how I kept my promise once I had the aid of two helpful friends!"

of the castles of Girdkūh and Turshiz; in A.H. 483 (A.D. 1090) he appeared before the castle of Alamūt, which is situated in very mountainous country some 50 miles north-north-east of the town of Qazvīn.

According to the legend (which, with some variations, is still current in those parts), Ḥasan, when he came to Alamūt, offered the Governor, a man of the name of Maḥdī, a large sum of money (it is said to have been 3,000 *dīnārs*) for "the space of ground covered by an ox-hide". The simple Governor, dazzled by the apparent lavishness of the offer, gladly accepted Ḥasan's terms, whereupon the latter, having obtained an ox-hide, cut it into narrow strips with which he proceeded to encircle the fortress. Ḥasan then demanded, and, what is more, procured its handing over to himself.

The Kadkhudā or Headman of Shuturkhān, a village a few miles from Alamūt, gave me a somewhat different version of the story. According to him, there was no fortress in existence when Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ first came to Alamūt. Being struck with the extraordinary natural strength of the rock and the very mountainous country surrounding it, Ḥasan determined at all costs to become possessed of it and to build a castle thereon. The next step was to find the owner of the rock, and to strike a bargain with him; this turned out to be much easier than Ḥasan had anticipated, for when he met the owner he found him to be an ignorant peasant. The astute Ḥasan was quick to notice that the man, who was carrying a heavy load on his back, was too stupid to think of putting it down on the ground whilst conversing. Ḥasan thereupon thought of the ruse of the ox-hide and successfully put it into practice.

Though accounts differ as to the manner in which Ḥasan obtained possession of Alamūt, historical evidence goes to prove that there was a fortress there beforehand. The castle is said to have been originally built by a certain Ḥasan ibn Zaid (or Zaidān) in A.D. 860,¹ during the reign of al-Mutawakkil.

Ibnū'l-Athīr² describes the founding of Alamūt as follows: One of the kings of Dailam, whilst out hunting, sent up a trained eagle. Following the bird, he saw it alight on the site of the fortress and, finding this to be a place of great strategic importance, he ordered a

¹ Ḥamdu'llah Mustawfi, *op. cit.*, p. 527, says that Alamūt was built: فرمان
الداعي الى الحق حسن بن زيدان الباقري

² *Op. cit.*, vol. x, p. 131.

castle to be built there forthwith. "And he called it 'Aluh Mūt' [sic],¹ and the meaning of this in the language of Dailam is "The Eagle's Teaching".² Many writers, Persian as well as European, have translated the name as "The Eagle's Nest", but, although the situation of the fortress certainly well merits such a term, this interpretation cannot, as Professor Browne has shown, be justified on etymological grounds. "Āluh" (آله) is good Persian for an eagle, while "Āmūt" (آموت) is a dialect form of "Āmūkt" (آموخت), meaning "teaching" or "to teach".

The historian Ḥamdu'llah Mustaufi has drawn attention to the curious fact that, if one gives to each letter in the full name of Āluh Āmūt its numerical value in Arabic, the total amounts to 483, which is, as we have seen, the year in which Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ obtained possession of the place.³

It is said that Ḥasan once having ensconced himself in Alamūt, never left it until the day of his death in A.D. 1124, being occupied in drawing up the rules and regulations of his Order and in writing religious works.⁴

Ḥasan, however, was not allowed to spend all his time in this peaceful manner, as he was soon called upon to defend Alamūt against a force which the Nizāmu'l-Mulk sent against him. This army closely besieged the fortress, but Ḥasan was not unduly perturbed, and now made use of the terrible weapon which he had devised. This was the special emissary of the Assassins termed the "Fidā'ī"⁵ or "The Self-Sacrificing One", who, as will be seen below, not only earned them their name,⁶ but also their terrible reputation. Ḥasan, in order to relieve the pressure, determined to strike, not at the besieging army itself, but at his chief adversary, the Nizāmu'l-Mulk. A Fidā'ī was accordingly dispatched who, after penetrating the enemy lines, made his way to the place where the Nizāmu'l-Mulk then was. Disguising himself as a religious mystic, the Fidā'ī stabbed the aged

¹ This is evidently a misprint for "Āluh Āmūt" (آله آموت).

² ومعناه بلسان الديلم تعليم العقاب.

³
$$483 = \{ 400 + 6 + 40 + 1 + 5 + 30 + 1 \}$$

⁴ E. Blochet, *Le Messianisme dans l'Hétérodoxie musulmane*, p. 110.

⁵ فدائي pl. فدائيه in Arabic. The Persian form (as given above) is فدائی.

⁶ See note 2 on p. 681.

minister to death, thereby throwing everything into confusion, and causing the siege of Alamūt to be raised.

Before proceeding further with the history of Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, and the Order, it will be as well to give a brief account of the composition of the latter, and to describe in some detail the terrible Fidā'is and the manner in which they were trained.

At the head of the Order was the Chief Propagandist or Grand Master (the "Dā'īd-Du'āt"), the first of whom was, of course, Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ. Under the Grand Master were a number of "Greater Propagandists" whom Professor Browne well likens to bishops, each being in charge of a district. Under these "bishops" were the ordinary Propagandists. All these grades were fully initiated into the doctrine and mysteries of the Order (it is to be noted that in point of actual doctrine there was probably little or no difference between it and the ordinary Isma'īlī Sect). Below the Propagandists were the Rafiqs ("Companions") and the Lāsiqs ("Adherents"), two grades which were only partially initiated. After the Lāsiqs came the Fidā'is who were, if we may so put it, the Assassins *par excellence*.

These Fidā'is were entirely uninitiated into the mysteries of the Order, but were nevertheless most carefully trained for the difficult and highly dangerous parts that they would have to play.

Extraordinary bravery, unflagging determination, and endless patience were essential qualities of the Fidā'is. If need arose, they would wait for months or even years for the opportunity to strike. If one attempt at assassination failed, another would be made; further, since death had no terrors for them, their murders were often perpetrated in the most public and spectacular manner. As a result, the Fidā'is seldom survived their victims, but, on the other hand, few of those whom they were ordered to slay ever escaped their fate, Saladin being a notable exception.

How, it may be asked, did Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ and his successors imbue the simple peasants and mountain folk, from whom the Fidā'is were for the most part recruited, with this phenomenal courage and total disregard for death? In answering this question, one cannot do better than quote the picturesque account given by Marco Polo¹:—

"He [that is, the Grand Master] had caused a certain valley . . . to be enclosed, and had turned it into a garden, the largest and most beautiful that ever was seen, filled with every variety of fruit. In it were erected pavilions and palaces the most elegant that can be

¹ See Marco Polo (Yule's Translation), vol. i, p. 139 et seq.

imagined. . . . And there were runnels too, flowing freely with wine and milk and honey and water; and numbers of ladies and of the most beautiful damsels in the world, who could play well on all manner of instruments, and sang most sweetly, and danced in a manner that it was charming to behold. For the Old Man¹ desired to make his people [i.e. the Fidā'īs] believe that this was actually Paradise. So he had fashioned it after the description that Mahomet gave of his Paradise. . . . And sure enough the Saracens of those parts believed that it *was* Paradise!

"For no man was allowed to enter the Garden save those whom he intended to be his Ashishin.² He kept at his Court a number of the youths of the country, from 12 to 20 years of age, such as had a taste for soldiering, and to these he used to tell tales about Paradise, just as Mahomet had been wont to do, and they believed in him just as the Saracens believe in Mahomet. Then he would introduce them into his garden, some four or six or ten at a time, having first made them drink a certain potion [hashīsh]³ which cast them into a deep sleep, and then causing them to be lifted and carried in. So when they awoke, they found themselves in the Garden . . . a place so charming that they deemed it was Paradise in very truth. And the ladies and damsels dallied with them to their heart's content . . . and with their own good will they never would have quitted the place.

"Now this Prince whom we call the Old One kept his court in grand and noble style; and made those simple hill-folks about him believe firmly that he was a great Prophet. And when he wanted one of his Ashishin to send away on any mission, he would cause that potion . . . to be given to one of the youths in the garden, and then

¹ The Grand Master of the Order was sometimes styled in Arabic the Shaikhul-Jabal or "Chief of the Mountain". This title was mistranslated by the Crusaders as "Old Man of the Mountain", owing to the Arabic word "shaikh" (شيخ) or "chief" having the secondary meaning of "old man". The Crusaders, however, merely referred as such to the Grand Master of the Syrian branch of the Assassins; they were probably unaware of the existence of the real head of the Order at Alamūt.

² . . . "Ashishin," from which our word "assassin" is derived, is a corruption of the Arabic word "Hashishiyyūn" (حشيشيون) or "Takers of hashish", by which the followers of Hasan-i-Sabbāh were often called. Pious Muhammadans frequently referred to them as "Malāhida" (ملاحدة) or "Heretics".

³ It must not be supposed that the *habitual* use of hashish by the Fidā'īs was encouraged or even permitted. The reverse was the case, for not only were the peculiar properties of the drug still a closely guarded secret at that time, probably known only to Hasan-i-Sabbāh and a few others, but the habitual taking of the drug would, by causing listlessness and languor, have blunted precisely those qualities which it was wished particularly to develop in the Fidā'īs.

had him carried into his Palace. So when the young man awoke, he found himself in the Castle ; whereat he was not over well pleased. He was then conducted to the Old Man's presence, and bowed before him with great veneration, as believing himself in the presence of a true Prophet. The Prince would then ask whence he had come, and he would reply that he had come from Paradise ! and that was exactly as Mahomet had described it in the Law. This, of course, gave the others who stood by, and those who had not been admitted, the greatest desire to enter therein.

"So when the Old Man would have any Prince slain, he would say to such a youth : 'Go thou and slay so-and-so ; and when thou returnest my Angels shall bear thee into Paradise.' So he caused them to believe ; and thus there was no order of his that they would not affront any peril to execute, for the great desire they had to get back into that Paradise of his. And in this manner the Old One got his people to murder anyone whom he desired to get rid of.¹ Thus, too, the great dread that he inspired all Princes withal, made them become his tributaries."

The above description is not altogether correct.² What really happened was that the Grand Master, having selected some youths on account of their physical fitness, fighting qualities and determined character, would invite them to a feast. During the banquet he would engage them in conversation, saying that he had it in his power to transport persons to Paradise. At the same time he would cause them, without their knowledge, to be drugged with hashish. When unconscious, the youths would be carried from the Castle to the garden, where they would come to and enjoy themselves as described by Marco Polo. On the conclusion of their pleasant sojourn in "Paradise", the youths would again be drugged with hashish and taken back to the Castle ; it was then arranged that they should regain their senses in the exact spot where they had been drugged, and in the presence of the Grand Master. The latter would then inform the youths that *corporeally* they had never left him, but that he had

¹ The weapons employed were generally daggers or knives which were sometimes poisoned. Cf. Ibn Battûta, vol. i, p. 167 (Defrémery and Sanguinetti's edition) :
ولهم سكاكين مسمومة يضربون بها من يمتوا الى قتله.

² Marco Polo's account is not based on personal observation as far as Alamût is concerned, but it appears that he did visit one of the castles of the Old Man of the Mountain. It has not been possible to discover which of the many fortresses of the Assassins this one was. (See p. xxxviii of N. M. Penzer's Introduction to John Frampton's Translation of *The Most Noble and Famous Travels of Marco Polo*, London, 1920.)

allowed their spirits to enjoy a foretaste of the joys of Paradise whither he could at any time cause them *actually* to be transported, as a reward for services performed. The Grand Master would then give them orders to go on some murderous mission, promising them transportation to Paradise if they succeeded. He further assured them that, if by any chance they lost their lives whilst endeavouring to carry out their mission, they would go straight to Paradise. Thus in either case the Fidā'is were assured of the fulfilment of their desire.

That this system was effective the record of the Assassins well shows, and many are the instances that could be given of the desperate courage and contempt of death shown by the Fidā'is. It will be sufficient to mention here but a few of their deeds, in order to show to what an extraordinary pitch their valour and zeal were raised.

During the Grand Mastership of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, Orkhān, the Governor of Khurāsān, having devastated villages and lands belonging to the Assassins, was killed by three Fidā'is just outside Ganja. The Fidā'is then rushed into the town, brandishing their bloodstained daggers and shouting "'Alā'u'd-Dīn! 'Alā'u'd-Dīn!'", their intention being to seek out and slay the Vizier, Sharafu'l-Mulk. They failed, however, to find the Vizier, and met their end at the hands of the inhabitants, who hurled stones at them from the roofs of their houses.

Marino Sanuto relates that Henry, Count of Champagne, the titular King of Jerusalem, when on a visit to the Grand Master of the Syrian branch of the Assassins, was walking one day with his host in the grounds of the latter's castle. Pointing to some youths seated on the top of a high tower, the Grand Master remarked that he was sure that no Christians were as obedient to their princes as were his followers to himself. He thereupon made a sign to the youths, two of whom immediately leapt from the tower and were dashed to pieces at the foot. The Grand Master then offered to order the remaining youths similarly to immolate themselves, but the Count of Champagne said that he had had proof enough of their obedience, which was, he frankly admitted, greater than that of his own subjects.

Even the parents of the Fidā'is believed it to be an honour for their sons to be employed as such, and, above all, to sacrifice their lives in the performance of their duty. Once, when a Fidā'i had managed to return safely to his home after accomplishing a perilous mission in the course of which his companions had perished, his mother actually cut off her hair and blackened her face, deeming it a disgrace that her son should have survived.

The Assassins did not always kill their opponents ; after a time, when the dread inspired by their terrible deeds had become intense, a mere threat would often suffice to answer their purposes. For example, when Sultān Sanjar was conducting a campaign against the Assassins, he awoke in his tent one morning to find a dagger embedded in the ground beside him. Shortly afterwards the Sultān received a note from Ḥasan-i-Šabbāh stating, " Had we not been well-disposed towards thee, we might have plunged the dagger into thy heart instead of into the ground." Almost immediately afterwards, Muḥammad, Sanjar's brother, was mysteriously slain, so the Sultān deemed it expedient to make his peace with such dangerous enemies.

A similar experience befell Nūru'd-Dīn, the Amir of Aleppo, when fighting against the Syrian Assassins. Like Sanjar, Nūru'd-Dīn judged discretion to be the better part of valour, and abandoned the campaign.

On another occasion, the celebrated Imām Fakhru'd-Dīn of Ray, in order to refute a charge that he was secretly an Isma'īlī, began openly to curse them and the Assassins.

Not long afterwards a newcomer joined the ranks of his disciples, and soon showed himself to be one of the most attentive and hard-working of his pupils. One day, however, the new pupil entered the Imām's house when the latter was alone, and, unsheathing a long dagger, informed him that he was in reality a Fidā'ī. He then threatened the startled Imām with instant death unless he swore a most solemn oath to abstain in future from cursing the Assassins. The sight of the Fidā'ī's dagger held menacingly aloft speedily induced the Imām to swear the required oath. The Fidā'ī thereupon sheathed his dagger, and handed the Imām 300 pieces of gold, saying that, while his Master paid no regard to the utterances of the vulgar, he feared the effect of anything adverse to him and his order that such a learned man as the Imām might say, since it would greatly influence his hearers against them. The Fidā'ī then took his leave, after promising the Imām further payments if he would keep his oath. It was subsequently noticed that the Imām no longer uttered his customary curses against the Assassins ; on his being asked why he did not do so, he replied, " One must not curse them ; their arguments are too convincing and pointed ! "

There were two main factors which enabled the Assassins to strengthen their position and extend their power in the early days.

In the first place, the Seljuq Empire was thrown into a state of

chaos after the death of Malikshāh¹ by reason of the struggle for the succession between his sons Barkiāruq and Muḥammad; this effectively prevented for some time any further attempts being made to evict the Assassins from Alamūt and their other strongholds.

Secondly, the outbreak of the Crusades in 1097, gave Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ an excellent opportunity to fish in troubled waters. He immediately despatched emissaries to Syria who, after gaining many partisans amongst the Isma'īlis there and seizing a number of mountain fortresses, established the Syrian branch of the Order to which some reference has already been made.

It was perhaps fortunate for Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ and his followers that the Crusades began at this juncture, for the fearsome deeds of the Assassins, together with their heresy, caused pious Muslims to hold them in particular abhorrence; had the Muḥammadan world not been so preoccupied with the Crusades, it is probable that it would have undertaken a serious and concerted *jihād* against the Assassins and would doubtless have completely overwhelmed them. As it was, the Assassins did not always have matters their own way, for their castle of Dizh-i-Kūh near Iṣfahān was captured in 1107, its governor Ibn Aṭṭāsh being crucified and his followers put to the sword.

Under the first two successors of Ḥasan-i-Šabbāḥ, Buzurg-Umīd and his son Muḥammad, the same ruthless policy was continued, many notable people, including two of the 'Abbāsīd Caliphs, al-Mustarshīd and his successor, al-Rāshīd bi'llah, being killed by the Fidā'is. When Muḥammad's son, Ḥasan, known as Ḥasan 'ala dhikrihi's-salām, grew up, he gave out, during his father's lifetime, that he was in reality the son of Nizār ibn Mustanşir, and gathered together some adherents. He was, however, severely admonished by his father and forced to declare in public that what he had said was untrue. Nevertheless, after Muḥammad's death in 1162, Ḥasan, on becoming Grand Master, announced that he was the promised Imām.

In 1169 Rāshidu'd-Dīn Sinān, a friend of Ḥasan 'ala dhikrihi's-salām, became Grand Master of the Syrian branch of the Assassins. By his ascetic life and his *manāqib* or "miracles", Rāshidu'd-Dīn attained a great ascendancy over his followers, and this fact, together with his able leadership, enabled him to become independent of the Grand Master of Alamūt. The latter, after vainly summoning

¹ Malikshāh died very suddenly in 1092, a few weeks after the murder of the Nizāmū'l-Mulk by the Assassins, and many suspected that he had been poisoned by them.

Rāshidu'd-Dīn several times to submit, went to the length of despatching Persian Assassins to kill him, but they failed to achieve their object.¹ Rāshidu'd-Dīn established an efficient secret service and also instituted a pigeon-post; he was thus able to obtain information by what seemed to his adversaries, and indeed to the uninitiated of his followers, to be supernatural means.

Rāshidu'd-Dīn was a contemporary of Saladin and of Richard Cœur de Lion, and was for a time at war with the former. Saladin twice had exceedingly narrow escapes from the daggers of the Fidā'īs, and judged it more prudent, after the second attempt on his life, to come to terms with the Assassins.

A short while before he died, Rāshidu'd-Dīn brought about the death of Conrad of Montferrat. Some say that Richard Cœur de Lion was the real instigator of the deed, but others, probably with more truth, state that Saladin requested Rāshidu'd-Dīn to have both Conrad of Montferrat and Richard Cœur de Lion murdered, and that, while Rāshidu'd-Dīn agreed in the case of Conrad, he would take no action against Richard, since he feared that Saladin would become too powerful if both his principal enemies were killed.²

To return to the history of the Alamūt Assassins, Muḥammad, the son of Ḥasan 'ala dhikrih's-salām, was Grand Master from 1165 to 1210. Muḥammad was succeeded by his son Jalālu'd-Dīn who, even during his father's lifetime, had shown a tendency to return to the orthodox fold; on becoming Grand Master, Jalālu'd-Dīn openly took this step, and either persuaded or compelled his followers to follow suit; the conversion of many, however, was only skin-deep, as will be seen later. This proceeding on the part of Jalālu'd-Dīn, which earned him the nick-name of "Nau-Musulmān", naturally caused much dissension amongst the Assassins which, though not apparent on the surface, nevertheless tended to weaken their power. It was Jalālu'd-Dīn who first realized the danger threatening from the Mongols; he endeavoured to avert this by sending envoys, with offers of submission, to Gengiz Khān when the latter was advancing to attack Khwārazm.

Jalālu'd-Dīn died in 1220, his son 'Alā'u'd-Dīn becoming Grand Master at the early age of nine. Simultaneously, the Assassins gave

¹ See S. Guyard's "Un Grand Maître des Assassins": *Journal Asiatique*, 1877, vol. ix, p. 365.

² See Guyard, *op. cit.*, p. 370.

up all pretence of being orthodox, and reverted openly to their former practices and beliefs.

The minority of 'Alā'u'd-Dīn, his capricious nature and, later, his marked eccentricity which merged into madness, caused a further decline in the power of the Assassins. At the same time, clouds were gathering further to the East, and rumours of impending invasion by the Mongol hordes became current. In this latter connection, the following extracts from Matthew of Paris¹ will be of interest :—

"About this time (A.D. 1238), special ambassadors were sent by the Saracens, chiefly on behalf of the Old Man of the Mountain, to the French King, telling him that a monstrous and inhuman race of men had burst forth from the Northern mountains, and had taken possession of the extensive, rich lands of the East . . . These people have very large heads, by no means proportionate to their bodies, and feed on raw flesh, and even on human beings . . . This powerful and noble Saracen messenger, who had come to the French King, . . . asked assistance from the western nations, the better to be able to repress the fury of the Tartars; he also sent a Saracen messenger from his own company to the King of England . . . to tell these events, and to say that if they themselves could not withstand the attacks of such people, nothing remained to prevent their devastating the countries of the West . . . He therefore asked assistance in this urgent and general emergency, that the Saracens, with the assistance of the Christians, might resist the attacks of these people. The Bishop of Winchester, who happened to be then present . . . interrupted his speech and answered jocosely, 'Let us leave these dogs to devour one another, that they may all be consumed, and perish; and we, when we proceed against the enemies of Christ who remain, will slay them, and cleanse the face of the earth, so that all the world will be subject to the one Catholic Church . . .'"

Although the position of the Assassins was no longer what it had been, the Fidā'īs still retained their desperate courage, as the episode of the murder of Orkhān well shows (see p. 683 above). News of their prowess had, indeed, reached Mangū, the Great Khān of the Mongols. Mangū had been greatly impressed at his court one day at seeing the Qādī Shamsu'd-Dīn of Qazvīn come into his presence, clad in a coat of mail. When asked why he wore this coat of mail, the Qādī

¹ See Matthew Paris's *English History* (Giles' translations), vol. i, pp. 131-2.

replied that he always wore it as a protection against the daggers of the Assassins.

As he grew older, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn grew more and more demented, and, becoming jealous of his son Ruknu'd-Dīn, tormented him to such an extent that he is said to have sent envoys to the Mongols offering to submit.

In A.D. 1255, 'Alā'u'd-Dīn was murdered by one of his favourites, and Ruknu'd-Dīn became the eighth and, as it proved, the last Grand Master of the Assassins. He held the position for less than a year, for the Mongols, under Hūlākū Khān, the brother of Mangū, were already on their way to Persia with strict orders from the Great Khān to exterminate the Assassins before proceeding further west to attack Baghdad and overthrow the 'Abbāsid Caliphate.

Hūlākū and his hordes came within striking distance of the Assassins in the autumn of 1256, and summoned Ruknu'd-Dīn to surrender. After procrastinating for some time, Ruknu'd-Dīn was closely invested by the Mongol forces in his fortress of Maimūn-Dizh. Realizing that resistance was useless, Ruknu'd-Dīn surrendered to Hūlākū on receiving a solemn promise that his life would be spared. Once Ruknu'd-Dīn was in his power, Hūlākū forced him ignominiously to go round with the Mongol forces and summon his other strongholds to surrender. The majority of these castles, some fifty in number, capitulated at once, but Alamūt, and especially Girdkūh and Lamsir, made some show of resistance. By the beginning of 1257, however, all these fortresses had been taken and destroyed,¹ and the power of the Assassins of Alamūt came finally to an end. As for Ruknu'd-Dīn, he was eventually put to death by order of Mangū, while his followers were either slain or were, as Juvainī says, "scattered like the Jews."²

¹ If Chardin is correct, Alamūt must have been rebuilt in or sometime before the era of the Safavī, for he states in his *Voyages* (Langlès edition, vol. ix, p. 115) that it was used by them as a prison for illustrious prisoners who had incurred their wrath. Chardin describes Alamūt as "un fort château, proche de Casbin, bâti sur une haute roche, aux bords d'un précipice, et où, dans les siècles précédans, les rois reléguoient les personnes de leur sang, et d'autres dont ils vouloient se défaire sans éclat. On les y laissoit vivre quelque temps; et puis, lorsqu'on en étoit las, on les précipitoit sans qu'ils s'en aperçussent en faisant semblant de les transférer d'une tour en une autre."

Chardin is silent regarding the earlier history of Alamūt, possibly because he had no knowledge of it.

² D'Ohsson, in his *Histoire des Mongols* (vol. iii, p. 202), states, à propos of this remark of Juvainī's: "Ils (i.e. the Assassins) ne furent cependant pas totalement détruits dans le Couhistan; car Mohammed d'Esfēzar rapporte, dans son *Histoire de Hérot*, que, de son temps, c'est-à-dire vers l'année 1500, une partie des habitants

The Syrian Assassins, though they escaped destruction at the hands of the Mongols, gradually sank into insignificance, becoming in 1265 tributaries of the Egyptian Sultān Baibars.

The Isma'īlī Sect proper, however, continued to exist, and does so to the present day, having numerous adherents in India, Syria and Africa. It is of interest to note that the Agha Khān, who is the titular head of the Isma'īlīs, is a direct descendant of Ruknu'd-Dīn Khūrshāh, the last Grand Master of Alamūt.

II

A VISIT TO ALAMŪT

The present writer makes no claim to have been the first European to visit Alamūt; as a matter of fact, several have been there before him. In 1831 a Colonel Monteith, while travelling in the northern provinces of Persia, visited the fortress, but although he gives some description of the place, he seems to have been quite ignorant of its history. Six years later, another British officer, Colonel Shiel by name, travelled from Tehran to Alamūt by a very arduous route. Both officers recorded their experiences in the *Journal* of the Royal Geographical Society. In 1927 Professor Ernst Herzfeld, travelling by much the same route as Colonel Shiel, went to Alamūt from Tehran. So far as the writer is aware, Professor Herzfeld has written no account of his visit; this is much to be regretted, as there can be no one better qualified than he to describe the place and its history.

In July, 1928, the present writer, in company with two friends, set out from Tehran for Alamūt. Leaving Tehran by car one afternoon, we reached Qazvīn, 96 miles distant, the same evening. Having engaged the services of two muleteers and their six mules, we made an early start from Qazvīn the next morning. For the first mile or so our track (for it was nothing more) led us through the pleasant fruit gardens surrounding Qazvīn, but thereafter it went, in a direction slightly east of north, across the barren plain to the foothills of the Talaqān range. After climbing the foothills we followed the winding and stony trail up the main range to the top of the Sīmīār Pass, 7,200 feet above sea-level. We reached the top at sunset, and found

de cette province était encore attachée aux erreurs de la secte. Ils levaient, parmi eux, une contribution pécuniaire, sous le titre de *denier de Hassan Sabbah*, dont le produit était consacré à l'entretien et à l'ornement de son sépulchre, 'et l'on dit même,' ajoute cet auteur, 'que maintes vieilles femmes mettent à part chaque dixième pelotte de fil qu'elles ont filée, ce qu'elles appellent *la dixième de l'Inam*, c'est-à-dire de Hassan Sabbah.'

our exertions rewarded by a marvellous view. Looking back whence we had come, we could see a dark patch on the plain representing Qazvin and its gardens, while beyond were lofty and distant mountains in the direction of Hamadân. The finest view, however, was in the opposite direction, that is, to the north and north-east. Right at our feet, as it seemed, was the Shâhrûd valley, an enormous rift 4,000 feet in depth, and beyond it were mountains ranging from 12,000 to 14,500 feet in height, many of them still snow-capped. Every here and there clouds from the low-lying Caspian littoral had welled up over this mountain barrier and streamed down a short distance on its hither side. These clouds and the snows on the higher peaks were all tinged a wonderful strawberry red by the rays of the setting sun.

On the flank of one of the mountains opposite, though as yet hidden from our view, was our objective, Alamût.

Descending the pass a short distance we pitched our camp in a pleasant spot surrounded by cornfields close to the village of Simiâr. At first, however, it seemed that we were to have a troubled time, for scarcely had we begun to settle down for the night when a terrific altercation broke out a short distance away. It turned out to be between the villagers and our muleteers, and was caused by the latter's mules straying into a cornfield and enjoying a plenteous, but entirely unauthorized, feed. To judge from the amount of noise, one might have expected rivers of blood to flow, but soon everything quieted down, after, I believe, a kran or two had changed hands!

Peace having been restored, we were able to pass a comfortable night in the cool mountain air, being lulled to sleep by the murmur of a stream nearby. The next morning we went down to the Shâhrûd river, which we followed upstream in an easterly direction for some 5 or 6 miles until we came to the point where it is joined by the Alamût river. Crossing the Shâhrûd by a primitive bridge just above the junction, we went up the Alamût gorge, which is about a mile and a quarter in length, via the bed of that river. The sides of this gorge were sheer cliffs, from 150 to 200 feet in height. As these cliffs were perpendicular for most of the way and in places even overhanging, the bed of the river was the only possible route; fortunately for us, the river was low.

On emerging from the gorge we were able to leave the river bed and so go dry shod once more. Camp was pitched for the night some miles further up-stream, at a small village called Shâhrak.

Starting shortly after sunrise on the following day we soon reached the village of Shuturkhān, which is situated at the point where a stream in a deep ravine running down from the mountains joins the Alamūt river. Looking up this ravine we could see a large projection on the side of the mountain immediately facing us—the mountain of Alamūt. This projection was the rock of Alamūt; it was some 8 miles distant from Shuturkhān and fully 3,000 feet higher.

When we arrived at Shuturkhān, the villagers mistook us at first for some conscription officials who were at that time busily engaged conscripting the "young eligibles" of the district. We were therefore received with marked coldness, not to say hostility, but, on it being discovered that we were merely "Finngis" on the way to Alamūt, scowls were instantly replaced by smiles. We were then taken off to see the Kadkhudā or headman of the village, who not only gave us a warm welcome, but insisted on acting as our guide to Gazar Khān, a village lying almost at the foot of the rock of Alamūt.

The Kadkhudā proved to be an intelligent man, and was fairly well acquainted with much of the history of Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ and Alamūt and with some of the legends connected therewith. He asked us, of course, the usual questions regarding our names, ages, nationality, and, above all, our object in travelling to Alamūt. When we informed the Kadkhudā in reply that our sole motive in making the journey was that of historical interest, he obviously failed to believe us, though he politely endeavoured to cloak his incredulity. "But surely," he said, "you must have come all this way to dig for the treasure which, they say, is still buried somewhere amid the ruins of the castle! Others have been here before, and they have all tried to find this treasure." There is little doubt that, despite our denials, he remained convinced to the end that we were really treasure-hunters.

Our way from Shuturkhān led up the north-east side of the ravine, rising some 2,000 feet in the course of the 8 miles to Gazar Khān. When near the latter place we passed a small shrine, and a little further on we paused for a few minutes to take photographs, an excellent view of the rock being obtained from this point (see photograph No. 1). We then crossed the ravine, which had become much shallower, and halted in the shade of some trees just outside Gazar Khān. Our guide the Kadkhudā went off in search of the village elders, with whom he soon returned.

We asked a number of questions regarding the castle and the famous

garden of the Assassins—on the very site of which we thought we might be sitting. We could not, however, glean any information respecting the garden, all trace of it apparently having disappeared.

Our mules having come up in the meantime with our baggage and provisions, we lunched in the pleasant shade of the trees with our new friends, and then set off on the final stage of our pilgrimage.

After wending our way through the narrow and tortuous lanes of Gazar Khān, we came to a sort of village green which was nicely shaded by plane trees of great age; through these trees we got glimpses of the rock of Alamūt, which now seemed to tower above us. After crossing this green, we soon came to a ravine—a branch of the one we had followed from Shuturkhān—which, skirting the rock of Alamūt on its north-west side, went on further into the flank of the mountain. We kept on the western side of this ravine for half a mile or so, until we had got to a point just to the north of the rock. Opposite us, across the ravine, was a high “neck” connecting the mountain to the rock. This neck joined the rock near the north-west end of the latter, some 200 feet below the summit. Close to this point was a vertical “chimney” in the face of the rock; this chimney had been securely blocked by masonry about halfway up. After crossing the ravine and climbing this neck, we followed a narrow path along the north-eastern face of the rock which is here most precipitous. This path, after descending slightly for some 200 yards, suddenly began to mount steeply, in a series of zig-zags to the top. Every here and there we came upon the remains of steps, and, just before reaching the top, we passed the ruins of what had evidently been the outer wall of the fortress. Colonel Monteith mentions this wall in his account of Alamūt; to judge by his account, it was in a far better state of preservation in his time (1831) than it is now. Colonel Monteith also speaks of a tower on top of the rock, but this has completely disappeared.

The top of the rock is in the form of a narrow ridge running from N.N.W. to S.S.E. This ridge, which is divided into three sections by small gaps a few feet in width and depth, is 400 yards long and varies in width from 35 yards at the broadest part to only a few feet at the extremities. Running parallel with the central portion of the ridge on the S.W. side, some 50 feet below the top, are the remains of what appear to have been a retaining wall; the total area once available may therefore have been considerably greater than it is now.

According to my aneroid the summit is 6,200 feet above sea-level.

The height of the rock, relative to its surroundings, is greatest on the south-west side, where the top is fully 900 feet above the fields of Gazar Khān at its base. On the other side, the height ranges from some 750 feet at the N.N.W. end of the ridge to only 200 feet at the point where the neck joins the rock. As this neck slopes on its eastern side down to another ravine, the relative height of the ridge therefore increases as one proceeds towards the S.S.E. end, being there in the neighbourhood of 500 feet.

The only means of access to the top is by the path we had followed, the rock at every other point being quite unclimbable.

The main part of the fortress was evidently on the central section of the ridge, as the ruins are most extensive there, while at each end of it are walls running transversely across the ridge, the wall to the S.S.E. being still in a good state of preservation. The path we had come by, after reaching the bottom of the gap at this point, is led, by means of buttresses, diagonally across the face of this wall to the top of the central section. On this part of the ridge are the ruins of a number of buildings, of which little more than the foundations remain. Unfortunately, the extremely dilapidated condition of these remains precluded us from forming any definite idea of what the actual plan of the place had been.

Building material was stone for the most part, but good burnt brick was also used. The quality of the mortar employed was excellent.

There were masses of broken pottery lying about, not only on the ridge itself, but also on the top and eastern flank of the neck; the latter, therefore, must have been the site of a considerable settlement. Some of the fragments of pottery found had an excellent glaze, but, unfortunately for us, we could discover nothing intact.

On the N.N.W. section of the ridge are more ruins, while near the end, and some 50 feet down on either side are two reservoirs hewn out of the rock; adjacent to the reservoir on the south-west side are two other cuttings in the rock, in one of which a vine is growing; this vine, our guide assured us, was planted by Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ himself!

There is another reservoir on the S.S.E. section of the ridge; these reservoirs, which were half-full at the time of our visit, are filled by rain or snow-water draining off the catchment area afforded by the top and upper slopes of the rock. Besides the reservoirs, there are a number of caves or tunnels, which may have served as store-places for provisions.

The view from the top of the rock is very fine indeed, and is in itself sufficient reward for the toil of the ascent. To the north towers the mountain of Alamūt, overtopping the rock by fully 4,000 feet. To the east are the jagged peaks of the Takht-i-Sulaimān, 14,500 feet in height, while to the south-east and south are more peaks of the Elburz range, of 13,000 feet and over. To the south-west is the Talaqān range, over which we had come by the Simiār pass. Westward and north-westward are spurs descending to the Alamūt and Shāhrūd valleys from the range of which the Alamūt mountain forms part.

Having spent the greater part of the afternoon exploring the ruins and photographing them and the rock itself from various angles, we descended, not without some difficulty, the precipitous path, and made our way to the camp, which our servants and muleteers had pitched for us by the side of the stream flowing down the ravine to the west of the castle. It was a striking situation for a camp, as the rock of Alamūt towered almost perpendicularly above us.

An hour or so later, when the sun had set, and the rock of Alamūt was bathed in the soft light of the moon, it seemed to undergo a strange metamorphosis. No longer were the walls above us but dilapidated remnants; instead, they appeared to have taken on new—or rather, old—substance, and once more the historic fortress seemed to come into being. What with the wonderfully clear mountain air, the beautiful moonlight, and—above all—the romantic surroundings, it needed but little further stretching of our imaginations to picture Ḥasan-i-Ṣabbāḥ and his faithful Fidā'is as being once again in possession of Alamūt. It was just as well, perhaps, for us, that they were not!

On leaving Alamūt the following morning on our way to the Caspian, we decided to try a short cut by mountain paths, to our first objective, a village named Dikin, about 15 miles west as the crow flies. As this route was impracticable for mules (and almost, as we soon found, for ourselves), we sent our animals and baggage by the much longer, but easier, way via Shuturkhān and the Alamūt valley. Our short cut proved to be very exhausting, as we had to cross no less than three lofty spurs of the Alamūt range, each one necessitating a climb and subsequent descent of fully 2,000 feet. The path was often very narrow and much worn. At one point, after a stiff climb up from the Anbij valley, a few miles west of Alamūt, we had to cross the face of a very steep slope; here, heavy rains had recently washed away most of the path, so that progress was difficult



THE ROCK OF ALAMŪT SEEN FROM THE SOUTH; THE VILLAGE OF GAZAR KHÂN IS BEHIND THE TREES TO THE LEFT.



THE NORTHERN SIDE OF ALAMŪT, SHOWING THE "NECK" JOINING IT TO THE MOUNTAIN, THE RAVINE LEADING SOUTH TO THE ALAMŪT VALLEY, WITH PART OF THE ELBURZ RANGE IN THE BACKGROUND.

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THE NORTH-WEST END OF THE ROCK SEEN FROM A PROJECTION ON THE SOUTHERN FALL. THE CUTTINGS IN THE ROCK ARE ARTIFICIAL; THE ONE ON THE LEFT IS A RESERVOIR, AND A VINE IS GROWING IN THE UPPER OF THE TWO CUTTINGS ON THE RIGHT.

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for a time. A slip would have resulted in a slide—almost a drop—of several hundred feet. Later, we came to well-cultivated undulating country, where the going promised to be easier. Unfortunately, we then got caught in a heavy thunderstorm which, besides soaking us to the skin, converted the ploughed fields into a mass of particularly adhesive mud. This mud stuck in masses to our boots, and made walking decidedly laborious. Consequently, we were very tired and had lost all enthusiasm for short cuts when we eventually reached Dikin.

Since leaving Alamūt we had, as it were, been going westward along the base of a triangle, the two sides being the Alamūt valley to the south-east and the Shāhrūd valley to the south-west; our route was, therefore, converging on the latter valley.

Making a fairly early start from Dikin on the following morning, we reached the Shāhrūd near a small village called Dehdushāb. Here rather a pathetic incident occurred, for an old villager came up and implored me to operate on his shoulder. I protested that I had no surgical or medical knowledge, adding that even if I had, I would not have been able to do anything, as I had only a pocket-knife and no iodine. It took some minutes to convince the old man that I really meant what I said, and then, as my companions were no better fitted than I was to attend to his trouble, he went sadly away. In those remote parts, every "Firangi" is supposed to be a *hakīm*, and it is often hard to dissuade the peasants from this belief.

We crossed the Shāhrūd at Dehdushāb, and went for some distance over undulating country south of the river, which we recrossed some miles lower down at Pul-i-Anbu. Here the Shāhrūd is spanned by a fine brick bridge.

After some welcome tea on the further side of this bridge, we had a long climb of 2,000 feet, in pitch darkness and pouring rain, to the village of Anbu, where we spent the night.

From Anbu our course lay slightly west of north, over down-like, fertile country, high enough up to be pleasantly cool and free from mosquitoes and flies.

We arrived at the village of Kilishūm at midday, and, after a halt there for lunch, went on to Isbaili via Dailimān. Isbaili is a large village situated just south of the ridge separating the Shāhrūd valley from the Caspian depression. Here the forests come right to the top of the northern slopes, and isolated trees, standing like sentinels on the top of the ridge, can be seen from the village. The houses in

Isbaili were well built of wood and had high-pitched shingle roofs, thus forming a welcome contrast to the mud-brick, flat-roofed dwellings to which we had been accustomed.

Spending the night and the whole of the next morning in Isbaili, we only accomplished a short stage before nightfall, and camped in a beautifully situated clearing in the heart of the forest a few miles to the north of the ridge.

Once on the northern slopes of the mountains, the change in the scenery was really extraordinary. Gone were the majestic, but often gaunt and forbidding, peaks, and their brown and arid slopes; instead, we could see nothing but a vast expanse of tree-covered hills and dells.

Very fortunately for us, the uncertain weather which we had been experiencing had by now given place to brilliant sunshine, so we were able to see the forest country under the best of conditions.

A peculiar feature of the forests was the complete absence of any sign of animal or bird life; not once did we hear a bird sing or even call.

After passing a comfortable night in our pleasant clearing, we continued on our way down through the forest until we reached the small and picturesque town of Lāhijān soon after midday. Here, not without regret, we paid off our muleteers, and hired an antique Ford, in which we bumped for a few miles over a very indifferent road to the large town of Rasht. From Rasht we returned by car to Tehrān, having spent a most interesting and enjoyable, but at times rather strenuous, holiday.

MATTA-VILĀSA : A FARCE

By MAHENDRAVIKRAMA-VARMAN

Translated by L. D. BARNETT

INTRODUCTION

THE little farce entitled *Matta-vilāsa* derives a peculiar interest from the personality of its author. For Mahendravikrama-varman (or Mahendra-varman, as he is sometimes called for brevity's sake) was a king of the glorious Pallava dynasty, and one of the most brilliant of his great race.

The founders of the Pallava dynasty seem to have been adventurers of Northern origin,¹ who settled in the Dekkan about the beginning of the Christian era. The dissolution of the Sātavāhana or Āndhra empire about the third century gave the family an opportunity to establish themselves as an independent little power, and they rapidly extended their dominions until they ranked among the greatest states of the South, rivalling the mighty neighbouring kingdoms of the Coḷas, the Ceras, and the Pāṇdyas. Their chief capital was Kāñci or Kāñci-puram, the modern Conjevaram, in which the scene of the present play is laid. To art, literature, and science they extended a generous and cultured patronage, and many of the noblest monuments of architecture and sculpture in Southern India perpetuate the memory of their splendid era.

Mahendravikrama-varman, son of Simhaviṣṇu Pallava, flourished about the beginning of the seventh century. Literature, sculpture, and architecture had a strong fascination for him : while the play *Matta-vilāsa* is the only book credited with his authorship, a considerable number of temples and caves exist inscribed with his names or the titles borne by him. These titles are many ; we may mention of them the following : *Matta-vilāsa* (" Wild Sporter "), *Guṇa-bhara* (" Abundance of Virtues "), *Avani-bhājana* (" Earth-vessel ", i.e. he whose glory fills the earth), *Śatru-malla* (" Champion against Foes "),

¹ The name *Pallava* appears to be a sanskritised form of the Middle Persian *Pahlava*, i.e. Parthian ; hence we may infer that the family sprang from one or more of the Parthian adventurers who entered India during the troubled period of the Scythian invasions, which began about 150 B.C. and continued for several generations. Such immigrants usually became in a short time thoroughly hinduised, and this seems to have been notably the case with the Pallavas.

Lalitānkura ("Charming Scion"). *Vicitra-citta* ("He whose mind is many-sided"), *Saṅkirṇa-jāli*, and *Ceṭṭhā-kāri* (both of uncertain meaning).¹ The first four of these titles occur in the prelude and concluding verse of our play.

The titles *Matta-vilāsa* and *Guṇa-bhara* need some explanation. They are derived from a long compound word *jovvaṇa* (youth)-*guṇa* (quality)-*bhara* (abundance)-*matta* (intoxicated, wild)-*vilāsa* (sport), i.e. "he who performs wild or intoxicated sports in the fullness of the qualities of youth", which occurs in the first speech of the actress in the prologue of our play. Hence it would seem that one of Mahendravikrama-varman's literary names was in Sanskrit *Yaurana-guṇa-bhara-matta-vilāsa*, which may be freely paraphrased as "Gay Young Blood", and for the sake of brevity he styled himself sometimes *Guṇa-bhara* and sometimes *Matta-vilāsa*. With a thoroughly Indian play on words, however, the title *Matta-vilāsa* is also applied to the play, inasmuch as it represents the wild pranks of a drunken Śaiva ascetic.

Our play is a farce—in technical language, a *prahasana*—and it is genuinely farcical. Its plot is of the slenderest kind—the wanderings of a tipsy *Kapālin* or "Skull-bearer" (a Śaiva ascetic of a very low order who carries for alms-bowl the *kapāla* or half of a human skull) with his girl through the streets of Kāñcī, the disappearance of his skull-bowl, his encounter with a Buddhist friar of rather lax virtue named Nāgasena,² whom the *Kapālin* accuses of having stolen his bowl, the squabble that thence arises between them, the interposition of a Pāśupata (a member of another class of Śaiva votaries) in the dispute, and the appearance on the scene of a wandering lunatic who brings back the missing bowl, which has been carried away by a pariah dog and picked up by the lunatic, whereupon all ends happily. But within this loosely jointed framework there is much rollicking fun of the knockabout kind, with no small measure of wit and humour. The characters are vigorously drawn, especially the tipsy *Kapālin* with his unfailing flow of logic and theology and the Buddhist monk with

¹ See *Epigraphia Indica* IV. p. 152, VI. p. 30, VII. p. 149 and App. 623 f., 634 f., X. p. 2, 4, 9, XII. p. 225, XIII. p. 136, XVII. p. 14; *South Indian Inscriptions*, I. p. 29 f.; *Archæological Survey of India, Ann. Report* 1903-4, p. 270 f., 1909, p. 74; Jouveau-Dubreuil, *Pallava Antiquities*, I. p. 24 f., II. p. 28 f., 38 f.; id., *The Pallavas*, p. 27 f.; id., *Conjeveram Inscription of Mahendravarman*, I; Reay, *Pallava Architecture*, p. 27; Smith, *Early History of India*, p. 472, etc.

² Possibly it is more than a coincidence that this is also the name of a celebrated Father of the Buddhist Church, the learned protagonist of the *Mūlinda-parāṇā*.

his leanings towards wine and beauty and his desire to find scriptural warrant for them, while the damsel's shrewish femininity is cleverly sketched, and the poor lunatic babbles and acts with a consequent inconsequence that reminds the reader of Lewis Carroll. Altogether the little play is a remarkably smart product of the picaresque *genre*, replete with mirth and satire.

The *Mattā-vilāsa* was published for the first time by the late Gaṇapati Śāstri in the Trivandrum Sanskrit Series at Trivandrum in 1917; no other edition is known to me. The commentary from which I have published extracts in the *Bulletin of the School of Oriental Studies*, III, p. 281, contains some readings which differ from the corresponding passages in the Śāstri's text, but nevertheless I have in most cases followed the latter in my version, although from a critical point of view much might be said in favour of the opposite course. The only translation known to me is Dr. J. Hertel's *Die Streiche des Berauschten* (Leipzig, 1924), which I have found very useful, although in many cases my version differs from his. I have rendered the original fairly closely, but not, I hope, in a slavishly literal manner. No attempt has been made to reproduce in English the effect of the Prakrit dialects in which all the characters except the Kapālin and Pāśupata speak in the original. Very probably, too, there are hidden in the text some topical allusions which are imperceptible to the modern Sanskritist. With all its shortcomings, however, I hope that this version will serve to acquaint the reader with a work of a curious and interesting kind.

MATTĀ-VILĀSA

Dramatis Personæ

SATYASOMA, a Kapālin (*a Śaiva mendicant monk of a low order, the members of which wander about with kapālas, or halves of human skulls, as alms-bowls*).

BABHRUKALPA, a Pāśupata (*a Śaiva monk of another order*).

NĀGASENA, a Buddhist friar.

A MADMAN.

THE STAGE-MANAGER.

DEVASOMĀ, Satyasoma's wench.

AN ACTRESS, the Stage-manager's senior wife.

The scene is laid in Kāñcī (Conjevaram).

MATTĀ-VILĀSA

PRELUDE

(After the Nāndī the STAGE-MANAGER enters.)

STAGE-MANAGER :

The heavenly Skull-bearer, whose Dance, composed
Of all the three world's course, is manifold
In speech, dress, person, act, and quality
And through emotion's influences toucheth
Full many a feeling, and Who is Himself
Spectator, in His understanding's vastness
Unbounded, deign to grant to you a glory
Filling the vessel of the universe !¹

Aha ! I really have found a very handy means of soothing my senior lady wife, who is sulking against my younger wife, as we have at last been appointed by the assembly to conduct a play. So I will go to her.

(Looking towards the dressing-room.)

Madam ! Hither, pray !

(Enter ACTRESS.)

ACTRESS (*angrily*) : Sir, have you come at last to play the farce of the sport of him who is intoxicated with the fullness of youth's charms ?²

STAGE-MANAGER : It is as you say, madam.

ACTRESS : Play it, then, with her whom you are going to make love to.

STAGE-MANAGER : I am told that I am to play it with you.

ACTRESS : Did *she* order you to do it ?

STAGE-MANAGER : That is so. Moreover, if you come into it you will win great favour.

ACTRESS : It is you whom this concerns.

STAGE-MANAGER : Yes, Madam, it certainly does concern me, for the assembly, gratified by your performance, will bestow its favour.

ACTRESS (*joyfully*) : So—I have gained the gentlemen's grace ?

¹ The "Skull-bearer" is the god Śiva, who is represented as wearing a necklace of skulls, and thus is the heavenly prototype of the Kapālin or Skull-bearer named Satyasoma who is the protagonist of this play. Śiva's dance, to which this verse refers, represents the rhythmic course of the universe in all its phases. The words which I have translated "Filling the vessel of the universe" (compare Shakespeare, *Henry V.* prol. to Act iv, l. 3) are *vyāptāmani-bhājanam*; they contain an allusion to the author's title *Avanī-bhājana* (see Introduction, p. 697).

² This phrase contains two of the author's titles, *Mattā-vilāsa* ("Sport of the Intoxicated One" or "Intoxicated Sporter") and *Gūṇa-bhara* ("Fullness of Virtues"). See Introduction.

STAGE-MANAGER : Certainly, you have.

ACTRESS : If that is so, what reward shall I give you for the good news ?

STAGE-MANAGER : Let us have no vain repetition about a reward for good news. Look you—

Dear love, I see upon thy face—rare sight !—

Cheeks marked with springing down,¹ smiles beaming forth,

Brows bent : what more then can I crave of thee ?

ACTRESS : What will you now perform, sir ?

STAGE-MANAGER : Why, you said it yourself : the farce of the Sport of the Intoxicated One.

ACTRESS : Truly my anger, which made me speak according to my feeling, inclined to favour it. But, sir, who is the poet who is distinguished by this work ?

STAGE-MANAGER : Pray listen, madam. He is the great king who is intent on the suppression of the Six Foes² and who from his devotion to the welfare of others is like in quality to the primary elements,³ by name Mahendravikrama-varman, son of Simhaviṣṇu-varman, the central mountain upon the earth-circle of the Pallava race, who in perfect policy has surpassed the whole circle of neighbour princes, who in valour and prosperity has been the peer of Ākhaṇḍala,⁴ and who in the magnificence of his bounty, which has harmonised with his fortune's greatness, has made light of the King of Kings.⁵

Moreover—

Wisdom and bounty, mercy, dignity,
Comeliness, skill in arts, and guilelessness,
Truth, valour, courtesy—such qualities,
Finding no place in this our iron age,
Have made in him their common home, as blend
In Nature's origin, the Primal Spirit,
Creation's fragments when the æon ends.

Also—

From him, the mine of gems of witty speech
Of richest quality, good poets' verses
Win high reward, though deeper worth they lack.

¹ Horripilation is often mentioned as a sign of strong emotion, especially pleasure.

² These are lust, anger, greed, infatuation, wantonness, and envy.

³ The elements are ether, air, fire, water, and earth.

⁴ The god Indra.

⁵ Kubera, the god of Wealth.

ACTRESS: Why now do you delay, sir? As it is a novelty, surely this performance ought to be staged speedily.

STAGE-MANAGER: Yes, and as for me—

My wealth's in song, and now the moving tale
Of poets' virtues has subdued my soul—

(*A voice in the dressing-room:*) Devasomā, my dear!

STAGE-MANAGER:

As brandy has subdued yon friar who comes,
Led by his wench, his wealth a beggar's bowl.

(*Exeunt.*)

End of the Prelude

(*Enter the KAPĀLIN with a wench.*)

KAPĀLIN (*tipsy*): Devasomā, my dear, it's true that through mortification of the flesh one becomes able to change his form at will,¹ for you by due observance of the Supreme Rite have in a trice attained a different shape of surpassing beauty. For—

Thy face is all at play, with sweat-drops springing
And arching brows a-quivering in sport;
Causeless thy laughter, indistinct thy words,
Red-flushed thine eyes, with pupils wandering
And faint side-glances, while upon thy shoulders,
Their garland-bands slipped down, thy locks stream free.

DEVASOMĀ: Master, you talk to me as if I were drunk—as if I were drunk.

KAPĀLIN: What do you say, mistress?

DEVASOMĀ: Indeed, I am saying nothing.

KAPĀLIN: Am I then drunk?

DEVASOMĀ: Master, the ground is whirling round, whirling round! I seem to be falling forward. Hold me up now!

KAPĀLIN: So be it, my dear. (*Tumbles down as he is holding her*

¹ The word *tapas*, here translated "mortification of the flesh", means properly "heat", and especially the magic fervour which ancient magicians, Yogins, Munis, and the like were believed to generate in themselves by Shamanistic exercises and self-torture, in order thereby to obtain control over nature and the gods. But with the school of Śaiva monks represented here by the Kapālin and his wench the "mortification" is something very different, to wit, indulgence in wine, spirits, and sexual pleasures, culminating in a "Supreme Rite" (*parama-erata*) of orgiastic revelry.

up.) Somadevā, my dear, are you angry with me, that you keep away from me when I approach to hold you up ?¹

DEVASOMĀ : Yes, indeed, Somadevā is in the sulks, and so she is keeping away, although you try to make your peace and bow your head before her.

KAPĀLIN : Surely you are Somadevā ! (*Thinking.*) No, I mean—Devasomā.

DEVASOMĀ : Somadevā, of course, is such a pet of yours, master, that you cannot address me by my own name.

KAPĀLIN : It was this tipsiness of mine, mistress, that offended you with a natural slip in words.

DEVASOMĀ : It's lucky that it was not you.

KAPĀLIN : How is it that the vice of liquor is thus seducing me ? Well, well ! From this day onward I abstain from indulgence in liquor.

DEVASOMĀ : Oh, master ! Don't, don't for my sake ruin your holy life by breaking your vow ! (*She falls at his feet.*)

KAPĀLIN (*joyfully lifting her up and embracing her*) : *Dhṛirṇa dhṛirṇa* !² Reverence to Śiva ! My dear—

Ho, don a right jolly and quaint attire,
 Drink brandy and gaze in your wenches' eyes :
 Long life to our Lord of the Trident,³ who found
 That the road to salvation this way lies !

DEVASOMĀ : Oh, master, you must not talk like that. The Ārhatas⁴ give a different picture of the Way of Salvation.

KAPĀLIN : Yes, fair lady, but they are heretics. Why ?

They freely grant for Soul's sake that effects
 Are like their causes, and they teach that Pleasure
 Springs as effect from Pain—and so the wretches
 By their own doctrine surely are undone.

DEVASOMĀ : Oh, may the sin be forgiven !⁵

¹ In his drunken confusion the Kapālin addresses Devasomā as Somadevā, whereupon Devasomā (really or in pretence) detects in the latter the name of a rival in her lord's affections, and rails at him accordingly.

² This word is an ejaculation or sort of blessing supposed to be used by friars of the Kapālin order.

³ The god Śiva.

⁴ The Jains, or followers of the Ārhatas or Jinās. The Jains, whose doctrines are travestied in the following verse, hold that the soul is a real eternal entity, distinct from matter, and both pleasure and pain are material (more exactly, effects of matter upon soul) ; hence soul must be released from the influences of matter by means of the mortifications described below.

⁵ A common exclamation on hearing mention of some sinful act or speech.

KAPĀLIN : May the sin be forgiven ! Truly those sinners ought not to be mentioned even by way of reproof who torture living beings with celibacy, plucking out hair, keeping the body filthy, fixing times for meals, wearing dirty rags, and the rest of it. There, now, my tongue is infected by this talk about the heretics, and I want to wash it clean.

DEVASOMĀ : Then let us go now to another brandy-shop.

KAPĀLIN : So be it, my dear. (*They walk around.*) Ha ! the surpassing magnificence of Kāñcī Town ! The sound of its drums blends confusedly with the roar of the clouds resting upon the pinnacles of its temples, its market of flower-garlands may serve as a model for constructing the season of spring, and the tinkling of the girdles of its fair damsels is as it were the noise announcing the victory of the God of the Flower-Arrows.¹ Moreover—

The infinite, eternal, unsurpassed

Bliss without check, which saints supreme, whose minds

Compass all being, have conceived, is here

Found in all fullness ; and—what's very strange—

'Tis food for flesh, delight of woman's love !²

DEVASOMĀ : Master, Kāñcī is like Madam Vāruṇī,³ irreproachably sweet.

KAPĀLIN : Look, look, my dear ! Yonder brandy-shop resembles the splendour of a sacrifice-yard ; for in it the signpost is the sacrificial pole,⁴ the brandy is the Soma,⁵ the tipplers are the priests, the cups are the Soma-bowls, the roasted meats and the rest of the appetisers are the various fire-offerings, the tipplers' talk is the Yajus-words,⁶ their songs are the Sāmas,⁷ the drawing-bowls are the oblation-

¹ The god Kāma (Cupid). He is represented as having a bow of sugar-cane ; its string is a line of bees and its five arrows are tipped with flowers.

² This verse reads like a parody (by anticipation) of Goethe's

Das Unzulängliche,
Hier wird's Ereignis ;
Das Unbeschreibliche,
Hier ist es gethan ;
Das Ewig-Weibliche
Zieht uns hinan.

³ Vāruṇī (literally, daughter of Varuṇa, the god of the ocean) is used to denote among other things any spirituous drink.

⁴ The post to which the victim was tied.

⁵ The intoxicating drink, brewed from an unknown plant, which was drunk or offered in the Vedic rituals.

⁶ The directions for Vedic sacrifices, collectively forming the Yajur-veda.

⁷ The tunes to which the Vedic hymns were chanted, collectively forming the Sāma-veda.

ladles, thirst is the fire, and the keeper of the brandy shop is the master of the sacrifice.¹

DEVASOMĀ : Yes, and the alms that we get here will be the portion of Rudra.²

KAPĀLIN : Ah, how good to look at are the tipplers' merry dances : they are accompanied by the rhythm of beaten drums and show diverse modulations of gesture and speech and brows, while upper robes are clasped by one uplifted hand, and the music's time falls out of measure for a moment as they put back into place downward-slipping garments, and neck-strings are disordered !

DEVASOMĀ : Oh, what a tasteful master you are !

KAPĀLIN : Yonder Madam Vāruṇī³ poured into the cups is the rejection of ornaments, the reconciliation of quarrelling lovers, the valour of youth, the life of sports ; in short—

False is the tale, my love, that once the flame
From Śiva's third eye burned to ash the frame
Of Kāma. Nay, his body, through that heat,
Melted to oil, which now inflames our hearts.⁴

DEVASOMĀ : Yes, master, that is right ; the Lord of the World, who delights in doing good to the world, would not destroy the world.
(*They both drum on their cheeks.*)

KAPĀLIN : Madam, give us alms.⁵

(*A voice from the dressing-room*) : Here is an alms, master ; accept it.

KAPĀLIN : I accept it. My dear, where is my skull-bowl ?

DEVASOMĀ : I can't see it.

KAPĀLIN (*reflecting*) : Ah, I suspect that it was forgotten in yonder brandy-shop. Good, let us go back and look.

DEVASOMĀ : But, master, it would be wrong not to accept the alms so politely offered. What are we to do now ?

¹ The *gajamāna*, or person who causes the sacrifice to be performed at his own expense and for his own spiritual benefit.

² In certain Vedic sacrifices a portion is offered to the god Rudra, one of the phases of Śiva.

³ Brandy ; see above.

⁴ A reference to the well-known myth of the burning of the Love-god Kāma by Śiva when he inflamed the latter with love for Umā. The word for oil, *meha*, also means love, and is here used with punning effect.

⁵ These words are addressed to a supposed woman behind the scenes. Religious mendicants regularly come begging for food, etc., of housewives, and the charity of India is boundless.

KAPĀLIN: Follow the law of necessity, and take it in a cow's horn.¹

DEVASOMĀ: Yes, master, I will. (*She takes it. Both walk around and search.*)

KAPĀLIN: How is it that I cannot see it here either? (*In consternation.*) Ho, Māheśvaras, Māheśvaras! ² Have you seen our alms-bowl here? What do the gentlemen say? "No, we have not seen it"! Alas! I am undone! my holy life is ruined! How shall I now be a Kapālin? Ho, misery!

When'er I used to sit for drink and meat,

So pure, so helpful was my bowl!

And now, like parting from a dear good friend,

Its loss with anguish fills my soul.

(*Falls down and beats his head.*)

I have it! It is only a token ³; I have not lost the title of Kapālin.
(*He rises.*)

DEVASOMĀ: But who has taken the bowl, master?

KAPĀLIN: My dear, as there was roast meat inside it, I suspect a dog or a Buddhist friar has taken it.

DEVASOMĀ: Then let us wander through the whole of Kāñci town to seek for it.

KAPĀLIN: Yes, my dear, let us.

(*They both walk about. Then enters a BUDDHIST FRIAR with a bowl in his hand.*)

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Ah, our lay brother Merchant Dhanadāsa's grand charities surpass all houses, for I have got from him this alms-meal, abundant in varieties of fish and meat and pleasant in colour, scent and taste. Now I will go to the King's Monastery. (*Walking*

¹ The Kapālin ought to follow the rule of his fraternity by taking the offered food in his skull-bowl; but as he has lost it, he proposes to use the next best thing, a cow's horn, obeying the "law of times of distress", *āpad-dharma*, which permits the relaxation of strict rules under abnormal conditions.

² *Māheśvara* means a worshipper of Maheśvara, one of the phases of Śiva. The Māheśvaras formed bodies or corporations who protected the interests of the Śaiva church and its endowments, dispensed religious charities, etc.; the inscriptions often refer to them.

³ *Lakṣaṇa-mātram*. But I suspect that we ought to read *lakṣaṇā-mātram*, "merely metonymy": i.e. though the Kapālin or "Skull-bearer" has lost his *kapāla* or "skull", he does not cease to be a Kapālin, for the term as applied to him is used not in a literal sense but metonymically (as e.g. when one says "the cat is crying", meaning that the baby is crying in the cot, or "keep the curds from the crows", meaning crows and other birds). Our author loves jokes on logic.

about, to himself.) Ha ! our supremely gracious Lord the Tathāgata ¹ has favoured the congregation of us friars with his instructions ordaining for us lodging in fine buildings, lying on bedsteads with well-made beds, eating in the forenoon, savoury drinks in the afternoon, chewing betel flavoured with the five kinds of fragrance, and wearing soft robes ; but why did he not think of sanctioning possession of women and use of strong drink ? No, as he knew everything, how could he fail to see that ? It is certain, I think, that those poor-spirited and spiteful-minded Elders from envy of us young men have blotted out sanctions of women and use of strong drink in the books of Scripture. Where now can I find an uncorrupted original text ? Then I would reveal to the world the whole teaching of the Buddha and confer benefit on the Church. *(He walks about.)*

DEVASOMĀ : Look, master, look ! Yonder fellow in a red cloth is hurrying along with timid footsteps, all his limbs hunched up and his glances cast to right and left, along this high road crowded with trustful folks.

KAPĀLIN : Yes, my dear, that is so ; and what is more, there is something in his hand hidden inside his robe.

DEVASOMĀ : Then let us catch him up and take hold of him, master, and find out.

KAPĀLIN : Yes, mistress, we will. *(Advancing.)* Ho, friar ! stop !

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Who is it that is talking to me in that way, I wonder ? *(Stopping and looking.)* Oh, it is that rascal of a Kapālin who lives in Ekambam.² Well, I will not be the target of his drunken sport.

(He hurries away.)

KAPĀLIN : There, my dear, I have got my skull-bowl ! For his haste to escape in terror aroused by the sight of me amounts to evidence that he is the thief. *(He runs forward and blocks his way.)* Ah, rascal ! where will you go now ?

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Nay, brother Kapālin, do not talk so ! What is this ? *(Aside.)* Oh, what a pretty sister !

KAPĀLIN : Ho, Friar, just show it ; I want to see what is in your hand, hidden inside your robe.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : What is there to see there ? It is only an alms-bowl.

¹ A title of the Buddha ; literally, " he who has gone (or come) accordingly."

² A sanctuary of the god Śiva (worshipped there as Ekāmbara-nātha), in or near Conjevaram.

KAPĀLIN : That is just why I want to see it.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Nay, brother, do not say so ; we must carry it hidden, you know.

KAPĀLIN : Yes, of course, it is to hide things in that sort of way that the Buddha has taught you to wear such long robes.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : That is true.

KAPĀLIN : It is the "relative truth" ; I want to hear the "absolute truth".¹

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Well, well, enough of your fun ! The alms-hour is passing ; I must depart.

(He walks away.)

KAPĀLIN : Ah, rascal ! Where will you go ? Give me my bowl. *(He seizes the end of his robe.)*

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Reverence to the Buddha !

KAPĀLIN : You ought to say "Reverence to Khara-ṇḍa !"², for it is he who wrote the Thieves' Hand-book. The Buddha, however, is even superior to Khara-ṇḍa in this dignity ; and why ?

Your Buddha, while the Brahmans' eyes were closed,
Filled up his granary by filching notions
From Mahābhāratam and from Vedāntas.³

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Oh, may the sin be forgiven !⁴

KAPĀLIN : How should the sin of so well-conducted a monk not be forgiven ?

DEVASOMĀ : Master, you look as if you were tired. That skull-bowl cannot be got back by easy means ; so take a drink of brandy from this cow-horn and strengthen yourself so as to carry on the dispute with him.

KAPĀLIN : So be it ! *(Devasomā hands the brandy to the Kapālin. He drinks it.)* My dear, you too must refresh yourself.

¹ Some important schools of Buddhist philosophy distinguished between *saṃvṛti-satya*, lit. "truth in concealment", i.e. relative or phenomenal verity, and *paramārtha-satya*, "absolute" or "transcendental" or "notional reality". The Kapālin jokes on this distinction.

² The name of a legendary hero and typical arch-roguer, otherwise unknown. It has been suggested that he is identical with Mūladeva or Karṇi-suta, a famous character of this kind in old Indian literature.

³ *Vedānta* denotes properly the Upaniṣads, and secondarily the philosophical systems based on the latter. Some important elements of Buddhism have close affinities with certain ideas of the Upaniṣads. From the Mahābhāratam, the great epic of the Bhārata War, Buddhism borrowed nothing directly, but the Mahābhāratam among its very miscellaneous teachings contains some ideas which partly resemble it.

⁴ See above, 703.

DEVASOMĀ : Yes, master, I will. (*She drinks.*)

KAPĀLIN : This fellow has wronged us. But our doctrine lays chief weight on sharing our goods, so give the leavings to his reverence.

DEVASOMĀ : As you command, master. Take it, sir.

BUDDHIST FRIAR (*aside*) : Oh, what a happy stroke of fortune ! The only trouble is that folks will see. (*Aloud.*) Nay, madam, don't speak thus. It is not proper for us. (*He licks his chops.*)

DEVASOMĀ : Be off with you ! Whence will you get such luck ?

KAPĀLIN : My dear, his speech, which contradicts his desire, is stammering, because his mouth is watering.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Have you still no pity on me ?

KAPĀLIN : If I had pity, how should I be " free from affection " ?¹

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Then one who is free from affection ought also to be free from anger.

KAPĀLIN : I will be free from anger if you give me back my property.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : What do you mean by your property ?

KAPĀLIN : The skull-bowl.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : How, a skull-bowl ?

KAPĀLIN : " How, a skull-bowl ? " says he. But really it is quite natural :—

Thou art the son ² of him who in delusion
Denied existence to realities
Patent to sight—earth, ocean, mountains, seas,
And all the like ; then canst thou also not
Deny the being of a little bowl ?

DEVASOMĀ : Master, he will not give it up while he is only handled tenderly ; so tear it out of his hand and let us be off.

KAPĀLIN : Yes, my dear, I will. (*He tries to tear it away.*)

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Be off, you rascal of a Kapālin ! (*He shakes him off with his hand and kicks him.*)

KAPĀLIN : Why, I have fallen down !

DEVASOMĀ : Oh, you son of a slave-wench, you are a dead man !

(*She tries to tear out the Buddhist's hair, and getting no hold on it,³ falls down.*)

¹ *Vīta-rāga*, a common epithet for the perfect ascetic.

² The title " son of the Buddha " or " son of the Jina " was often applied to pious Buddhists. Generally speaking, Buddhism denied not the existence of things, but their permanent reality and self-existence ; but some schools (*Mādhyamikas*, etc.) define the highest reality as void.

³ Buddhist monks shave their heads : hence the irate lady finds nothing to seize upon.

BUDDHIST FRIAR (*aside*): The Buddha's idea was right when he invented shaving of the head. (*Aloud*) Get up, get up, sister, get up! (*He helps Devasomā to rise.*)

KAPĀLIN: Look, Māheśvaras,¹ look! Nāgasena, that scamp who calls himself a friar, is taking my girl's hand!²

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Nay, brother, don't talk in that way! Surely our religion bids us to have pity upon those who fall into distress.

KAPĀLIN: Is that, too, the religion of your "Omniscient One"?³ Was I not the first to fall? Well, never mind that: now your skull shall be my alms-skull. (*They all scuffle together.*)

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Oh, misery, misery!⁴

KAPĀLIN: Look, Māheśvaras,⁵ look! That scamp who calls himself a friar, after stealing my alms-skull, is himself squalling. Well, I too will raise a row. Ho, an outrage on Brahmans, an outrage on Brahmans! (*Thereupon a PĀŚUPATA enters.*)

PĀŚUPATA: What are you shouting about, Satyasoma?

KAPĀLIN: Ho, Babhrukalpa, Nāgasena, this scamp who calls himself a friar has stolen my alms-skull and will not give it back.

PĀŚUPATA (*aside*): "What we have to do the Gandharvas have done."⁶ This villain,

Just as with a bunch of fodder men will draw along a cow,
Lures the girl—a barber's slave-wench, next a light-of-love for me—
With a farthing that he shows her in the pocket of his robe.

¹ See above, p. 706.

² The "taking of the hand", *pāni-grahanam*, forms one of the main acts of the Hindu marriage-ritual, and the term is often used to denote marriage itself; on the latter sense the Kapālin here plays.

³ *Sarvajña*, a title of the Buddha.

⁴ Apparently a play on the formula *aniccheṇaṃ dukkhaṃ anattaṃ* ("all is transient, misery, and unreal") which is mechanically repeated by Buddhist monks.

⁵ See above, p. 706.

⁶ A somewhat cryptic sentence which in the original forms an *anuṣṭubh* verse, and seems to be a proverbial phrase meaning something like "our bride is no virgin". The Gandharvas are usually in classical literature amorous godlings especially devoted to music. Originally, however, they were spirits of generation and fertility, Eroses, and as such were supposed to be peculiarly fond of women; hence in Vedic times it was believed that in the first days of every marriage a Gandharva was the rival of the bridegroom and had a *droit de seigneur* over the bride. So the Pāśupata probably means that Devasomā is "at her old games": after various affairs of the heart, she is now flirting with the Buddhist friar. He is himself smitten with her, as he tells us in the following verse, and he is revolving a scheme to win her; he intends to discomfit the Kapālin by supporting the Buddhist, and then no doubt to cut out the latter, whom he describes as a *pratihasti* ("Hurenwirth" according to the St. Petersburg Lex.).

So I will now break down the opposition by encouraging the bawdy rogue. Well, Nāgasena, is it as he says ?

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Oh, master, do you also talk in that way ? "To abstain from taking things not given is an article of discipline ; to abstain from false speech is an article of discipline ; to abstain from breach of celibacy is an article of discipline ; to abstain from destroying life is an article of discipline ; to abstain from eating in forbidden hours is an article of discipline." ¹ I betake myself for refuge to our Buddha's religion ! ²

PĀŚUPATA : Well, Satyasoma, such is their rule ; what is your answer to this ?

KAPĀLIN : Why, our rule is that we must not speak falsehood.

PĀŚUPATA : Both statements are in order ; how is one to decide between them ?

BUDDHIST FRIAR : What reason is there that a friar who follows the Buddha's teaching should take a brandy-bowl ? ³

PĀŚUPATA : Yes, but a reasoner cannot prove his case by mere assertion, as they say.

KAPĀLIN : When the case is patent to the eye, ⁴ to quote reasons to the contrary is useless.

PĀŚUPATA : What do you mean by " patent to the eye " ?

DEVASOMĀ : Master, the skull-bowl is in his hand, hidden in the corner of his robe.

PĀŚUPATA : You have heard, sir ?

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Oh, master, this bowl belongs to no one else.

KAPĀLIN : Then just show it.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : I will. (*He shows it.*)

¹ The Buddhist in order to clear himself of the imputations cast upon him repeats five out of the ten "articles of discipline" (*śikṣā-padāni*, in Pali *sikkhā-padāni*) from his breviary. The remaining five are abstention from strong drink, worldly amusements, use of ornaments and unguents, use of large or decorated couches, and receiving money.

² A variation on a frequent Buddhist formula : " I betake myself for refuge to the Buddha . . . to the Faith . . . to the Church."

³ The dialogue in this and the following speeches plays on the terms of logic. The Indian syllogism contains a 'reason', *hetu*, or what we should call a middle term, and an 'assertion', *pratijñā*, which anticipates the conclusion.

⁴ Another reference to logic. Knowledge is obtained either by direct sense-experience, *pratyakṣa*, lit. " what is patent to the eye ", or by reasoning by *hetu* ; given the former, the latter is needless.

PĀSUFATA¹: Look, Māheśvaras,² look at the wrong done by the Kapālin and the virtuous conduct of this reverend gentleman!

BUDDHIST FRIAR: "To abstain from taking things not given is an article of discipline. . ." (*He repeats the same formulae as before. They both dance.*)

BUDDHIST FRIAR: Oh, fie! He is dancing at a time when he ought to be ashamed of himself!

KAPĀLIN: Bah, who is dancing? (*Gazing on all sides.*) Ah, he surely imagines me to be dancing when it is the creeping-plant of my joy that is merrily swaying, moved by the southern³ wind of delight at the sight of my lost alma-bowl.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: What is the reason that you do not look at it, master? Pray observe, master, this is its colour.

KAPĀLIN: What is one to say to that? Cannot I see? This skull-bowl is blacker than a crow.

BUDDHIST FRIAR: So you yourself have admitted that it belongs to me!

KAPĀLIN: True, I have admitted that you are clever in changing colours. Look!

This robe of thine, which once by nature stole
The hue of lotus-fibres, hast not thou,
An artist wondrous, changed to redness deep
As is the colour of the early dawn?⁴

Moreover—

With a stain of *kashāya* that never comes off
You are covered both inside and outside too;
Then how can the skull-bowl that reaches you fail
To take the *kashāya*-stain from you?⁵

DEVASOMĀ: Alas, I am undone, poor wretch that I am! Our bowl, from its having all good points, was as splendid as the skull of

¹ This speech in the printed edition (and MSS.?) is assigned to the Kapālin, obviously by error.

² See above, p. 706.

³ *Malayānila*, lit. "wind from Mount Malaya" (Tamil *malai*, "mountain"). In literature Malaya commonly denotes the Southern Ghats.

⁴ The meaning is that the friar's robes, originally white, have been stained a red or yellow colour (*kapāya*), in accordance with the rules of the Buddhist Church. The robes in the South are yellow, in the North red.

⁵ A play on the word *kashāya*, which denotes both red or yellow colour and sinful passions.

the Lotus-throned God ¹ and as bright of aspect as the full-moon, and was always fragrant with brandy ; and now it has come to a state like this by being in touch with this fellow's dirty robes. (*She weeps.*)

KAPĀLIN : Nay, my dear, don't distress yourself. It shall be clean again ; for scripture tells that great beings through rites of purification become freed from defilement. For example :—

By strict observance of this holy course,
Our Lord whose crest-gem is the crescent moon
Was freed from guilt that sprang from cutting off
The Grandsire's ² head ; the great Celestials' Prince,
Who slew of yore the triple-headed son
Of Tvaṣṭar, made atonement for his sin
By fivescore offerings and once more was pure.³

Ho, Babhrukalpa, is it not so ?

PĀŚUPATA : What you have said is in accordance with Holy Writ.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Well, suppose the colour was made by me ; but who has transformed the shape and size of the bowl ?

KAPĀLIN : Are you gentry not the offspring of Māyā's progeny ? ⁴

BUDDHIST FRIAR : How long must I wrangle with you ? Take it, master.

KAPĀLIN : Thus indeed was the Perfection of Bounty exercised by the Buddha himself.⁵

BUDDHIST FRIAR : In this plight what is now my protection ?

KAPĀLIN : The Buddha, the Faith, and the Church, of course.⁶

PĀŚUPATA : This dispute is beyond my power to decide ; so we must go to the Court.

¹ Brahman, the Demiurge. There is a legend that he offended Śiva by his pride, and so Śiva appeared in the terrible form of Bhairava and cut off Brahman's head with his thumb-nail. The following verse refers to this story.

² The " Grandsire " is Brahman : see the last note.

³ The god Indra slew Tvaṣṭar's son Vṛtra (or Viśvarūpa, according to the Rg-veda). Usually the Vedic poets praise Indra for this exploit ; but a certain guilt attached to it, as it was regarded as the slaughter of a Brahman.

⁴ A pun on the double meaning of *Māyā*. Buddha's mother was named Māyā, hence " offspring of Māyā's progeny " means " son of Buddha ", a title of Buddhist monks (see above, p. 709). But Māyā also is the principle of cosmic illusion, which, according to some leading schools of philosophy, makes the absolute unqualified single Brahman appear as a phenomenal universe of plurality. The Kapālin, in short, means that Buddhists are jugglers.

⁵ The Buddhist in weariness having handed over his bowl to the Kapālin, the latter compliments him by comparing his act to the *dāna-pāramitā* or Perfection of Bounty, the first of the perfections (*pāramitās*) ascribed to the Buddha.

⁶ See above, p. 711.

DEVASOMĀ : If so, master, then good-bye to the skull.¹

PĀŚUPATA : What do you mean ?

DEVASOMĀ : Why, this man has heaps of riches drawn from the revenues of many monasteries, and with it he can stuff the mouths of the Court officials at pleasure ; but I am the maid of a poor Kapālin whose only wealth is a snake-skin and sacred ash,² and what riches have I here that I should go into the Court ?

PĀŚUPATA : It is not so.

Straight, solid, weighty, firm, yet delicate,

And of good origin are those true men

Who Law uphold, as columns palaces.

KAPĀLIN : Enough of this ! A man of honest life has nothing to be afraid of.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Well, master, you go in front.

PĀŚUPATA : Certainly.

(They all walk about. Then enters a MADMAN.)

MADMAN : There, there, that brute of a dog ! You are running off with a skull full of roast meat that you have picked up. Son of a slave-wench, where are you trying to go ? There now, he has dropped the skull and is running towards me to eat me. *(He looks around.)* I will smash his teeth with this stone. Aha, you are leaving the skull and running away ! A crazy brute of a dog ! You are angry with me for such bravery, I suppose.—The Ocean has jumped up to the sky on the back of a village boar, and knocked down Rāvāna, and forcibly seized Śakra's son Leviathan.³—Hallo, you ricinus-bush ! What are you saying ? "Untrue, untrue" ? Is not this frog, with paws as big and long as pestles, my witness ? But what need have I of a witness when my valour is known to the three worlds ?—This is what I will do : I will eat a morsel of the meat left over from the dog's meal. *(He eats it, and cries out in bewilderment.)* Oh ! oh ! I am killed, I am killed with tears ! *(He weeps and looks around.)* Who are you that are beating me ? *(He looks around.)* You wicked boys ! I am the nephew of What's-his-Name, as Ghaṭotkaca was of Bhīmasena.⁴ Listen, too :—

¹ Literally, "reverence to the skull !".

² Śaiva ascetics smear themselves all over with ashes consisting of burnt cow-dung.

³ The lunatic's ravings are of course quite wild in their references to mythical persons. Rāvāna was the demon-king who carried off Sītā, Rāma's wife ; Śakra is the god Indra. The printed text, however, is very corrupt here.

⁴ Ghaṭotkaca was the son, not the nephew, of Bhīmasena or Bhīma, one of the heroes of the Mahābhārata.

A hundred fiends are riding, are riding in my belly,
 With spits in their hands and every kind of features ;
 And I spew from my mouth a hundred snakes and tigers,
 Quite a naturally horrid lot of creatures.

How they worry me ! Forgive me, forgive me, young gentlemen ;
 don't worry me on account of this morsel of meat. (*Gazing in front.*)
 Why, there is our master, Śūranandin ! I will go to him. (*Runs up.*)

PĀŚUPATA : Hallo ! This lunatic is coming hither. There he is :—

Wearing a used and cast-off robe—his hair
 Rough, utterly dishevelled, covered over
 With masses wild of ash and dust, and mingled
 With garlands left from flower-offerings—
 While flocks of crows attend him, hungering
 For leavings of his food—like some vast pile
 Of village-refuse¹ walking in man's form.

MADMAN : I will go to him. (*Approaching.*) Pray, master, accept
 this skull, which I got from a most respectable dog belonging to a
 Caṇḍāla.²

PĀŚUPATA (*with a glance*) : Let it be bestowed on a worthy person.

MADMAN : Noble Brahman, pray do me the favour.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : This noble Pāśupata is worthy of it.

MADMAN (*approaching the Kapālin, laying the skull on the ground,
 circumambulating³ it, and falling at his feet*) : Great God, pray do me
 the favour ; I clasp my hands before you.

KAPĀLIN : Our skull !

DEVASOMĀ : So it is !

KAPĀLIN : By the Lord's grace I have once more become a
 Kapālin. (*He tries to take it.*)

MADMAN : Son of a slave-wench, feed yourself with poison ! (*He
 snatches away the skull and walks off.*)

KAPĀLIN (*following him*) : This messenger of Yama⁴ is carrying
 away my life ! Assist me, gentlemen !

BOTH : Yes, we will support you. (*They all block the way.*)

KAPĀLIN : Ho ! Stop, stop !

¹ Grāmaka-sāra. In this sense grāma-sāra is still used in Mysore.

² A man of most degraded caste.

³ Circumambulation (*pradakṣiṇā*) is a form of adoration in which the worshipper
 walks thrice around the person or thing worshipped, keeping the latter on
 his right hand.

⁴ Yama is the god who rules in the nether world and dispatches thence his
 messengers (*yama-puruṣas*) to fetch away the souls of those who are doomed to die.

MADMAN : Why are they blocking my way ?

KAPĀLIN : Give up our skull and be off.

MADMAN : You fool, do you not see it is a golden bowl ?

KAPĀLIN : If it is a golden bowl like that, who made it ?

MADMAN : I tell you, master, the goldsmith,¹ that man who wears a gold-coloured robe, made it, and it is a golden bowl.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : What do you say ?

MADMAN : It is a golden bowl.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Is he a madman ?

MADMAN : Again and again I hear that word "madman". Take this and show me the madman. (*He gives the skull to the KAPĀLIN.*)

KAPĀLIN (*taking the skull*) : There he is now hiding behind the wall. Make haste and follow him.

MADMAN : I am obliged to you. (*He hurries away.*)

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Oh, wonderful ! I am delighted at my opponent's gain.

KAPĀLIN (*hugging the skull*) :

Long have I followed an unbroken course

Of holy living ; to Maheśvara,

Our Lord, was my devotion dedicate.

He straightway vanishes when thou to-day,

O blessed skull, appearest for my joy !

DEVASOMĀ : Master, my eye revels, as one may say, when I see you like the evening combined with the moon.²

PĀŚUPATA : My congratulations on your good fortune, sir !

KAPĀLIN : Surely, sir, the happiness is yours.

PĀŚUPATA (*aside*) : It is true that "the innocent have nothing to fear", since this Buddhist friar has escaped to-day from the tiger's jaws.³ (*Aloud.*) Now, filled with joy at my friend's happiness, I will await the cremation-hour⁴ of our Lord who resides in the Eastern Quarter⁵ ; and henceforth,

¹ I follow the commentary in reading *śuvannakārūvuttaṇṇa* ; the printed text has *śuvannakārūvuttaṇṇa*.

² The Kapālin, with his dark body smeared over with grey ashes, is compared to the grey evening air, and the white skull to the moon.

³ See above, p. 710.

⁴ *Dhūma-nēla* : compare Pali *dhūma-bāla*. Cremation-grounds (*śmaśānas*) sometimes lay in the immediate neighbourhood of Śaiva temples, as in this case (cf. *Mātaṅga-mādhavim*, act v) ; and to haunt these was one of the spiritual disciplines enjoined upon Pāśupatas (cf. *Gāṇa-kārikā* vi, with *Ratna-fikā* thereupon, and *Sarva-darśana-saṃgraha*, transl. Cowell and Gough, p. 104).

⁵ A reference to some temple of Śiva on the east of Conjevaram, which cannot be now identified.

May this dispute which parted erst you twain
Become an endless source of mutual love,
Like the Kirāta's strife with Arjuna.¹

(Exit the Pāśupata.)

KAPĀLIN : Come, Nāgasena, I desire you to forgive me if I have offended you.

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Does this too need entreaty ? What can I do to please you ?

KAPĀLIN : If your reverence forgives me, what more can I wish for ?

BUDDHIST FRIAR : Now I will go.

KAPĀLIN : Adieu, sir, and may we meet again !

BUDDHIST FRIAR : So be it ! (Exit.)

KAPĀLIN : Devasomā, my dear, let us go.

(Bharata-speech)

Ever for the weal of mankind may the Fire right offerings bear

Heavenward, kine yield milk in plenty, Brahmans con the Vedic
lore ;

Still intent on righteous duties, for as long as moon and sun

Shine above it in the heavens, may the world, distrest no more,
'Neath the sway of Śatrumalla, whose strong hand hath still'd his
foes,

Ever bound in happy fealty, dwell in undisturbed repose.

(Exeunt both.)

THE END

¹ This refers to the legend (told in *Mahābhārata* and Bhāravi's *Kirātārjuniyam*) that when the hero Arjuna was worshipping Śiva, the god in order to prove him appeared in the guise of a Kirāta or barbarian and engaged him in battle, after which he revealed himself to Arjuna and bestowed on him his favour together with magic missiles and a miraculous bow.

SOME PROBLEMS OF INDO-ARYAN PHILOLOGY
FOR LONG LECTURES FOR 1929¹

By JULES BLOCH

I

THE LITERARY LANGUAGES

LITERARY languages of Western Europe are national languages as well; there is no divorce between them and the people; there may be a distance, but no gap between them and the ordinary vernaculars, and their growth and vicissitudes reflect those of the vernaculars. So the historians of the language are able to discover when, where, how they came into existence, and call them to give evidence as to its later destinies. For instance, we know the place where French was born, how it asserted itself against Latin, how it turned out provincial speeches; we can make a fairly good evaluation of the distance between written and spoken French, in the past and now. In India conditions are vastly different; our knowledge of its languages, at least in their most ancient stages, is based only, or nearly so, on literary languages, of which we know neither the local basis, nor the degree of connection with the vernaculars. They do not give expression to the thoughts and feelings of the people; at the most, they give an ideal picture of the culture of a small community. They may differ in character, some highly religious and aristocratic; some more popular, but religious too; the majority are mainly adapted for purely literary usages. The linguist has to be very careful in giving their evidence its proper value, before trying to construct the details of the history of Indo-Aryan. It is of this fundamental difficulty I wish to give you to-day a few instances.

First, in the past; and in the past, first in the Veda. On this class of texts, I shall not expatiate long, as their general conditions are well known. Speaking broadly, we may say that the Veda,

¹ I beg first to thank the Academic Board of the School of Oriental Studies, who not only invited me to London, but have allowed me to extend my audience by publishing my lectures in this *Bulletin*.

As they are only in part new or personal; as there is a want of proportion between the different parts, which would not be admissible otherwise; and mainly because they are at bottom more of a hortative than of an epideictic character, I have thought best to publish them as nearly as possible in the actual form in which they were delivered.

and more specially the Rgveda, is a *corpus*, not a work ; it marks not the beginning, but the end of a period of literary history, which may have begun before Aryans came into India ; how far it may be considered properly Indian, is a question which has been much debated, and on which we may to-morrow adduce ourselves some small evidence. But, even if partially Indian, it is an invaluable document to the linguist, as the textual tradition of it has been admirably preserved ; so that we gather from it a knowledge not only of a definite state of the Sanskrit language, but also of a long evolution of it : as there are found in the Veda side by side wonderful archaisms and typical Prākritisms.

But, as I told you, I will not delay over the Veda. Nor do I mean to follow the history of Sanskrit period by period ; that would not only waste your time, as it may be found in books which every student knows ; but it would prevent me from emphasizing the main fact on which I should like to lay stress, viz. the gap existing between ancient and classical Sanskrit. There has not been one Sanskrit, developing normally, so to say, in one line : Sanskrit literature consists of different literary languages differing not only in date, but in psychological and social character. The oldest, which was considered sacred, gave a model, but not birth, to the later ones : but to the linguist's view classical Sanskrit is made up of elements similar to Vedic, but essentially differing from it as widely as Pāli or Prākrit.

Let us recall the fact which dominates all historical view of Indo-Aryan, and especially of Sanskrit, viz. that we have evidence from the inscriptions of Asoka that in the third century B.C. Middle-Indian vernaculars were not only in use, but had won recognition to such a degree that the king used them when addressing his subjects ; as you are aware, only recently has this been the case again in India. More than that : some time after, another king, recalling his own history in a stone-inscription which is more a monument than an address, does it in vernacular ; with him, vernacular obtains a really literary dignity, as, far from being in popular style, his inscription is a specimen of refined and rhythmical prose. If we had under consideration only these two texts, to which we may add more direct expressions of the people's thoughts, like the Bharhut inscriptions, and the oldest Buddhistic works, we should feel entitled to expect that from that period onwards profane thought, too, would find expression through the vernaculars. You know it is not the case ; if in the first centuries of our era stanzas were written which we find collected in Hāla's-

anthology, the main part of the literature of the same and of the following periods was written in Sanskrit; nay, Sanskrit dominates Prākṛit literature to such a degree that Prākṛit works can hardly have been understood, or even written, by non-Sanskritists.

But the Sanskrit of that time is no longer the Sanskrit of the Veda. Even in the Upanishads, it was no longer a purely clerical language, imprisoned in very ancient stylistic traditions; a new life has been infused in it from the Kṣatriya being admitted to higher culture; archaisms disappear, grammar gets simpler; style, still deprived of charm and refinement, has the virtue which the linguist appreciates so much: naturalness.

But a divorce will soon be brought about between literature and speech; the fact that Pāṇini teaches a language similar to that of the Brāhmanas may be considered in itself as a sign of decay; a few generations later, probably at the very time Khāravela gave that instance of a refined vernacular prose I was alluding to, Patañjali discloses the fact that Sanskrit, at least good Sanskrit, had become the language of only a small aristocracy in a limited country; may be Sanskrit was still heard among other classes, *loke*: but bad Sanskrit, of course; and how far in use? Even among Brahmins, only the educated, *śiṣṭa*, used it both commonly and correctly. After that time, Sanskrit became the property of scholars, and less than ever a direct document of any spoken tongue. Nevertheless, the historian has to look into its development with care, because the vernacular documents of the same period are themselves thoroughly impregnated with Sanskrit, and both series have to be considered together; moreover, being laicized, Sanskrit could not help coming into a partial contact with the language of the people at large.

This is again a new phase, one might call it a revolution, the significance of which was long ago pointed out by my guru, Professor S. Lévi. He showed that Sanskrit was, so to say, snatched from the Brahmins by foreign conquerors, whose plan was to compete with or to utilize the Brahmanical power; this is evidenced by the striking opposition between the use of Sanskrit by Rudradāman and of Prākṛit by his opponents the Sātakanis. A document has been discovered since, which at first sight contradicts this: it is an older Sanskrit inscription found at Ramipali, near Ayodhyā, brilliantly commented upon by Professor Jayaswal. It is written in Sanskrit, although of a layman; but its spirit is not lay, it has got a very strong Brahmanical character, as you will see from Professor Jayaswal's articles.

So the explanation given by Professor Lévi holds good. The result of the revolution in question was a spreading of Sanskrit and its ability to be used not only in the educational part of literature, but also in works of fiction. You know to what degree of refinement it reaches in the classical period; but the works I allude to are the sportive creations of artists, not evidence for the linguist. Only texts of no pretention, or small pretensions, will help us to guess what the real development was; the prose of the Vetāla tells something about it. Kālidāsa's poems show only his skill in handling traditional materials.

What are the characteristics of the traditional materials in use at that time? In other terms, what had Sanskrit become in the classical period? Its main features are: a more contracted and normalized grammar; and, on the other hand, a hugely expanded vocabulary.

I need not dwell long on the first character, which is well known to every student who, contrary to history, having mastered classical grammar, proceeds to Vedic. I just recall a few points: of the different terminations of the instrumental, only one is kept (sg. *devenā*, *madhunā*; pl. *devaiḥ*; the same for the n. pl. *devāḥ*, *bhuvanāni*, *nāmāni*); the number of verbal forms undergoes very great reduction: those especially which admit of stem-shiftings, like nasal presents, root-aorists, have a tendency to disappear. This accounts for contraction of the grammar; as to its normalization, I may mention the reintroduction of the termination *-āyāḥ* of the fem. sing., which in the Brāhmaṇas was replaced by the dative termination; or the distinction between *dhenoh* and *bhuvah*, according to the length of the stem, and a tendency to replace both by *dhenvāḥ bhuvāḥ*; the creation of the 3rd sg. precativ *bhūyāt* instead of the older *bhūyāḥ*; the middle voice extended to whole verbs when the present stem admitted it; the replacement of the partitive genitive in the complement of verbs by the accusative; or the universal use of the dual number, when two things are in question; which is not, as you know, its use in the ancient period. And so on: I may just content myself by mentioning a very significant fact, viz. the strict enforcement of the rules of Sandhi to a degree which goes against the older tradition, Prākṛit usage, and let us add, common sense.

As to the vocabulary, no wonder it extended enormously, as Vedic works expressed only a part of the life and thoughts of one class of society. This view is corroborated by the fact that in classical Sanskrit many words are found which can be identified as inherited

from Indo-European. But there are, on the other hand, also words which are of "Prākṛit" origin (I use Prākṛit here as the language of the subjects, *prakṛti*).

E.g. you will find in the Rāmāyaṇa the word *ajira*, meaning "court, place to fight in", cf. *ajira* which in Pāli and in the Śilpaśāstras means "a courtyard". This word is of course the same as *ajra*, which only R.V. has kept with the meaning of "a plain"; here we have an old Indo-European word preserved in its vulgar form owing to its being employed in a technical sense. Take, again, the word *hāva* used in MBh. and in the Kāvya with the meaning of "calling" and of "coquetry, blandishments", as well. Native vocabularies put both under the root *hū-*, like *hava* "call", *hāvaka*, "summoner"; but Aufrecht has rightly seen that the second word can hardly be separated from MBh. *bhāva* "condition, character", wherefrom "emotion, liking, passion". It is easy to understand how a new shade of meaning may have been got by this word in the vernaculars, whence it has been taken in the literary language. Some connection between the word and its original has been felt: Pāli has *hāvabhāva* "coquettish gestures"; in Hindi *hārbhāv* means the same, according to the Śabdasaṅgar; in Marathi the m. pl. *hārbhāv* expresses the complex idea of "actions and posture expressive of sentiment".

Professor Wackernagel has shown other instances of the use made of double forms by classical Sanskrit (*Festschr. Jacobi*, 11 sq.). E.g. *pārīyati*, the fundamental meaning of which was "to carry across" has already in R.V. taken the sense of "to save, protect"; in A.V. its derivative *pārīyṣṇu* is found, meaning "rescuing"; but in the same Veda we come across the *l* form of it, *pālayati*; now, classical Sanskrit has kept both forms, giving one the meaning of "protecting, keeping" in general, to the other that of "resisting, being able". In the same way, *rabh-* means "to take hold of", *labh-* "to find, to receive"; *śukra* keeps only the technical meanings of "Venus" and "semen"; *śukla* is the general term for "white". And so on.

Again, new synonyms arise from the fact that classical writers give back to some words their Vedic values: so *śloka* is given the old meaning of "fame"; or they give to a word, partially synonymical with another, a new meaning taken from the second one: so *yuddha* borrows from *dvandva* the new meaning of "pair"; or *tastra* from *ambara* that of "sky".

Another characteristic of classical Sanskrit is its ability to derive numerous nouns from older ones ; you may get an idea of it by glancing for instance at the list published by Professor F. W. Thomas in the *JRAS.* 1899 of the words of the *Harṣacarita* not included in the P.W. As Professor Thomas says, many of them are " only such as any writer might form at will " ; I may note in passing that it would be interesting to discover whether among them there are signs of preferential tendencies, and what were the reasons for coining those new words.

But all of these are old words rearranged and used by classical Sanskrit ; there is also a huge mass of words of unknown origin ; we must assume they are taken from local languages, but it is not easy to prove it ; we may say a word on this question to-morrow.

Whatever the origin of the new words, the result was inevitably an extensive occurrence of synonymous groups. In spoken languages, synonyms are distinguished not only according to technical usages, but also by auditive or mental associations, by affective values ; when the languages are cultivated, writers take account of these shades of meaning, to which they usually add a taste for etymology. Gawronsky has, perhaps with some exaggeration, denied this in the case of Sanskrit writers. To see how far he was right, and to show the discrimination the best of them at least did make between synonyms, is indeed a very interesting study ; the truth is, it concerns more the history of style than of language.

Such is the case also with a well-known characteristic of classical Sanskrit, viz. the use of long compound words. Of course, its basis is linguistic, and we recognize in it the consequence of two important facts :

- (1) Use of the nominal sentence ;
- (2) Loss of terminations (the result of which is a certain degree of affinity between Sanskrit compounds and mediaeval Indo-Aryan poetry).

The result is this : a central idea being given, and often expressed by nominal forms exclusively, circumstances are grouped around it, expressed by adjectives or nouns, in oblique cases (those nouns and adjectives being again very often nominal groups). So the sentence appears like a sort of static ensemble, where ideas and images float, and words have scarcely any fixed form or fixed place any longer ; liberated from grammar, the sentence allows of the most subtle evocations ; the infinite richness of the vocabulary placed at the

disposal of the writer enables him to choose his words according to the rhythm or the quality of their sounds.

All this is very far from real speech and has to the linguist little value other than that of a pathological case. No wonder: think only of the many centuries which have elapsed since Asoka addressed his subjects in the vernacular of the time. To find a better contact with the spoken languages we must go back and search other dialects, written also, but nearer to the ordinary speech of the time.

A better contact, I said: not a full one. Take Pāli, for instance. If we looked to it to give us a good view of an old vernacular, we should meet with disappointment. And Pāli offers problems of its own, too, which cannot be overlooked.

The first point to be noted is that Pāli is not a direct offspring of Sanskrit. One has noted in it forms phonetically older than even Vedic, *idha*, *sabbadhi*; others could be adduced: e.g. *pātu*.¹ My friend H. Smith, a master of Pāli studies—much of what I shall say now I owe to him—has shown that in Pāli *tikkhattum*, the word meaning "time", has a guṇa: a form which is met with in Balto-Slavonic (lit. *trīs kartūs*, O. Sl. *trī kraty*), but not in Indo-Iranian.

There are in Pāli archaisms of another sort; they do not disclose a state of the language in its original form, but are due to the rehandling of the texts under Sanskritic influences. Round about A.D. 400 Buddhaghosa, a Magadhan Brahman, a good Sanskrit scholar (so was his predecessor the Sthavira Mahānāman, whose two Sanskrit inscriptions dated A.D. 347 have been found in Mahabodhi), translated into "Māgadhi" the Sinhalese commentary of the Tipiṭaka; it can be shown that he often has Sanskrit in view, and others must have done the same, before him and after; we must not forget that the tradition on which all our MSS. (which are very modern) depend, dates at the most from the twelfth century, and relies on grammatical studies again, the result of which must have been some normalization of the texts.

The consequence of this is that the regularity of correspondences between Pāli and Sanskrit, which strikes the general reader (but exceptions will soon be found), may be deceptive. There are facts which tend to confirm that view; Professor Lévi has shown (*J. As.*,

¹ See now *Donum natalicium Schrijnen*, p. 370.

1912, ii, p. 498 ff.) that proper and technical names give evidence of an evolution which the current text conceals; the parivrājaka *Māgandiya* is Skr. *Mākandika*; the "Frontier-town" *Aḷavī* (wherefrom *Aḷavaka*, *Aḷavikā*) is in Sanskrit texts, buddhistic and brahmanical, *Aḷavī*; Pāli keeps the form *aḷavī* with the meaning of "forest" because it was usual in Sanskrit. Inversely, the Pāli name of the river *Aciravatī*, dates from a time when Skr. *ajira* "agile", found in Pāṇini, being out of use, the Skr. name *Ajiravatī* looked vulgar: hence Pāli *Aciravatī*, and in Sanskrit itself a new form *Ajitavatī*. In the same way *Pokkharasāti* is what some would call (wrongly, I believe) a Paisācism for *Pauṣkarasādi*, which is regular. Certain technical terms admit of a similar explanation: those offenses, which are liable only to temporary exclusion from the Sangha, which admit of "a remnant of Sangha", are in Skr. *saṅghāvaśeṣa*, in Pāli *saṅghādisesa*, that is really **saṅghātisesa*.

So the reasons for keeping here the Middle-Indian form have been shown by Professor Lévi; the reasons are not clear, but the fact is obvious, in the case, e.g. of *kavitha*, *vidatthi*. Probably extensive use has prevented Pāli writers from avoiding forms like *mahallaka*, *duṭṭhulla*, distinctly popular, where you recognize the well-known Prākṛit suffix *-alla*, *-illa*, *-ulla*: probably a very old Indo-European suffix, which only popular languages admit; Latin, a peasant's language at the start, has *capillus*, *fauilla*, *medulla*, etc. Another popular tendency, extensively met with in Latin too, is to double consonants: this you find seldom in Indo-Aryan, mainly with pronominal bases: R. V. has *īthā*, *īthām* (once) which have to be compared with *tathā*; Pāli has *kattha*, *yattha* "where? where", *ettha* "there" (*etta* is rare; there is no representative of Skr. *atra*); it has also *ettaka*, *tattaka*, cf. Pkr. *ettia* *tettia*, etc., deśi *keddaham*, Marathi *kedhva* as opposed to *kevhā*; again, the adverbs *ettavatā*, *kittavatā*; *etto* "therefrom", *ettato* "than that". The word *katthati*, "to boast", which has found its way into Sanskrit (MBh. *katthate*), cannot, I think, be separated from *kathayati*—a word again derived from a pronominal basis.

Among popular forms preserved by Pāli, some seem to pertain to particular dialects. Professor Lévi, again, has noted *vattakā* "the quail", which Kātyāyana mentions as *vartakā śakunau prācām* (please notice *prācām*). This leads us to the question of Magadhisms in Pāli. You know the native name of that language is Māgadhi; therefore we should not be surprised to find in it traces of nominatives in *-e*. But

this is a matter for discussion ; I hope H. Smith will make known his views on it, which are in part founded on discussions in the *Saddanīti* he is just publishing ; I mention some of them : *pure* (*purah*) and *suve* (*svah*) were of course taken as locatives ; some of the vocatives, which Geiger interprets as nominatives taken as such, are in fact feminine vocatives, and therefore quite regular ; some real Magadhisms O. Franke rightly suspected to be employed with a view to ridiculing the persons who used them : so they are not really Pāli. Local names may be adduced, e.g. *Isigili*, the name of one of the mountains of Rājagṛha. There are lastly Sinhalisms, as you know the old Sgh. nom. sg. was in *-e* (a fact, to mention it in passing, which seems to go against a western origin for Sinhalese).

There may be also in Pāli Dravidian influences : remember, e.g. the importance of Conjeeveram in Pāli tradition. The new Copenhagen Pāli dictionary notes that *Akatti* looks very much like Tamil *Akattian*, a singular form made after *Agastayah*, the plural of *Āgastya* according to Pāpini.

So not only the local basis of Pāli, but its very appearance and constitution offer many problems, which still await solution, and whose solution affects its linguistic interpretation. I shall not go on detecting in other Middle-Indian literary languages similar problems. Suffice it to remind you, e.g. that when we apply the term Māgadhī both to the language of Asoka, where every final Skr. *-ah* becomes *-e*, and to the dialect of the classical dramas, where only nom. sg. masc. *-ah* becomes *-e*, we obscure for ourselves a very important question, and include under the same head two very different sorts of languages. But I shall speak of this elsewhere. Let me just turn now to a well-known literary language, the origin of which is recent and nevertheless very obscure, I mean Urdū.

There are native accounts of the matter, but not contemporary ; and I hope you will soon see why. Among these, the most celebrated is that given by Mīr Amman in 1801 in the Preface of his *Bāḡ o Bahār*. There is no need to read it to you, although it may not be without interest to notice that his wording is sometimes obscure, and that he mixes social and linguistic matters. What he says about language amounts to this : in the oldest period "owing to intercourse of people the languages of the Hindus and Musalmans were partially blended together". Long after, at the time of Akbar, the meeting of lots of people come from all parts in the Urdū—that is, the Delhi bazaar—

resulted in establishing a unique language, in that bazaar; which language later got more and more refined.

The first statement, which is quite sound, does not concern Urdū; the second one is difficult to reconcile with historical probabilities and especially with the modern distribution of languages, as shown by Sir George Grierson in his admirable *Linguistic Survey*. As you will see there, not only on the western side of the Jumna, where Bangaru and Rajasthani are used, but also on the eastern side, local dialects differ from Urdū; even in the district of Meerut, which on the map shares with more eastern and northern parts of the pinkish colour of "Vernacular Hindostani" the language is of a different sort.¹

You will remember Sir George has noted Panjabi affinities in vernacular Hindostani, e.g. masc. nom. in *-ā* (*ghorā*, not *ghorau* or *ghoro*), use of *ne* (Pj. *nai*) to indicate the agent case. In Ambala, it is said, "the speech of the lower castes has a strong tincture of Panjabi"; and, of course, the speech of the lower castes is the really local one. On the other hand, he notes Hindi affinities in eastern Panjab. The result he summarizes thus:

"Literary Hindostani is based on the vernacular Hindostani spoken in the Upper Doab and Western Rohilkhand. It grew up as a *lingua franca* in the polyglot bazaar attached to the Delhi court, and was carried everywhere in India by the lieutenants of the Moghul Empire."

Now, this states the problem but does not solve it. When, how, did that vernacular grow up as a *lingua franca* in Delhi? Must we admit that the speech of the bazaar had so much influence on the rest of the town and on the court? And, moreover, that sellers of grain, clothes, and pottery—not to speak of vegetables, continually came there from a distance of at least 60 miles if from the East with two great rivers to cross, at least from 100 miles if from the North? Lastly, had Delhi, at least in the first period of Muhammedan rule, such a recognized prominence in culture and language as supposed? Mir Amman, I think, is in a way right in attributing to Delhi its rôle as a capital only "in Akbar's time" (perhaps Shah Jehan would have been more correct); if ever it was, it could not before that time have been a capital in the Western sense of the word; I mean, a town getting from the start, for political and social reasons, a prestige over

¹ I am glad to agree here with the views of Professor Turner.

surrounding towns, such as Paris in my country ; or a town which was a résumé of the surrounding districts, like London.

What happened in Delhi must have happened everywhere else ; in fact, we know of Muhammedan settlements in all northern India, due to the system of *jāgīrs* ; we must also take into consideration the spreading of revenue officers (*muqaddams*), a number of them, by the way, being Indians. Last but not least, let us remember the numerous garrisons or camps, *urdūs*, in which the Indian element was very important : it is a well-known fact that the proportion of non-fighting people in the army was a huge one ; and it is easy to surmise that if there were Indian soldiers in the fighting portion (of which we are sure), there must have been many more in the transport section and in the moving bazaars.

Now the Panjab was the first province to be under Muhammedan sway, and it remained so, long before other provinces ; you remember the Panjabi affinities of Urdū. Shall we not be allowed to suppose that the first nucleus of the Indians of the army, which carried their language over northern India and Deccan, were perhaps not of the Panjab proper, as Panjabi is really distinct from Urdū—but of the districts of eastern Panjab, of Ambala, of the northern Doab ? I am not so sure about western Rohilkhand, because the Urdū-like character of the vernacular has probably been due mainly to more recent influences. Those districts, you will remember, are even to-day two or three times more densely populated than the plains, so a numerical pre-eminence of their dialect on the Indian army would be easily intelligible.

If this be admitted, at least as a working hypothesis, it remains to see how this *lingua franca*, which to me is not the language of one bazaar, but of the army, came to be recognized as a literary language. This may be explained if we take into account the long time which history allows us. Let us see how this *urdū kī zabān* (this is the old name of it) spread over India. In northern India, its contact with local dialects was of no consequence ; people must have understood each other, and there was a recognized equality between both dialects ; only Muhammedan terms were taken in all vernaculars, the evidence of which we find in old works. Things took a new turn in the Deccan—when, from the fourteenth century onwards, Muhammedans settled in Gujarat, in Khandesh, even in Bijapur ; there the Aryan vernaculars differed much from the northern dialect, and Dravidian languages also were in use. This, I suppose,

led the language of the army to take a position of its own: not a court language, but partaking something of the lustre of the Court.¹ It got a standing, was not only normalized—which is usual—but came to be cultivated by Indian Muhammedans of the country, as it was not in other parts of India. It is not a mere chance, but a symbol, that centuries after Wali was called *Bābā e rēxta*, not, I think—far from it—because he was the first to cultivate it, but because having begun his career in the Deccan, he came to Delhi and there brought Urdū poetry into prominence. Only after that is Urdū connected with Delhi as well as with other big towns of the North; and its prestige as a literary language firmly established.

So, to my mind, the vernacular of the country bordering Eastern Panjab was carried by Indian soldiers to the South; and there was coined from it a cultured language. I cannot but recall the origin of modern German, which was shaped in the Secretariats of Saxony, of Prague mainly, and also of Vienna: that is, in colonial countries; only later was it taken up by Luther and given by him to Germany.

I will not, I cannot pursue farther the demonstration of my hypothesis in favour of which, I believe, can be adduced its general agreement with linguistic, geographical, and historical data, so far as known to me. I shall leave to better-equipped historians to decide whether facts and probabilities support my views, which I myself consider provisional. My main object has been to show that we have not to be surprised if local basis and linguistic elements of older languages escape us, when we are so uncertain as to the making of a language written and spoken to-day, of which there are comparatively old documents, and on the origin of which there are native traditions.

II

INDO-ARYAN AND DRAVIDIAN

I shall deal to-day with a very fascinating subject, one too, which one has no right to escape. Compared with Indo-European in general, and with Iranian in particular, Indo-Aryan languages have got characteristics of their own, which cannot but strike the scholar: the question arises naturally whether local conditions are not to be

¹ Ferishta, quoted by Babu Ram Saksena (*Hist. of Urdu Lit.*, p. 33), notes that by the order of Ibrahim Adil Shah, "the public accounts formerly kept in Persian were written in Hindui under the management of the Brahmins who soon acquired great influence in his government."

resorted to to explain these peculiarities. "It seems a general rule," says Professor Konow, "that a people which invades a foreign country, to some degree adopts the pronunciation of its new home . . . on account of intermixture with the older inhabitants." I should rather like to lay the stress on the native inhabitants, and say that it often happens that the older inhabitants show themselves unable even if willing, to reproduce with full exactness in all points the language of their invaders; and as they furnish the bulk of the population, the time may come when the faults of the first generations come to be recognized as usual and correct forms.

Such cases have occurred in other Indo-European languages; the case about which agreement is most general is that of Armenian, where a consonant-shift similar to the Teutonic has resulted in a system identical with that of southern Caucasian languages. Another characteristic is the absence of the category of gender in Armenian and also in the same group of Caucasian tongues. So Armenian offers two striking examples of local influences; at the same time, it must be pointed out that these influences are limited if not to details, at least to special categories of facts; another fact has been adduced, viz. reduplication and "echo-words", which is less striking; and as to the nominal flexion of Armenian, although differing to some extent from the rest of Indo-European, Dr. Deeters has recently shown (in *Caucasica*) that it owes nothing to Caucasian. No other influence has been supposed.

Now there is at least in the Sanskrit phonetic system a conspicuous novelty, as old as the oldest documents, viz. the presence of cerebral consonants existing side by side with the dentals. And on the other hand, both series occur in Dravidian. Does this not give an indisputable evidence of local influence on Sanskrit, and a tempting invitation to look for more facts of similar origin?

It does indeed. But the temptation has its risks and drawbacks, which I must point out at once. First, if there are local influences, are they exclusively Dravidian? We know of another linguistic family in India, the Munda or Kol. There are indications that Sanskrit has borrowed a few words from unknown languages of that family; now, Munda possesses cerebrals as well as Dravidian. Shall we say that Dravidian influence is more probable than Munda influence because Munda-speaking peoples are to-day living in a limited part of Central India, outside the sphere of Indo-Aryan,

whereas Brahuīs lying west of northern India give a geographical, so to say even a geological, evidence of a huge Dravidian territory, likely to have included the Aryan zone? But who knows whether the Brahuīs have not migrated from Central India? In fact, their language shares not only with Canarese, but also with Kurukh or even purely eastern dialects peculiarities which are wanting in the actually surrounding languages, whether Iranian (Afghan, Baluchi) or Indian (Panjabi, Sindhi), e.g. *b-* for *v-*, absence of *ṇ*. Even if we consider Brahuīs as located in Baluchistan for so many centuries, the geographical link between them and other Dravidians may easily be restricted to the coastal route taken by other migrations which we know of.

There are also doubtful details. In the course of history Vedic *ḷ* disappears, and as a rule archaic *ḷ* is again taken instead: shall we conclude that Dravidians lived exclusively in the West? (You may notice that Panjabi has still *ḷ* and, with some reservations, the same sound is found on a continuous area towards south, down to Ceylon.) And then did Mundas, who have no *ḷ*, occupy the Gangetic valley? If so, shall we admit that every Dravidian influence on Sanskrit is necessarily early, later influence being due to Munda? There are facts against this hypothesis. Moreover, account must be taken of the possibility, I should say the probability, of other races and families of languages having existed in India. As is well known, initial cerebrals are more and more frequent in Indo-Aryan in the course of history: they are not found in Dravidian, nor, as far as I am aware, in Munda. So as a rule it is better to speak of *local* influences than to specify their precise origin, in the absence of verification of details.

Another fact must be pointed out. Cerebrals have not been introduced wholesale in Sanskrit. In fact, their extension (but for the history of *ḷ*, which depends more on orthography than on language really) is rather progressive. At the start, cerebrals are but the form taken by dentals and palatals under conditions depending on changes anterior to Sanskrit. Indo-Iranian had *chuintantes*, being old Indo-European *s* altered by neighbouring sounds; these *chuintantes* (to which as you know Skr. *r* must be added) have in their turn altered the dentals following them, which is quite natural in a language so prone to consonantic assimilations as Sanskrit; now the altered dentals have been pronounced like local cerebrals by those possessing them. On the other hand, Sanskrit *ś, ṣ, ḥ* formerly

had been something like *tš*, *dž*, *džh*, where the first element remained only, in the shape of a cerebral, when the consonant was implosive : that is why in face of Zd *xšvaš* "six" Sanskrit has *ṣaṭ* ; in the same way are explained nominatives like *viṭ*, and instr. *vidbhyaḥ* (cf. Zd *vīšbyō*) as distinguished from *havirbhyaḥ* (cf. Zd *snaiθišbya*).

So the action of the substratum has been a subordinate to the action of the Indo-Aryan, and has only helped to hasten and fix the results of an evolution anterior to the contact of both languages. The same has been said, for instance, of the influence of Celtic on Romanic by Professor Vendryes (*R. de Ling. Romane*, i, p. 273) ; and this is the reason why the action of the substratum is as a rule limited to special facts, as we observed in Armenian.

Other phonetic alterations of Sanskrit have been attributed to Dravidian, but we may dismiss them, as Munda offers similar characters. Let us see whether Dravidian traces may be found in Sanskrit grammar.

The decay of the old verbal system, which is a striking feature of the history of Sanskrit—we have alluded to it already—has been attributed to Dravidian influence : but that decay is not peculiar to India and may be observed, e.g. in Iranian. Details ought to be adduced to enforce such an hypothesis : Professor Konow has confronted Skr. *kṛtavān* with Tamil *śeydavan*. I do not think he would still to-day lay weight on that comparison : *-ta-vant-* derivations are not unknown to old Iranian ; on the other hand, the Dravidian form quoted is peculiar to Tamil, and cannot be considered Pan-Dravidian ; lastly, whereas the Sanskrit form has exclusively the value of a personal verb, Tamil *śeydavan* has only a nominal value ("the man who has done"), the corresponding verbal form being *śeydāṇ*. Other facts which have been adduced have hardly any more significance.

One indeed is interesting, viz. the use of gerunds "denoting an accompanying or (more often) a preceding action to that signified by the verb of the class". This is, of course, a matter of syntax. But it is a striking fact that the gerunds in *-tvā* *-tvī-* *-tya*, unknown to Iranian and even to Indo-European, are of extensive use in Sanskrit, and especially in Classical Sanskrit and in Pāli. Their form, of course, has nothing in common with Dravidian gerunds, or relative participles, but their value is similar ; both groups of forms have, to put it in Whitney's own words, "the virtual value of an indeclinable participle" ; or, to quote Speyer, they "enable the speaker to cut short subordinate

sentences and to avoid accumulation of finite verbs". There is an idiom, expressed with the help of those gerunds, which is strikingly corresponding in both families. You remember that phrase, not unknown to older language, but especially frequent in Pāli, examples of which have been given by Oldenberg (*Zur Gesch. der Altind. Prosa*, p. 49 f.):

addasa . . . ; discvāna . . .

yena bhagavā ten' upasaṃkami ; upasaṃkamitvā . . .

*paṭhamam khettaṃ kasāpetabbaṃ ; kasāpetvā vapāpetabbaṃ ;
vapāpetvā . . .*

This is an idiom very extensively used in Dravidian languages; I do not think there are similar uses in Munda; I quote a few instances from uncultivated languages:

Kui (Friend Pereira, p. 21, 61):

gōsa ki sāsenju. sājanai kṛāṇḍi ti vīh'tenju.
to the forest he went. Having gone a tiger he shot.

iḍuki sālmū. sājjanai tambēsani ārmū. ārsanai
home go. having gone my brother call. having called
nāi bahatani tāmū.
near me bring (him.)

Gondi (Chen. Trench, ii, p. 16 f.):

ihun inji rajal gujri-bajaḍe pada masala
Thus having said the king to the bazaar milk medicine
baniān-iggatal tattale hattul. baniāny igga hanjikun . . .
from the Banya to bring went. At the bania having gone . . .
idke huri posit huṛta barobar . . .
so to see she came out; on seeing . . .

A similar case is that of the distributive use of repetitions: *āmredīta* compounds in the Veda are iterative (but for x, 15, 11: *sādaḥ sadāḥ sadata*, which can be understood as distributive and has been so by Sāyana, by Hillebrandt, Keith, and others), but Āp. Sūtr. *svaṃ svam caritraṃ śikṣeran* "they must learn every one his own duty", is distributive. Now this is unknown not only to Iranian, but to all Indo-European: possibly a small number of examples can be found in the New Testament, where they testify to Semitic influences; as the distributive repetition is quite common in Semitic.

But Semitic can hardly be adduced to explain the Sanskrit turn, which is, on the other hand, very usual in Dravidian¹:

Kurukh (Grignard, p. 269):

ormar tang'ā tang'ā ghōron degta'ā helrar.
all their horse to make jump tried.

Kui (Winfield, p. 38):

ānu roaniki roaniki tīni tāka laka sīte.
I to everyone three rupees gave.

Kuvi (Schulze, p. 81):

imbini imbini tāju-ta rēceri.
in what different places did you wander?

Gondi (Trench, i, p. 10):

iu nēlk bōnāng bōnāng āndūng.
these fields to whom (*bō-l* "who") belong? (= Hindi *kis kis ke haī*).

Canara (Kittel, p. 302: *pratyekārtha*):

ī jāligeyol ivarge ponnum ponnum kuḍu.
out of this purse to these (each) a gold coin give.

But the two last facts adduced are really phrases and testify to mentality rather than to grammatical influences proper. With vocabulary, we may hope to be on more solid ground.

More solid, in principle at least, it is true. But the ground is of a different sort. Corruptions of pronunciation and changes of grammar result from an unconscious mixing of two linguistic systems; on the contrary, borrowing a word is a conscious and often even a voluntary process; it does not alter, but enrich a language. If Dravidian words are found in Indo-Aryan, that fact will not in any way prove that the speakers of Indo-Aryan did formerly speak Dravidian. So that the Dravidisms in vocabulary which I am to deal with now are really a quite different subject from the Dravidian influences on Aryan phonetics and grammar, if there be any. This new subject presents difficulties of its own, practical and historical.

First, lists of words borrowed by Sanskrit from Dravidian have indeed been made already. I just recall the names of Caldwell,

¹ Not unknown to Munda, at least to Santali. See P. O. Bodding, *Materials for a Santali Grammar*, ii, pp. 61-2.

Gundert, and Kittel, not to speak of more recent attempts, useful but partial, like that of Mr. Amrta Row. But those lists are at once too large and too narrow. Too large, because the majority of cases brought forward, even in Kittel's Preface to his *Kannada Dictionary*, do not stand discussion, when they are worth it. Too narrow, because Kanara and Tamil do not suffice to identify a Dravidian form, and the other languages belonging to the same family ought to be taken into account: this implies a great difficulty, insofar as only one of these languages, Kurukh, has been described with a sufficient thoroughness; of the other, we have vocabularies which are certainly good, but not extensive enough to allow of a regular confronting of the various words subject to discussion.

A second point is the difficulty of distinguishing which language is the borrower, which the lender. Moreover, there may be intermediaries between both, or a common origin to elements they both have. Let us take an instance of this. The word *ghoṭa* "horse" which appears first in the Śrautasūtra of Āpastamba (a southern text) recalls immediately Te. *gurramu*, Ta. *kudirei*, Ca. *kudure*: it is easy to reconstruct a prototype **ghutr*. But if we admit that this **ghutr* be Dravidian, we assume implicitly that primitive Dravidian possessed aspirated sonants. In this case, we are at once confronted with the notion of a consonant-shift in Dravidian; now this, as we know from Armenian and Teutonic, rouses suspicion of a substratum: have, then, Dravidian languages been imported into Deccan from another country? This is in accordance with the views of certain scholars, but is **ghutr* really of Dravidian origin? Horse-breeding is certainly not a peculiarity of the Deccan. On the other hand, Egyptian, among whom horses appear in the sixteenth century B.C., has a word *htr* denoting "team" or "horse", which may have been taken from Arabia with the horses themselves. I may lastly, just for the sake of adding to the confusion, mention the Turkish name for the "mule" *qatyr*, mod. Greek *yaiḍapos*.

But let us not delay in these discouraging considerations; let us try to learn what we can from borrowings duly established or simply probable. One part of the subject I leave altogether aside, although in a way it may be considered the more important one, as symbolizing Aryan conquest of India: I mean, the Aryan words taken by Dravidian languages, a subject really worth studying, from different points of view. For instance in literary languages like Tamil or Canarese, they

ought to be traced in the more ancient periods, with a view to carefully distinguishing Sanskrit from Prākṛit words; a description of Prākṛit words taken by Dravidian languages would be very interesting in itself. In uncultivated languages too, discrimination ought to be made of Aryan words of different periods; possibly some old words lost since by Aryan languages could be traced there, and also facts significant as to the social contacts of both peoples. I shall to-day confine myself, as others have done, to Dravidian borrowings made by Aryan; not that I shall review all Aryan words which have, or may have been due to such borrowings—a long and possibly tedious subject—but I wish to point out some provisional results or rather problems, which arise out of their consideration.

First as to Phonetics. I have tried to show that the usual explanation of Sanskrit cerebrals is too simple and has to be admitted with reservations. On the other hand, words have been introduced into Sanskrit, which had cerebrals in them; and there are also Aryan words where cerebrals of Dravidian origin have crept in under favourable circumstances.

A verbal root *taḍ-* quoted in the Nirukta, is also found in Pāli *tāleti*, meaning "to strike"; A.V. has *tāḍa*, "a stroke." Probably *tāla*, P. *tāla* "musical time" is a derivative of this root rather than connected with *kara-tāla* "palm of the hand" as some would have it. Lastly, *taṇḍulāḥ* "husked rice, threshed grains", which is found already in A.V., may be a derivative of the same root, just as Gondi *kurmi* "the harder part of rice, kodon, etc., which remains after grinding" is connected with *kurum-* "to grind or pound grain in a mortar". Now of this Sk. *taḍ-* there is no good Aryan etymology; compare, on the contrary, Ca., Ta., Te. *tattu* "to tap, strike", Ca. *tātu* "strike against", Ta. *taḷumbu* "wound".

This Gondi *kurmi* I was mentioning has its equivalent in Sanskrit, too, but later, as far as texts are consulted. I allude to *kuttayati* (Ath. Par., BhP.), Pāli *kotteti* "to crush, grind"; Pāpini has *kuttaka* of unknown meaning. I should like to bring in here MBh. *kuttima* "inlaid or paved floor, mosaic", although Professor Leumann would like to explain it by *kytrima*, which would correspond to a more general sense of "artificial". Now Kittel, No. 361, compares Ca. *kuḍu*, Ca., Ta. *kuttu*, Ta., Te. *kottu*, "to strike," to which we may add not only Gondi *kurum-*, but also Ca., Te. *kottu* "pounding rice", Kurukh *xōrs-*, *xōs-* "to smash" (*kōr-* on the other hand, is borrowed from

Indo-Aryan, as *k-* testifies; for the same reason I leave aside Brahui *kut-* "pound", *koṭ-* "cut in pieces"; of *xaḷ-* "strike" I do not know what to say).

It would be very interesting to bring under the same head R.V. *kāṭa*, which seems to mean "hammer"; Kittel does it unhesitatingly, No. 267, and compares Ca. *koḍali* "a wooden hammer". I leave you the choice; and shall do the same as regards Rām. Suśr. *kūṭhāra* "axe", lex. *kūṭhāṅka*, "axe," *kūṭhāka* the bird "Picus bengalensis"; but the question may be raised, because there are cases of Dravidian roots in which aspirates coexist with unaspirated consonants.

You have noticed that in *tāḷa*, Pāli presents a cerebral which is replaced by *l* in Sanskrit; Professor Lüders has shown that in a number of cases Skr. *l* ought to be really *ḷ*, and among them he quotes *kāḷa* (Pāp. MBh.) "black", which is *kāḷa* in Pāli and in Central Asian Skr.; whereas *kāla* "time" has everywhere the dental *l*; well, this must be the root of Ca. *kāḍu*, Te. *kaṛa* "black", Ca. *kaḷgu* "to turn black", Gondi *kossō* "lampblack", and generally Drav. *kār* "black"; to the same group pertain Ca. *kāḍige*, Te. *kāṭike*, which recall Suśr. *kajjala*, H. *kājal*, side by side with *kālik*; but I must confess I am not sure of the details of the connection. Probably Kittel is right in bringing here also *kalaṅka* "spot, stain", which is very recent in Skr. (Mṛch.) and is missing in Pāli, as far as our knowledge goes; and possibly *kaluṣa* "dirty", which is older, but could also be connected with a group of Dravidian words beginning with *kal-* and meaning "agitation, making turbid".

These are words taken from Dravidian with their original cerebrals. But I wonder whether in some cases Dravidian words with cerebrals have not, as it were, helped to solve problems of Aryan phonetics.

The Sanskrit word *atati* is Aryan, as *atithiḥ* = Zd. *astiš* testifies; well, in Middle Indian intervocalic *-t-* was to weaken, then to disappear, the result being that the word was in danger of losing all definite shape. Now epic Sanskrit has *aṭati* (Manu *aṭyā* ?) which Kittel explains by Ca. *āṭu*: but the movements this word designates are more those of dancing, and I rather attribute to it the origin of *aṭṭahāsa*. But the Dravidian name of the "heel", Ta., Ca. *aḍi*, Te. *aḍugu* "foot, foot-step," which Mr. Amṛta Row has already connected with Pj. *aḍḍi*, Guj. H. *aḍi* (cf. too H. *aḍḍā* "heel of a shoe"), to which could be added names of the "sole", Ta. *aṭṭei*, Ca., Te. *aṭṭa*, may have furnished a pattern after which *atati* being modelled could also be preserved.

The same with the root *pat-*, which in R.V. seems to mean only

"to fly"; the corresponding Avestic word means "to fly" or "to rush"; the meaning of "falling", which is found in Greek, *πίπτω πεσοῦμαι*, appears in A.V. and in Brāhmaṇas. The reason of its absence in older Aryan texts I do not know; but what interests me now is that the Middle Indian and modern word is *paḍ-*. Now, *paḍu* means "falling" in Telugu, "lying" in Canarese and Tamil; compare Ca., Ta. *pāl*, Te. *pāḍu* "ruin." Only exceptionally will you find the cerebrals in derivatives with the meaning of "flying": Pāli *paṭāka* "flag", *paṭaṅga* "grasshopper".¹

Let us now consider words which are, or seem to be, real and complete borrowings from Dravidian. And this, first in Sanskrit.

Some are self-evident and well-known. To designate "water" R.V. has *apaḥ*, *vāri*, *udakam*. Later on new words appear: *toya* in the Nighaṇṭavaḥ and in MBh., *jala* which is usually connected with *galati*, *nīra*, *ambu*. In face of this *ambu* Dravidian offers only Kurukh *amm*: possibly an Aryan word; or else an homonymous word *ambu*, frequent in Dravidian, meaning "bow" or "arrow", would have been expelled by this one. But *nīra* is certainly Ca., Ta. *nīru*, Te. *nīḷu*; what the connection of this last word is with Brah. *ḍīr* on one side, and on the other side with Ca., Ta. *īr*, Te. *īmīri* "moisture", Gondi *yēr*, Kuvi *ēju*, lastly Kui *siro* "water", is not clear.

As to *toya*, it has been connected rightly by Kittel with Ca. *tuy-tōy-tō* "to be wet", to which add Ta. *tōy-* "to dip, plunge", possibly Go. *tōr-* "to pour", Kurukh *ṭuñā* "spout".

There are words for animals. As we spoke of water, let us begin with aquatic ones:

The old Aryan word for "fish" is *matsya*. *Mīna* is given by Amara and appears in Manu and MBh., not in Pāli, though, as far as we know; this is Ta., Ca., Go. *mīn*; Kui *mīnu*.

Musali (lex.) "alligator" and "house-lizard" is Te. *mosali*, Kuvi *mossali*; Ca. *mosale*, Ta. *mudalei*. In the northern languages we find Go. *mogrāl*, Kui *magori*, which seem to derive from Skr. *makara*. Kurukh *magrā* "a fish with a dart" can hardly be anything else. But what is *makara*? Has it anything to do with epic *nakra*, which in its turn recalls Can. *negaḷ*, "alligator", Te. *negaḷu*, "shark"?

¹ A third verbal root where cerebralization of a dental remains mysterious is R.V. *diyati*, Ś. Br. *ḍīṭara-*, MBh. *uddiyate*, P. *uddeti*. Here no Dravidian will help; but a crossing with the roots *ḍrā-*, *ḍru-*, is conceivable; cf. Kati *rudra-*, Lahnda *uddrā* brought forward by Professor Morgenstierne (*Report*, p. 60).

Now to quadrupeds :

Amara and MBh. have *heramba* = *Gaṇeśa*. In the *Mālatīm* it means "buffalo". This is, as Kittel has seen, Ta. *erumei*, Te. *erumu*, Ca. *emme*, to which we can add Go. *armī* and other kindred forms which are in favour of Dravidian origin: Ta. *ēr*, Tu. *eru*, Ta. *erudu*, Ca. *ettu*, Te. *eddu*, Kur. *aḍḍo* (original **ertu* or **erdu*).

Kittel has also confronted *eḍaka* (Kāt. Śr., Kauṭ.), P. *eḷaka*, with Ca., Ta. *āḍu*, Kui *ōḍa* "goat" (as to the vowel, cf. Ta. *elu*, Te. *elugu*: Kui *oli* "bear"), to which we add Tulu *ēḍu*, Te. *ēlika* "ram", Go. *yēṭi* and Brah. *hēṭ* "she-goat" (Kur. *ērā* is Aryan).

He proposes with diffidence to connect *sedhā* "porcupine" (Yajñ.; A.V. has *śvāvidh* "dog-wounding") with Te., Ca. *ēḍu*; he is certainly right, and we have here a case where Sanskrit has preserved the older form which actual Dravidian has corrupted.

I do not for the present put much weight on Skr. (lex.) *pālī* "louse" as compared to Ca., Te., Kur. *pēn*, Ta. *pēṇ* "louse", Kui *pēnu* "flea"; Go. *pārki* is nearer but obscure. Better seems the connection of Pāli *puḷava puḷuvaka*, late Skr. *pulaka* and a few others with Dravidian names of the "worm": Te. *purugu*, Ta. *puḷu*, Ca. *puḷa*, Kui *priu*, Kur. *poegō*, Brah. *pū*, "worm," Go. *puṛī*, the name of an insect.

In the realm of plants, some connections are probable but difficult to realize fully. Of R.V. *phālam* and Ta. *paḷam*, Ca. *paṇ*-, Te. *poṇḍu*, Ku. *panjkā* "fruit", Ku. *panj*-, Go. *paṇḍ*- "to ripen", which is the original? What is the link between A.V. *puṣpam* and Ta., Te. *pū*, Ca. *pūvu*, Kui *puju*, "flower," Go. *pōi*-, "to flourish"? Are Rām. Suśr. *kānanam* and even *kāntāra* in any way related to the family of Ta. *kā kāḍu*, Ca. *kāl*, Ta. *kāṇ* "forest" Ta. *kaṇṇu* "plant"? Lastly, is not *nālikera* Suśr., P. *nālikera* a Dravidian compound word? Ta. *kēḷi* is a rare substitute for *teṅgu* "the cocoanut tree"; on the other hand, Te. *nāra*, Ca. *nār*, Ta. *nāri* mean "fibre" and also "bowstring". I suspect there is some connection, but I dare not state it.

That names for animals or plants are borrowed locally is natural; it is more significant to find names of technicalities borrowed, and especially the name of the technique itself. Caldwell and Kittel have rightly compared Rām. *kalā* with Ta., Ca. *kal*-, Te., Go. *kar*- "to learn"; it may be that the name was taken at first with a special value, or with an affective one, something like "trick" in English. In any case, it shows that Aryan, which gave that name to the classical

collection of techniques, could not have considered Dravidian as savages.

They adopted probably some of their ways of dressing the hair : Kittel is, I think, right in quoting *kuntala* and *cūḍā* ; he might have added *cikura*, which recalls the root *cigi-cigur-*, " to sprout," and also Skr. *jaṭā*, H. *jūrā* ; and even *dādhikā* (Manu), H. *dārhī*, " beard," which neither phonetically nor semantically is easily explained by *daṁṣṭra* " tusk, fang ", but recalls the name for the " cheek " Ta. *tāl tādei tavaḍei*, Ca. *davaḍe*, Te. *davaḍa*. They learned also from the natives the use of the " fan " MBh. *vyajana*, P. *vījanī* to which the corresponding verb is *vījayati*. The correspondence is not regular in Sanskrit, and may be explained if we recognize in the verb the root of Ta. *vīsu*, Ca. *bīsu*, Te. *vīcu visaru* " to blow, fan, brandish ", Te. *vīvena* " fan ", *visanakarra visarukarra* " fanning stick, fan ".

They seem to have also adopted native names for small bodily inconveniences : lex. *kharjū*, Suśr. *kucchū* recall Ca. *kaṛcu*, Te. *kaṛacu*, Go. *kask-*, Kui *kasa* " to bite ", Ku. *zas-* " to scratch ", Brah. *xār-* " to itch ". *Gaṇḍa* Ait. " goitre ", Suśr. " boil ", is Te. *gaḍḍa* " bulbous root, goitre ", Te. *gaḍuvu* " hump ", Ca. *gaḍḍe* " lump, boil ", Ta. *kaḷalei* " excrescence, goitre ", possibly Te. *gaṭṭu* " mountain ".

I do not consider it improbable that MBh. and Pāli *maṇḍayati* " to decorate " has something in common with Ca. *māḍu* " to do ", Ta. *maṇ-* " to decorate, polish ", Ku. *mējh-* " to adorn ", Ta. *mādam* Te. *māḷige* " house ". So does MBh. *mañju* " lovely " recall Ta. *mañju* " beauty "; Ta. *mañju* " beautiful ", and *mañci* which in Telugu means " excellent " and is in Canara " a home for ladies ", Ta. *mangei* " girl ", Te. *mancu* " to preserve, cherish ".

So far not any of the Sanskrit words quoted for which we can safely surmise a Dravidian origin, belongs to the R̥gveda. I suspect the technique of grinding grain will furnish us with one.

A.V. and Pāli *mūsala* " pestle ", evidently a popular term, as appears from the *s* following *u*, and from the *l*, has been compared by Professor Wackernagel with A.V., v, 23, 8 *maṣmaṣākaram* and MS. *mṣmṣākṛ-*. There is no old root *mas-* or *mṣ-* meaning to " crush " ; on the other side, the words in question recall strongly Ca. *mase masagu* " to rub, grind, polish, sharpen ", Kur. *masmasr-* " to shampoo " (Hahn, not supported by Grignard), Go. *masol* " whetstone ", *masit-* " to sharpen " (Brahui *muṣṛ* is Baluchi) ; Hindi *masalnā* " to crush ", might have come independently from Dravidian too. Now, about the " mortar " : the mortar in which soma is

crushed is R.V. i, 28, 6, *ulākhala*, which recalls the Dravidian names of the "pestle" Ta. *ulakkei*, Toda *wask* (cf. Ta. *uli*, Toda *us-kal*, "fire-place"), Ca. *onake*; cf. Ca. *okkal*, "to thrash". It seems *mūsala* and *ulākhala* are both derivatives with a popular suffix *-ala*, of Dravidian words for "grinding", the latter having given a name for "pestle" to actual Dravidian languages, for "mortar" to the oldest form of Sanskrit.

I have laid stress on the popular character of these last words. There are adjectives and verbs which I believe have been borrowed from Dravidian in a more recent period, precisely by reason of their popular and therefore expressive character.

One of them, I think, is the root *bol-*, "to speak," which is used already in the Divyāvadāna, and which I am reluctant to explain by *bra-*; but we may compare Ta. *vagūḷi* "noise, sound", Ca. *baguḷu* *baguḷu* "to cry, bell", and perhaps Ca. *bobbe*, Te. *bobba* "cry". In Prakrit and in modern Indo-Aryan we find a root *her-* "to see", which is kept in northern Dravidian speeches, Brah. *hīr-*, Kur. *ēr-*, Go. *hur-*, Te. *iru-*. There are also some verbs indicative of movement in the modern languages: H. *tairnā* "to swim, float", has to my mind very little to do with the root *tar-* *tir-* "to pass over" but recalls Ca., Te. *tēl-* "to float", Brah. *tār* "swimming".¹ In the same way H. *gher* "circumference", H. *ghirnī*, M. *gherī* "giddiness", M. *ghirfi* "gyration", H. *ghirnī* "a wheel for twisting ropes", and many words of the same root recall Te. *giṛi* "circle" *giragira* "circularly" and also "to be giddy", which is again the meaning of Ta. *kirukiru*; Kur. *girgir-* "to make haste", Brah. *giḍḍ-* "to nod with sleep". There is a large group round H. *hīlnā*, M. *halnē*, G. *hālvū* "to be agitated" S. *halṇu* "to go", Pj. *hallnā*, H. *hālnā*, Kśm. *alarāvun* "to shake"; Hemacandra has already noted *halliaṃ calitum*, *hallaphaliaṃ śighram*, *halahalaṃ tumulaḥ kautukaṃ ca*; possibly H. *halū*, *halbā*, etc. "light" have to come here; also the names for the "wave" *halkā*, *hilak* *hīlkorā*, etc.: well, in Dravidian you have a set of verbs for "agitate", Ca. *ale*, Ta. *alei*, Ca. *alugu*, Ta. *alaṅgu*, Ca. *alaku alacu* "to shake", Te. *alacu* "to trouble", *alakana* "light, versatile", Kui *elki* "agile" (Smith; not given by Winfield), and lastly Te. *ala*, Ca. *ale*, Ta. *alei* "wave".

Of the adjectives I shall content myself by quoting one, which is rather usual, viz. M. *thaṇḍ*, H., Pj. *ṭhaṇḍā*, "cool." This can hardly be anything else than Ca., Ta. *taṇ*, "cool," cf. *taṇḍi*, Toda *taned*

¹ Professor Turner, however, suggests influence of *pairāś* (*pratir-*).

"coolness, wetness", Te., Ca. *taḍi* "wet". The variety of Dravidian forms and especially the movable character of the nasal are in favour of Dravidian origin for this word, which is included in colonial English *mulligatawny*, where the second element is a Tamil word meaning originally "cool water" and is a compound of the word to which Hindi owes *ṭhaṇḍā* and Sanskrit *nīram*.

These last instances are especially interesting as showing that Dravidian influence, as far as we know it from texts, is not restricted to older periods; if it be so, the Aryo-Dravidian problem becomes even more essential and fascinating.

In any case, one should not expect to find quantities of Dravidian words taken by Aryan languages in any period. The enormous bulk of Aryan words taken by Dravidian tongues, whether cultivated or not, testifies sufficiently to the recognized superiority of Aryan civilization. Similarly, in South American Spanish the number of words of native origin is comparatively small. All the more curious are the name *kalā* and the words we quoted along with it. You have seen what other kinds of words seem to have been taken: adjectives and verbs capable of affective value, names of animals or plants, that is nearly all.

But the consideration of the meanings is not all we have to note in these words. There are a few points of general importance which I think have to be mentioned before finishing.

Etymologies, as you know, are as a rule of two sorts: either they are self-evident, or they are a matter of probability and to a certain extent, of faith. I fear you will have noticed that a good many of those I have proposed to-day are of the second kind. This want of certitude is not entirely my fault. The fact is, we know too little of Dravidian phonology to reconstruct with a fair amount of exactness the old forms which Sanskrit or Middle Indian may have borrowed; and it is mainly so, because materials are missing, especially with northern Dravidian and Munda languages. But of this I shall deal to-morrow.

A consequence of this want of extensive vocabularies of uncultured languages is that we are for the present time at a loss in solving another problem. You may have noticed that, for many words quoted, we did find equivalents for Aryan words in southern Dravidian languages only. We cannot suppose that this is all due to the gap in our knowledge; for there are signs of a partial division of Dravidian vocabularies

between northern and southern dialects. Now that leads to the following question: when, where, how did Aryans come in contact with southern Dravidian languages? Are we to suppose that the languages of the Deccan came from Iran like Aryan ones? Some anthropologists believe so¹; and we have been led already to propose that hypothesis. But facts are against it, if Vedic has very little trace of Dravidian influence, and classical Sanskrit and Pāli much of it. Or shall we suppose that the words which appear in later texts were already in use among the real vernaculars before having been accepted by the written language? Allow me to leave the matter open.

One thing is certain, that is that at least during our era, Dravidian languages were spoken in the Deccan. Now, considering that people from all parts of India contributed to Sanskrit culture, the question may be raised whether foreign words were not imported into classical Sanskrit by individual literary men. I wonder whether inquiries made on particular works would not teach us something on the point, which is of interest for history of literature as such. What leads me to suspect that some of the words found in classical Sanskrit may be considered as provincialisms, rather than as real borrowings is this: some of the most characteristic borrowings I have quoted are missing in the vernaculars. *Soṇīra*, *toya*, *mīna*, *eḍaka*, *heramba* have disappeared, if they ever did really exist; they have not been found in Pāli (but for *eḍaka*), which is a comparatively popular language; the Hindi words, e.g. *pānī*, *machlī*, *meṃhā*, *bhaīs*, are the Sanskrit words.

But to pursue this problem we want a detailed knowledge and a chronology of Sanskrit vocabulary; I, at least, have not got it, and I fear there are not many means yet to make the research easy. So that in a way the most positive conclusion of our inquiry will be a strong consciousness of the want of extensive dictionaries of Dravidian and Munda, and of historical dictionaries and indexes for Sanskrit. But of this more to-morrow.

III

PRESENT REQUIREMENTS OF INDO-ARYAN RESEARCH

Of the fundamental and delicate problems facing the historian of Indo-Aryan languages, which we have been reviewing up till now, of course no full solutions can be expected on all points, as even in

¹ For instance, Heine-Geldern, in *Festschrift P.W. Schmidt*, p. 827 f.; from the linguistic point of view, see Professor Schrader's article, "Dravidisch und Uralisch": *ZfV*, iii, p. 81 ff.

countries where documents of all sorts abound, many problems still await solution. But part of our ignorance here is due to imperfect knowledge of facts and documents which can be found out or are already at hand. And I propose to-day, by way of conclusion, to give an idea of the ways by which new documents may be collected, or, what amounts to the same thing, put at the disposal of linguistic research in a convenient fashion: as it is easy to see that lots of linguistic details well-known to specialists will be of no use to the philologist, if specialists have not collected and prepared them for him, so that he may use them after having of course duly verified them in their contexts.

Now, such a preliminary work has been only partially done. You know it has been so with the Vedas, and especially with the R.V. which many generations of scholars have studied with patience and precision. Not only has Indian tradition, for once, preserved there a faithful text; but we have, among other works, Grassmann's vocabulary, a marvel of exactness, which a few mistakes of classification, easily discovered, do not prevent from remaining always up to date. Try to imagine where our science would be, did that vocabulary not exist; on the other hand, what new progress may be expected, when we get similar indices for the Yajurveda and later works. No wonder linguists have been mainly concerned with Vedic questions: not only the allurements of comparative philology, but also the excellence and handiness of the documents explain it; as the want of handy and critically sifted collections for later periods account partly for the comparative neglect in which later periods are held.

Let me just quote from Professor Edgerton's Preface to his dissertation on the *ka*-suffixes: "There is . . . no Sanskrit lexicon which even approaches the completeness which would be attained by good word-indices of the various works included. In the Veda . . . this deficiency is especially felt in the Sūtra and Upanishad periods. These seem to have been only scantily covered by the Peterburg lexicon . . . Fortunately, we now have in Colonel Jacob's excellent *Concordance* a word-list of the principal Upanishads; and from this have been extracted scores of words in *-ka* which would otherwise have been unnoticed. . . . These facts are mentioned as showing the crying need which exists for indices of the principal Vedic works. Until they are produced any such undertaking as the present one must rest for the most part on the more or less unstable ground of the dictionaries"; or else, we should add, personal inquiries being too slow and tiring,

only small groups of facts will have to be studied, small questions raised, small results aimed at. Now you have heard what Professor Edgerton has to say about later Vedic works : what is the case with classical Sanskrit ? Suppose we wish to investigate there, as a sequel to his work, the *ka*-suffix ; or the extension of a verbal group of forms, say, the middle voice, or the optative, or the perfect ; or even suppose we wish—a subject which should interest historians of literature as well—to define the different ways by which a poet like Kālidāsa produces out of a given vocabulary and a given grammar a style at once so personal and perfect. Nothing is left to us, but to examine a few passages selected haphazard, or to extract from an extensive reading some impressions statistically unfounded, philologically unverified ; very uncertain or even misleading proceedings these are.

So my first point is this : whether the *Petersburg Dictionary* of Boehtlingk and Roth—with its new supplement—gives or does not give an equivalent of the *New English Dictionary* or the Greek *Thesaurus*, we miss very badly indices of particular works : these indices being of course exhaustive, based on the best editions, and having even occasional recourse to MSS., and giving detailed references. As a minimum, at least, each editor ought to give a list of new words, or of those whose case is remarkable and whose form is incorrect according to grammatical rules. Some attempts have been made and are being made in that direction, not only for Sanskrit, but also for Pāli and Prākṛit works ; and it would indeed not be a bad thing to catalogue them, as one of my countrymen has recently done for Latin : but I fear, as things stand at present, the Sanskrit Catalogue of Indices would not take fifty-six pages like the Latin one.

Another work for which I beg to be allowed to plead as I have already done more than once, is a full list of Sanskrit words, taken from the *Petersburg Dictionary*, and from such indices as may exist, ranged according to the letters of the end. The native Kośas do it occasionally ; but the range of their list is very small ; Westergaard has done it for verbal roots ; but I am not concerned with roots, but with existing words, and especially derivatives. I know of only two indices made on this principle, these by Grassmann again and by Whitney, both dealing only with Veda. Now, historians of the Latin language know what benefit, what amount of knowledge, and what saving of time they owe to Gradenwitz's *Laterculi*. I am confident such a reverse dictionary I think of,

especially if combined with particular indices as specified before, would at once allow Sanskrit philology to make a new bound forward, because it would give both documents and the chronology of them : subjects of study and means of explanation will come out of it, which we can at the most only imagine now. Let me just, for the sake of example, quote a small instance from Latin : in that language, there is a group of names in *-cen* (designating mainly musical players) : *tubicen*, from *tuba* ; *tibicen*, from *tibia* ; *liticen*, from *lituus*, and so on : they are not all formed on the same principles, so phoneticians had to construct, as usual, nice by-laws to explain these which look irregular. But Professor Ernout has had recourse (in the *Mélanges Vendryes*) to a quite different method, which a view of the whole collection of similar words and chronological considerations allowed : *oscen* (*obs-*), which is also used for the feminine (a sign of antiquity), is an old religious term ; *tubicen*, which is regular, is in fact old too ; and so also, *cornicen*, the name of the player of the incurvated trumpet as opposed to the straight one ; on the pattern of these, the soldiers fabricated the name of the *liticen*, who played on the crosier-like trumpet ; later, when Greek fashion introduced female players, *tibicina* and *fidicina* appeared. And so on ; names in *-cen*, verbs in *-cino*, names in *-cinium* being ranged according to their appearance in Latin, are explained by mutual influences, not by fixed laws.

But it is time to leave Sanskrit and consider the modern vernaculars. There are of course reasons of fact which prevent us from building their internal history, and a comparison with studies concerning mediaeval and modern Europe would be very unfair : here we have plenty of old MSS. of all sorts of works, not only literary but also historical and technical ; not speaking of the glosses and of the innumerable public and private documents, a mass of them already published in print. In India, we may hope to find some help in the documents kept in the daftars ; and as a historian of renown told me that much was still to be found in exploring the *Epigraphia Indica*, I suppose linguistic data may be gathered there to. But it is only in a Non-Aryan language that we have a complete set of deeds, dating from the eleventh century onwards, viz. in Nevāri ; and models of deeds, like the *Lokaprakāśa* of Kṣemendra (seventeenth century) or the *Lekhapaddhati* published in the Gaekwad's Oriental Series (fifteenth century) are brilliant exceptions in Indo-Aryan, not

sufficiently explored either, though. On the whole, we are reduced to literary works, especially for the mediaeval period. What help can we derive from them for the present?

Now, not only, as we shall see, are full indexes absent, not only are the vernacular dictionaries far from the standard of the *Petersburg Dictionary* or the *New English Dictionary* (the last one, which is one of the best, if not the best, I mean the Hindi *Śabdasaṅgar*, gives only occasional and partial references to written works, and with no precision): what is worse, the *texts* are intrinsically open to suspicion, and editors generally take no heed of their duty in that matter. There are a few exceptions; one of the most conspicuous being the *Śrīkṛṣṇakīrtan* of Candīdās edited by Basant Ranjan Rai. But his was a piece of special luck; usually, the textual tradition would be difficult to reconstruct: here a work has been discovered, which having been lost from sight since the seventeenth century, escaped copying and rehandlings and was miraculously preserved in MSS. of—said to be of—the fourteenth century. But look at the fate of Tukārām, a comparatively modern author (he dates from the seventeenth century): the edition considered the best (Īndu Prakāś) has been made from MSS. which are not described; one of them being *said* to have been written by Tukārām's eldest son, another by Gangājī, his disciple; another recent edition (by V. L. Bhawe) has been prepared from one MS. of which photographs have been published: it is signed by Santājī Telī, and dated from some time before Tukā's death; I don't know whether the MS. has been accepted by scholars as authentic; what I know is that there is no historical palaeography of Marathi which would allow anyone to be convinced of it. Unfortunately, such palaeographical studies are absent in other parts of India too; so I may be allowed to recall the necessity of giving the history of the texts as a frame to the history of the works, and consequently of the languages; I suppose there are in each province a sufficient number of dated MSS. to help in fixing the time of undated ones with a certain amount of probability: but scholars are wanting to pursue that study.

Let us return to Marathi. Tukārām is very interesting indeed: but what help would we not derive from an authentic text of Nāmdev or Jñāndev! To speak of the latter only, the most archaic text of the Jñāneśvarī we have is that revised by Eknāth in 1506, that is, three centuries after the work was written. The late V. K. Rajwade has, it is true, published a MS. which according to him, dated from the

thirteenth century : but his proofs were really arguments and hypotheses, and I think have not been accepted : so that we get here nothing substantial.

So much for the MSS. ; as to the editions, some are careful enough ; but what about indices ? There are indices of Jñāneśvarī containing those words which are difficult and fallen out of use ; one of them at least has got exact references ; none is complete, so that there is really no means of establishing the true usage and meaning of the words by comparing different contexts. As to Tukārām, there is, or at least, there was, in Poona a Tukārām Society, of which the late Sir R. G. Bhandarkar has been a leader ; he used to comment upon the songs of Tukārām in the meetings of the Society, certainly from the ethical standpoint, probably from the point of view of the language also : but no dictionary of Tukārām's work, no index of any sort has been published, if I am not mistaken, by the Tukārām Society.

Similar observations could be made about other literatures. We shall leave aside the edition of the Padumāwati of Muhammad Jaisī, which was the beginning of a magnificent work—no wonder, it was due to Sir George Grierson. The Nāgarī Pracāriṇī Sabhā has published an old MS. of Tulsī Dās, given an index of the difficult words again, nothing more. And what has been done for the Granth Sāheb, that modern Veda, a fundamental document of modern India ? Since Trumpp, nothing.

Let us take an example from a poet who has been treated with a certain amount of care, as he is very popular, viz. Kabīr.

That excellent scholar, Babu S. S. Dās, to whom a volume has recently been dedicated as a commemoration of the completion of the Great Śabdasāgar, some time ago published an edition of Kabīr's Granthāvalī, which is a faithful reproduction of a MS. dated A.D. 1504. The principle of reproducing faithfully an old MS. is excellent ; and the philologist will find there, if not Kabīr's own words, at least a direct testimony of the language and the orthography of the beginning of the sixteenth century. I mean, if the date given for the MS. is correct ; but from the photo which the Editor has given, it is easy to discover that the date has been written by a different hand from the rest. Possibly these two hands are contemporary ; but Babu S. S. Dās does not solve the problem, and, as I told you, I have no means of solving it by myself. Moreover, there is an introduction, and an interesting one : but no commentary.

You will find commentaries—but no indices—in the older edition of the *Bijak* by Rājā Viśvanāth Singh, and in the recent one made after “five old MSS.”, lying in Kabīrcaurā by a Kabīr Panthī, Bicārdās Śāstrī. Commentaries are useful, and so are current translations. I am not entitled to speak of the philosophical interpretations; but the principles of literal translations in those editions are not given either, although it would be often useful to know them. To give an example: there are places where Kabīr uses technical terms taken from his calling of a *julāhā*. In interpreting them, in a majority of cases, editors differ, and so also the Hindī Śabdasāgar. And we do not know which were the principles, which the sources written or living, where they took their translations from; we cannot distinguish what is due to reasoning and conjecture, what to direct knowledge. For my own part, I have been able to understand a few terms by referring to that admirable book, Sir George’s *Bihar Peasant Life*: a book which gave forty years ago in India the model of a type of researches that have only since been developed in Europe, and with very great success; as you know, it is a full catalogue of technical terms, with explanations and pictures; it is a pity that since it appeared nobody cared to make another book on the same pattern; there ought to be many. As I happened to mention it because of Kabīr, let me just ask whether in comparing weaver’s technical terms in different provinces of the North, a good clue would not have been found to interpret those terms I was mentioning; there is a chance also that the same inquiry might throw indirectly some light on the Panjabisms which Babu S. S. Dās rightly notices in the middle of the Purbī of Kabīr.

The mention of a book devoted to living speech may lead me to the second part of my subject. We have been so far concerned with literature and books; another vast field is open to linguistic workers, and cannot be neglected; that is, the country itself and the languages as spoken.

Much has been done here already; owing to the activities of civilians, officers, political agents, missionaries, and native scholars, it may be said that, from the linguistic point of view, India ranks among the countries of the world which have been explored the best. No other large portion of the earth can boast of any so extensive and methodically uniform description as the one you see collected in the volumes of the Linguistic Survey of India. That will long give a

basis and a frame to linguistic studies in India. Since the compiler of it is also the discoverer of many forms of speech and the author of many other works (among which I shall just mention his magnificent Kaśmiri dictionary in progress and again this model of a local inquiry, the *Bihar Peasant's Life*); so I am sure he would not be the last to ask for furthering and deepening of the study.

I feel shy in giving suggestions to that purpose; as I constantly recall Goethe's word, who said one should give advice only when prepared to co-operate and share responsibilities. Nevertheless, I do not think it may be useless to review some of the questions open, which await workers.

I shall start by recalling the resolution adopted by the Congress of Linguists held at The Hague a year ago and repeated, with special reference to India, by the Oxford Oriental Congress, viz. a request for collecting all that is possible of the languages in danger of disappearing soon.¹ This in India is a particularly burning question as regards non-literary Dravidian and Munda languages: we have very good grammars of them, but miss more good dictionaries like those we have for Kurukh or Santal; and the number of long, *spontaneous* texts, taken down methodically from the lips of the people, ought to be increased. No thorough study of reciprocal influences between Aryan and those families of languages will be possible till then; of course, more general questions are involved by their study; and Indian people and powers are responsible for it. The matter is not limited to non-civilized language; a splendid monograph completed by a long series of texts of an Indian dialect spoken in England, the Welsh Gypsy, shows what could be done for dialects of the Aryan tongues in India; numerous useful lists of localisms here appeared from time to time in the *Bangya Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* for instance. Recent news shows that there is even field for complete discovery, e.g. in the Hindu Kush and Himalayan regions. I understand that Lieut.-Col. Lorimer, one of those who have given models of patient, modest and thorough work of that sort, in those regions, is going to Paris in a few days to represent India in a committee summoned by the Hague Commission of Linguistics, so I may lay the matter with him.² I might just recall some types and objects of study which, apart from the Hague scheme, might be of interest to students.

¹ See now *Proceedings of the XVIIIth Intern. Congress of Orientalists, Oxford, 1928*, pp. 75, 76, and 106.

² See Appendix.

I wish to emphasize two special points : viz. the application of geographical method to Indian linguistics, and the influence of social distribution in the languages.

The importance of geographical maps for special linguistic facts—maps of the different forms taken by the same word, or of the different ways of expressing the same object or idea—cannot be overrated ; it is not my duty to show here what immense progress has been made in Romance philology since the monumental *Atlas linguistique de la France*, by Gilliéron, was published, commented on by himself and his pupils. Recently a further advance has been made in Messrs. Jud & Jaberg's *Sprach- und Sachatlas Italiens und der Südschweiz* now in progress, where special stress is laid on *realia*, pictures of objects being added to purely linguistic maps. I really think that, if a young Indian scholar left his Indian studies temporarily and spent some time in following the work of Western linguistic geographers, that time would after all not have been lost for him or for his motherland.

Of course, it is not to be hoped that such a work, which must be done on a continuous country, could be extended at once to all India, not even to all Aryan India. The best scheme would be to confine it to smaller parts (but with a view to connecting it with the scheme of a universal inquiry proposed by the Hague committee) ; even then, one may be confident that such studies would necessarily lead to discoveries of new facts, to explanation of facts already known, and what is perhaps better even, to unexpected problems.

But there is a special difficulty with India, which has to be considered. It is a matter of common experience among Western linguistic geographers that the best method in a given place is to take down answers given to a prepared questionnaire by one witness only—of course, it wants much care to choose that witness : and I may in passing mention and show you a guide on this and on the numerous questions connected with linguistic inquiries, which has been published at Paris, and recommended by the Hague Congress.¹ But in India, that method would often be misleading, because the living together of men of different tribes, communities or castes amounts to a rule and brings together many forms of speech. So that the geographical method will have to be adapted somehow to Indian conditions.

¹ *Instructions d'enquête linguistique ; Questionnaire linguistique*, published by the Institut d'ethnologie de l'Université de Paris (they have been prepared by Professor M. Cohen).

The influence of the social distribution of language is indeed a most important subject in India, and whether inquiries are done on geographical principles or on the shape of monographs of any kind, it must be brought into the foreground. It may be surmised that the consideration of castes will not only give a better view of the facts of to-day, but help to the explanation of the past. Not much has been done yet in this direction; I may mention that more than twenty years ago I made on the advice of my master, Professor Meillet, a small inquiry on such points in the Tamil country; the article embodying my results received the honour of being proposed as a text for counter-inquiries in a Census of India, but its significance is even to myself little more than of a programme. It so happens that an article (in French) appeared a few weeks ago on similar questions, which I take the liberty of showing and recommending to you. It deals with the fate of French words recently borrowed in Rumanian¹; you will see that their forms are different among different classes of people, and why e.g. among the peasants the French original may be preserved in a more faithful fashion than among the town people. If typical facts depending on the influence of the distribution of population can be found in Europe, what cannot be expected from inquiries in India! They may, of course, both help to understanding of the languages of India, and contribute to the general theory of language.

May I add that such inquiries could also be occasionally more than a matter of mere scholarship? Let me, for once, allude to a burning practical question, where of course I shall not interfere; but as Professor Meillet has said, "the function of the scholar is not to lead, but to enlighten those whose duty is to act." The day before yesterday, I told you about the origin of Urdu; I avoided as much as possible the name Hindustani, which, as denoting a unit in which Urdu and modern Hindi are both included, is little more for the present than a myth of Western origin, and to some Indians a utopia. I quite see the benefit northern India would derive from its realization for its mental unity and its popular education: towards that goal controversies on Hindi *versus* Urdu have done and will do little. As long as books for the people are not written with the same vocabulary in both Nāgarī and Arabic scripts, the goal will not be reached; as you know, the German language is the same, whether in Roman or

¹ Graur, "Les mots récents en roumain": *Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique*, xxix, p. 122 ff.

Gothic garb; but the case is not the same for Urdu and Hindi. Now there have been prepared at twenty years' distance two tentative scientific vocabularies, one in Hindi by Babu S. S. Dās, one in Urdu by members of the Anjuman i Taraqqī e Urdū: it is really sad to see how little they agree. I know very well that Indians work here under a special disadvantage; the vernaculars having not been cultivated for a long time, technical vocabularies must be taken from classical languages; moreover, Western sciences come here all together, so there is a tremendous mass of notions to absorb and words to coin at one time (Chinese, as you know, although an ancient cultivated language, is confronted by the same difficulties). I know well, too, that the vocabulary of European medicine, for instance, is full of old Greek: but in Europe it is the same Greek you find in different languages (say, in French and English): but think of the progress of studies and of popular education in England, if for ordinary terms of medicine or physics half the people had Greek terms, the other half Latin or old Teutonic ones! Now, such being the case, I wonder whether disinterested students of linguistics could not help well-wishers of their country by starting among the less cultured masses and in ordinary conversations of the towns an inquiry to determine the terms already in common use for anatomy, physics, botany, and so on: educational writers could take account of their results, and that might give at least a first basis for a popular technical language.

I hope I shall be excused for intruding into practical matters; my main object was to point out the manifold value of linguistic inquiries into living speech, and the importance of social divisions. Allow me in finishing just to mention some of the numerous other questions worthy of study.

First and essential: instrumental phonetics. I am aware there are now scattered in India a bunch of scholars well equipped as regards this branch of science; but I think, they have no special laboratories in which to work. I hope the time will soon come when Indian Universities will awaken to the sense of their duty in that matter. We here cannot imagine linguistic studies, whether descriptive or historical, not being based on, or completed by palatograms, inscriptional records of the voice, phonograms, and so on. I was surprised to hear recently that there are not in India, not even in London, palatograms of Dravidian languages; I doubt whether there are many Aryan ones. I am pleased to show you that a start at least has been made in Paris: here is a recent description of Bengali cerebrals by

a Tehekish scholar.¹ I wonder, to mention it in passing, whether recent controversies about Indian cerebrals would not have led scholars to a better agreement, had photos of palatograms of various parts of India been at their disposal. It may be hoped, too, that instrumental phonetics will help to detect influences of those languages which have been replaced by the actual languages, in the same way one has detected Etruscan characteristics in Italian of Toscana. Many more discoveries are to be expected from the same method, which is both practical and sedentary, and may please those students of language who dislike historical and bookish work and at the same time exploration and travel.

Of a more general character are studies which are not extensively pursued in Europe, but for which comparison of various civilizations would be of great importance. I think, for instance, of the progress of acquisition of the language among children; or the pathological aspects of the speech among the insane. The value of the studies already existing on the matters would be very much enhanced, were the general processes of acquisition and disintegration distinguished from their local features.

It was not my purpose to put before you a detailed list of subjects worthy of study; possible subjects are much more numerous, and have to be chosen according to circumstances and persons; my purpose has been to show you the most typical and urgent of the many important tasks open to Indo-Aryan philology. You may think, perhaps, it was rather the duty of a deeper scholar and of one less exclusively concerned with books than the present lecturer is; but you must admit that his imperfect knowledge of the many subjects he has come across puts him in a very good position to appreciate the difficulties involved in them; let those whom age, circumstances and courage enable to carry the work further listen to his call and help forward the progress of linguistic science.

APPENDIX

I am indebted to Lieut.-Col. Lorimer for the following account of the proceedings which subsequently took place in Paris and of the present situation. The meeting referred to took place in Paris on the 14th and 15th of June, 1929.

On the invitation of the "Comité International Permanent de Linguistes" (resulting from the Hague Linguistic Congress), some

¹ E. Šrámek, "Les consonnes rétroflexes du bengali": *Revue de Phonétique*, v, 1928, pp. 206-59.

sixteen European scholars, distinguished in the study of the principal groups of languages of the world, there met and constituted themselves into the "Commission d'Enquête Linguistique". They then discussed the principal aims to be kept in view in seeking to promote linguistic research, and the methods to be adopted in pursuing them. The results of these discussions were embodied in resolutions.

In addition to this, lists were drawn up of the languages in all quarters of the globe which most urgently stand in need of investigation, whether because of the probability of their total disappearance at an early date, or because of their known intrinsic importance in relation to outstanding linguistic problems, or because some knowledge of them is essential to the filling up of large blanks in the linguistic map of the world.

It is impossible here to refer to these resolutions or to these lists of languages in detail, but it may be mentioned that in the Indian sphere the following languages were mentioned as especially standing in need of study or the publication of results: most of the Munda and of the Dravidian non-literary languages, the isolated Burushaski language in the Hindu Kush, and other languages in the same region, the Brahui of Baluchistan, and the language of the Nicobar Islands. The tones existing in certain Tibeto-Burman languages were also mentioned as calling for study and record.

In the practical sphere it was recognized that the success of the movement must largely depend on the extent to which it is possible to awaken the interest of the principal Governments of the world and to enlist their active assistance in supplying financial resources, in finding suitable investigators and in publishing the results of work done.

Before all this, in the immediate foreground, stands the necessity of obtaining for the C.E.L. that modicum of financial support required for administrative expenses without which it cannot function efficiently, nor, indeed, maintain any semblance of active existence.

The immediate problem therefore with which its members are faced is that of obtaining small subventions from the various Governments concerned, which in the aggregate will suffice to secure the Commission from death by starvation. In England as a preliminary measure appeals have been made for the support of academic and learned bodies and individual scholars, and these appeals have met with a very warm response. It is hoped that this weighty support may not be without its effect on the official minds which it is ultimately desired to impress.

義山雜纂

THE MISCELLANEA OF I-SHAN: A LITTLE-KNOWN
WORK OF LI SHANG-YIN

Edited and Translated by E. D. EDWARDS

“**L**I SHANG-YIN 李商隱 (T. I-shan 義山) A.D. 813-858.
A native of Ho-nei in Honan. Graduated as *chin shih* in 837.
Rose to be a Reader in the Han-lin College, and distinguished himself
as a poet and a scholar.” (Giles, *Biographical Dictionary*, 1188.)

“Li Shang-yin. A poet and miscellanist.” (Mayers, *Chinese
Reader's Manual*, 364.)

Wang An-shih (Giles, *BD.*, 2134) (A.D. 1021-1086) is reputed to
have said that of all the men of the T'ang period the only one capable
of fully appreciating the great Tu Fu was this same Li Shang-yin.

Born in A.D. 813, he lived during the reigns of no fewer than six
sovereigns of the T'ang Dynasty and died some ten years after the
birth of Alfred the Great. According to the *T'ang ts'ai tzü* 唐才子
in his early days he called himself Yü-ch'î Tzû 玉溪子 or Yü-ch'î
Shêng 玉溪生. He wrote in a style of his own which later became
known as the *hsi-k'un* style from the fact that Yang I (Giles, *BD.*,
2387) and others of the Sung Dynasty including Liu Yün-shih 劉筠
石 made a collection of their poems all in the style of Shang-yin and
published it under the title *Hsi K'un ch'ang ch'ou chi* 西崑唱酬集.

Li I-shan's poetry was considered equal to that of Wên T'ing-yün
溫庭筠 and their names were usually coupled, but while Wên
sang of women and beauty, Li, moved by the evils of his time, chose
themes of a more serious nature, with the object of influencing and
reforming his readers. That his poems were esteemed is evidenced
by the fact that the *T'ang shih chien chu* 唐詩箋註, a selection
of the poems of the most celebrated writers of the T'ang period published
in 1732, contains twenty-eight specimens of his verse, a number
exceeded only in the case of Tu Fu himself and equalled in only one
other instance.

According to the *T'ang ts'ai tzü* there are extant four collections of
Li's works ¹:—

1. *The Fan-nan Collection*, Series 1, in 20 *chüan*. *The Fan-nan
Collection*, Series 2, in 20 *chüan*.

¹ 有樊南甲集二十卷、乙集二十卷、玉溪生詩
三卷、初自號玉溪子、又賦一卷、文一卷。

2. *The Poems of Yü-ch'i Shêng*, in 3 *chüan*.
3. *Poetical Works*, in 1 *chüan*.
4. *Prose Writings*, in 1 *chüan*.

These have been found in the following editions:—

1. *Fan-nan wên chi hsiang chu* 樊南文集詳註. A Collection of Writings from Fan-nan by Li I-shan. With explanations and notes. Compiled by Fêng Mêng-t'ing 馮孟亭. Edited by Chu Chou-wang 朱周望 and others. 1765.
2. *Yü-ch'i Shêng shih chien chu* 玉谿生詩箋註. Poems of Yü-ch'i Shêng 玉谿生.¹ With commentary. Edited by Fêng Hao 馮浩. 8 *chüan*. 1767.
- 2a. *Yü-ch'i Shêng shih hsiang chu* 玉谿生詩詳註. Collection of the Poetry of Yü-ch'i Shêng. With explanations and notes. Compiled by Fêng Mêng-t'ing. Edited by Hu Tzû-chien 胡子健. 3 *chüan*. 1780.
3. *Li I-shan shih chi* 李義山詩集. A Collection of the Poetry of Li I-shan. Edited with notes by Chu Hao-ling 朱鶴齡. 3 *chüan*. 1659.
- 3a. *Li I-shan shih chi chien chu* 李義山詩集箋註. Collected Poems of Li I-shan. With running commentary. Edited by Yao P'ei-ch'ien 姚培謙. 16 *chüan*. 1739.
4. *Li I-shan wên chi chien chu* 李義山文集箋註. A Collection of the Prose Writings of Li I-shan, with explanatory note, in 4 *chüan*, 10 chapters, edited by Hsü Shu-lin 徐樹琳 and Hsü Ch'ung 徐炯. 1708.

This collection comprises chiefly memorials, admonitions and other works of an official character, Li having held a post in the Board of Works as well as his Readership in the Han-lin College.

The Miscellanea of I-shan, being quite unofficial in character, is not included in any of these collections but is preserved in the *T'ang tai ts'ung shu* 唐代叢書,² a collection of reprints of works written during the T'ang period.

The *Miscellanea* is a collection of more than four hundred pithy

¹ *T'ang ts'ai tsü hua* 玉谿生. 辭源 says the two are synonymous.

² In former times a collection of 144 works was made by a recluse of Tao-yüan and to this compilation were added twenty volumes during the reign of Ch'ien Lung (1736-1796). The date of the original compilation is not known.

sayings grouped under forty-one heads. Of no great literary merit, the book is yet interesting as a reflection of the manners of the period in which it was written, while as a manual of etiquette and morals it might well serve in modern China. Portrayed there also we find the same love of beauty, the same connection between a magnificent view and wine and poetry, the same taste for flowers as characterize the Chinese of the present day.

Western writers have tended to emphasize the difference between China and the West, while the Chinese thought themselves a race apart, but the *Miscellanea* might apply, save in the non-essentials of outward circumstances, almost as well to the West as to the East.

The style is terse and generally simple and there are comparatively few groups in which sentences of the same form recur throughout the group. It is as though the author, having heard, for example, the neigh of a noble steed (14, 1), or chanced to pass through a courtyard and see *lichee* shells lying strewn about, jotted these down as indications of luxury and added to his list from time to time; or returning from a feast spread out of the breeze on a hot day (17, 6) wrote it down as a disheartening event. (There is, by the way, a curious dislike of hot weather to which no fewer than eight references occur.) Another noticeable feature of the style is the vividness of the pictures conjured up by the phrases used. Sounds that are unbearable: a lonely house and gibbons crying; Unendurable: going home to a hating wife; Annoyances: for the lights to fail just when the luck begins to favour one—these, surely, are real, not imaginary, experiences of the author.

The meaning of the sayings seems clear enough and, with a few exceptions, no explanations have been given. In the versions to which I have had access there are only three unimportant variations in the text, these occurring in 13, 3: "poor" for "not known to fame"; 25, 12: "spoons and chopsticks on the bowl" for "to cross chopsticks, etc."; and 29, 4: *chien*: mean for *chéng jên*: witness.

1. 必不來

1. 醉客逃席
2. 客作偷物去
3. 追王侯家人
4. 把棒呼狗
5. 窮措大喚妓女

1. *Never Again!*

1. The intoxicated guest deserting the feast.
2. The guests making off with the spoons.
3. Noblemen's servants being dunned.
4. Whistling up a dog with a stick in one's hand.
5. A hard-up scholar inviting singing-girls.

2. 不相稱

1. 窮波斯
2. 病醫人
3. 不解飲弟子
4. 庾人相撲
5. 肥大新婦
6. 先生不識字
7. 屠家念經
8. 社長乘涼橋
9. 老翁入娼家

2. *Incongruities*

1. A poor Persian.
2. A sick physician.
3. A (Buddhist) disciple addicted to drink.
4. Keepers of granaries coming to blows.¹
5. A great fat bride.
6. An illiterate teacher.
7. A pork butcher reciting scriptures.²
8. A village elder riding in an open chair.³
9. A grandfather visiting courtesans.

3. 差不出

1. 新婦失禮
2. 相撲人面腫
3. 富人乍貧
4. 處子犯物議
5. 重孝醉酒

¹ Too well-fed to fight.² I.e. "Classics" or possibly Buddhist Sutras.³ Peculiar to military officials.

3. *Shameful*

1. The newly-wed careless of the proprieties.
2. Bruisers' puffy faces.
3. A rich man suddenly poor.¹
4. A virgin forgetting the conventions.
5. A truly filial son getting drunk.²

4. 怕人知

1. 匪人子女
2. 犯人愛寵
3. 透稅
4. 賊贓

4. *Guilty Secrets*

1. Kidnapping another's children.
2. Seducing another's concubine.
3. Dodging the Customs.
4. A robber's cache.

5. 不嫌

1. 饑得粗食
2. 徒行得劣馬
3. 行久得坐次
4. 渴飲冷漿
5. 行急得小船
6. 遇雨得小屋

5. *Not to be Despised*

1. Coarse food when hungry.
2. A poor steed when travelling afoot.
3. Any seat after a long tramp.
4. Cold broth to drink when thirsty.
5. A small boat when travelling in haste.
6. A small house in a storm.

¹ The wealthy are respected and loss of wealth involves loss of respect.

² Cf. 30, 3, 4, characteristics of filial piety.

6. 遲滯

1. 新婦見客
2. 窮漢餓率
3. 貧家嫁娶
4. 謁致仕官
5. 孕婦行步

6. *Reluctant*

1. The newly-wed to entertain guests.
2. A poor devil to contribute to a feast.
3. A poor family to make marriages.
4. To visit retired officials.
5. A pregnant woman to go afoot.

7. 不得已

1. 忍病飲酒
2. 大暑赴會
3. 掩意打兒女
4. 流汗行禮
5. 忍病灼艾
6. 爲妻罵愛寵
7. 冒暑迎謁
8. 老乞休致
9. 窮寺院待客

7. *Against the Grain*

1. Drinking wine when ill.
2. Attending meetings in hot weather.
3. Beating children without explanation.
4. Being ceremonious when sweating.
5. Being cauterized when in pain.
6. Abusing one's concubine at the behest of one's wife.
7. Exchanging visits in the heat.
8. Applying to resign on account of old age.
9. Entertaining guests in a miserable temple.

8. 相似

1. 京官似冬瓜暗長
2. 鴉似措大饑寒則吟
3. 印似嬰兒常隨身
4. 縣官似虎動則害人
5. 尼姑似鼠入深處
6. 燕似尼姑有伴方行
7. 婢似貓煖處便住

8. *Resemblances*

1. A metropolitan official, like a winter melon, grows in the dark.
2. A raven, like a hard-up scholar, croaks when hungry and cold.
3. A seal, like an infant, always hangs about one.
4. A magistrate, like a tiger, is vicious when disturbed.
5. Nuns, like rats, go into deep holes.
6. Swallows, like nuns, must go in pairs.
7. A slave, like a cat, finding any warm corner, stays.

9. 不如不解

1. 措大解音則廢業
2. 婦人解詩則犯物議
3. 僧解飲則犯戒
4. 劣奴解識字則作過
5. 子弟解燒煉則貧
6. 士人解手藝則卑污

9. *Better Left Alone*

1. When a hard-up scholar takes to music he ruins his career.
2. When a woman takes to poetry she offends against convention.
3. When a priest takes to drink he breaks his vows.
4. When a wretched slave takes to reading he makes mistakes.
5. When a young man takes to alchemy he invites poverty.
6. When a scholar takes to trade he demeans himself.

10. 惡不久

1. 夫婦爭小事
2. 罵愛寵
3. 大僚門客發怒
4. 臧濫官打罵公人

10. *Passing Hates*

1. Squabbles between man and wife.
2. Finding fault with a concubine.
3. Bad temper shown by underlings of a high official.
4. Abuse of his staff by a corrupt official.

11. 惱人

1. 遇佳味脾家不和
2. 終夜歡飲酒罇却空
3. 方謁上官忽背癢
4. 賭博方勝油盡難尋
5. 遣不去無賴窮親

11. *Tantalizing*

1. Happening upon a delicious odour when one's liver is out of order.
2. Making a night of it and the drinks giving out.
3. For one's back to itch when calling upon a superior.
4. For the lights to fail just when the luck begins to favour one at cards.
5. Inability to get rid of a worthless poor relation.

12. 失本體

1. 不學發遣書題失子弟體
2. 吊孝不哀失因禮體
3. 不收拾碗器家事口中不喃喃失老婢體
4. 送客不出門失主人體
5. 不闌腰不持刀砧失厨子體
6. 不點檢學生作課念書失先生體
7. 不口打口嗎失節級體
8. 早晚不點檢門戶家私失家長體
9. 僕子著鞋襪衣服寬長失僕子體
10. 逃席後不傳語謝主人失賓客體
11. 唱小喏行步遲緩失武官體

12. *The Name without the Reality*

1. A student who does not study the appointed themes is not a student.
2. A mourner who feels no grief when condoling with the bereaved is not a mourner.

3. An old servant who neither tidies things away nor chatters about family affairs is not an old servant.
4. A host who escorts a guest no further than the door is not a host.
5. A cook without an apron or a knife and chopping-block is not a cook.
6. A teacher who does not correct his pupil's exercises and studies is not a teacher.
7. Underlings who do not squabble and curse are not underlings.
8. A head of a family who does not check his possessions regularly is not a head.
9. A servant who is slovenly in his dress is not a servant.
10. A guest who sends his host no word of thanks after a feast is not a guest.
11. An officer who mutters replies and marches lazily is not an officer.

13. 隔壁閒語

1. 說所送物好還麼必是不佳
2. 新娶婦却道是前緣必是醜
3. 說太公八十遇文王必是不達
4. 說食祿有地必是差遣不好
5. 說隨家豐儉必是待客不成禮數
6. 說屋子住得恰好必是小狹
7. 咒罵祖先必是家計不成

13. *Ambiguity*¹

1. Only of a poor gift does one say, "Can it be repaid?"
2. Only of an ugly bride does one say, "She is my fate!"
3. Only of a nobody does one say, "T'ai Kung met Wên Wang at eighty."²
4. Only of a poor appointment does one say, "It's a place to make a living."
5. Only to be rude to a guest does one say, "Make yourself at home."

¹ Lit. a screen between what is said and what is heard.

² T'ai Kung, a high state official, retired into exile to avoid the tyranny of Chou Hsin, last ruler of the Hsia Dynasty. Years later Wên Wang, founder of the Chou Dynasty which overthrew the Hsia (1122 B.C.), saw T'ai Kung (who was then eighty years old) fishing and invited him to become his chief adviser.

6. Only of a poor dwelling does one say, "It's quite all right to live in."
7. Only those incapable of making a living for themselves rail at their ancestors.

14. 富貴相

1. 駿馬嘶
2. 蠟燭淚
3. 栗子皮
4. 荔枝殼
5. 落花飛
6. 鶯燕語
7. 讀書聲
8. 遺下花鈿
9. 高樓上吹笛
10. 擣藥碾茶聲

14. *Indications of Prosperity*

1. The neigh of a noble steed.
2. The guttering of a candle.
3. Chestnut husks.¹
4. *Lichee* shells.¹
5. Flowers flying.
6. The twittering of orioles and swallows.²
7. The sound of reading aloud.³
8. To lose a hair-ornament.
9. Lute playing in a lofty belvedere.³
10. The sound of pounding drugs and rolling tea.

15. 謾人語

1. 說風塵有情
2. 說燒煉致富
3. 說在官課績
4. 說主上見知
5. 說所入莊課

¹ Chestnuts and *litchies* are luxuries.

² This refers to the bird-like sound of women's voices.

³ Leisure to enjoy literature and music.

6. 說愛寵年紀小
7. 窮縣說官清
8. 自說勤苦讀書
9. 誇說器皿價例

15. *Exaggerations*

1. To say that a courtesan feels affection.
2. To say that the pursuit of immortality (Taoist) brings wealth.
3. To say that an official's service-record is taken into consideration.
4. To say that the king understands.
5. To say what income one derives from one's land.
6. To say that one's concubine is too young.
7. A needy magistrate prating about official probity.
8. To say of oneself that one studies hard.
9. To boast of the cost of one's plate.

16. 酸寒

1. 山縣移市
2. 村縣喝道
3. 村縣待賓
4. 驛鳴村中
5. 村漢呼雞
6. 村漢著新衣
7. 牛背吹笛
8. 乞兒驅儼
9. 散樂打單枝鼓

16. *Incongruities*

1. A rural magistrate transferred to the city.
2. To hear "Out of the way!" cried before a village magistrate.¹
3. A village magistrate entertaining.
4. A mule braying in the village.
5. A country lout calling chickens.
6. A rustic with new clothes.
7. Playing the flute on cow-back.
8. A beggar shambling along.
9. Unofficial performers on the "single-stick" drum.

¹ It is not a prerogative of the village magistrate to have the road cleared for his chair.

17. 不 快 意

1. 鈍 刀 切 物
2. 破 帆 使 風
3. 樹 陰 遮 景 致
4. 築 牆 遮 山
5. 花 時 無 酒
6. 暑 月 背 風 排 宴

17. *Disheartening*

1. Cutting with a blunt knife.
2. Catching the wind in a torn sail.
3. Trees shutting out the view.
4. A wall which hides the mountains.
5. No wine in flower time.
6. A feast spread away from the breeze in hot weather.

18. 惶 愧

1. 犯 人 忌 諱
2. 遇 見 讐 家
3. 欠 債 不 償 達 主
4. 參 謁 失 禮
5. 醒 後 聞 醉 語

18. *Dismaying*

1. To infringe another's taboo.
2. To meet an enemy.
3. To meet a creditor.
4. To blunder at a reception.
5. To hear one's drunken remarks when sober.

19. 殺 風 景

1. 花 間 喝 道
2. 看 花 淚 下
3. 苔 上 鋪 席
4. 斫 却 垂 楊
5. 花 下 曬 裯
6. 游 春 重 載
7. 石 筍 繁 馬

8. 月下把火
9. 妓宴說俗事
10. 果園種菜
11. 背山起樓
12. 花架下養雞鴨

19. *Desecration*

1. To hear "Out of the way!" when enjoying flowers.
2. To weep when looking at flowers.
3. To spread a mat on moss.
4. To cut down a weeping poplar.
5. To dry small-clothes amid flowers.
6. To be heavily burdened when travelling in spring.
7. To tether a horse to a conical rock.
8. To bring a lamp into moonlight.
9. To talk banalities at a musical banquet.
10. To plant cabbages in a fruit garden.
11. To build a pavilion which shuts out the mountains.
12. To keep poultry beneath a flower-stand.

20. 不忍聞

1. 孤館猿啼
2. 市井穢語
3. 旅店秋砧聲
4. 少婦哭夫
5. 老人哭子
6. 落第後喜鵲
7. 乞兒夜號
8. 居喪聞樂聲
9. 纔及第便卒

20. *Depressing*

1. A lonely house and gibbons crying.
2. The coarse talk of the market-place.
3. Sounds from the threshing-floor at a wayside inn in autumn.
4. A young wife mourning her husband.
5. An old man mourning his son.
6. The magpie after being "ploughed".¹

¹ The call of the magpie denotes good luck.

7. Beggars calling at night.
8. A merry jig when in mourning.
9. To hear one has graduated among the first three and die forthwith.

21. 虛度

1. 花時多病
2. 好時節逼迫
3. 閨宦娶美婦
4. 貧家節日
5. 好家業不和
6. 貧家好花樹
7. 好景不吟
8. 好廳館不作會

21. *Waste*

1. Being ill in flower time.
2. Being harassed in fine weather.
3. A eunuch with a handsome wife.
4. A festival day in a poor home.
5. A well-to-do family at loggerheads.
6. A poverty-stricken family with beautiful flowers.
7. Seeing a beautiful view and not making a poem.
8. A fine house and no entertaining.

22. 不可過

1. 夏月肥漢
2. 入舍妻惡
3. 遭貪酷上官
4. 惡俗同僚
5. 大暑涉長途
6. 對粗人久坐
7. 舟中雨漏
8. 茅屋下穢濕
9. 守令好尋事

22. *Unendurable*

1. The hot season by a fat man.
2. To go home to a hating wife.
3. To come across greedy and tyrannical superiors.

4. Hatred for one's everyday colleagues.
5. A long journey in the hot season.
6. Long contact with a coarse person.
7. A wet day in a boat with leaky awnings.
8. Dirt and damp in a poor cottage.
9. An officious official.

23. 難容

1. 僧道對風塵笑語
2. 僕人學措大體段
3. 卑幼傲尊長
4. 僕妾撻言語
5. 武人村夫學書語

23. *Not Permissible*

1. Priests joking with courtesans.
2. Servants imitating scholars.
3. Juniors behaving arrogantly to their betters.
4. Servants and concubines cutting into the conversation.
5. Soldiers and rustics trying to talk like scholars.

24. 意想

1. 冬月著碧衣似寒
2. 夏月見紅似熱
3. 入神廟若見鬼
4. 重幃下似有人
5. 過屠家覺羶
6. 見水心中涼
7. 見梅齒軟

24. (*The Power of*) *Suggestion*

1. Wearing green in winter makes one feel cold.
2. Seeing red in summer makes one feel hot.
3. Entering the shrine of a good spirit suggests seeing a bad one.
4. Heavy curtains suggest someone lurking.
5. Passing a butcher's gives a frowsy feeling.
6. Seeing water cools one.
7. Seeing plum trees makes one's mouth water.

25. 惡模樣

1. 作客與人相爭罵
2. 打毬墜馬
3. 對大僚食咽
4. 僧尼新還俗
5. 宴上亂叫喚
6. 搗礮人話柄
7. 著鞋臥人床
8. 未語先笑
9. 作客踏翻臺卓
10. 對丈人丈母唱豔曲
11. 嚼殘魚肉置盤上
12. 橫箸在羹碗上

25. *Bad Form*

1. To wrangle with one's fellow guests.
2. To fall from one's polo pony.
3. To eat or smoke in the presence of superiors.
4. Priests and nuns lately returned to ordinary life.
5. To vociferate orders at a banquet.
6. To cut into the conversation.
7. To go to another's bed in boots.
8. To preface remarks with a giggle.
9. To kick over tables when a guest.
10. To sing love-songs in the presence of one's wife's father or mother.
11. To reject distasteful food and put it back on the dish.
12. To lay chopsticks across a soup-bowl.

26. 不達時宜

1. 下賤人前談經史
2. 向娼婦吟詩
3. 認他高貴爲親
4. 將主人酒食作人情
5. 殘食還主人
6. 將男女赴席
7. 誇男女伎倆
8. 獎男女嬌驕
9. 宴上包彈品味

- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 10. | 強 | 學 | 時 | 樣 | 妝 | 束 | . |
| 11. | 食 | 後 | 不 | 起 | 妨 | 主 | 人 |
| 12. | 問 | 主 | 人 | 魚 | 肉 | 價 | |
| 13. | 與 | 寡 | 婦 | 認 | 親 | 往 | 來 |
| 14. | 吃 | 他 | 飲 | 食 | 不 | 謙 | 讓 |
| 15. | 借 | 他 | 物 | 令 | 自 | 來 | 取 |
| 16. | 入 | 人 | 房 | 闖 | 取 | 人 | 物 |
| 17. | 得 | 人 | 恩 | 不 | 思 | 報 | |
| 18. | 向 | 人 | 花 | 園 | 採 | 果 | |
| 19. | 窮 | 漢 | 說 | 大 | 話 | | |
| 20. | 家 | 貧 | 學 | 富 | 人 | | |
| 21. | 作 | 客 | 自 | 呼 | 賓 | | |
| 22. | 暑 | 月 | 排 | 宴 | 久 | 坐 | |

26. *Inopportune*

1. To talk books before a nobody.
2. To recite poems to a courtesan.
3. To claim relationship with some exalted person.
4. To be hospitable at the expense of one's master.
5. To return half-eaten food to the host.
6. To take children to a banquet.
7. To flatter skill in children.
8. To encourage children to be petted and proud.
9. To monopolize the tit-bits at a banquet.
10. To insist upon the latest fashion.
11. To hinder one's host by sitting on after a meal.
12. To ask one's host the price of food.
13. To be on friendly terms with a widow.
14. To eat another's food and not defer to him.
15. To make the lender come for a borrowed article.
16. To enter private apartments or pick up another's things to look at.
17. To be ungrateful to a benefactor.
18. To pick fruit in another's garden.
19. To talk big when hard-up.
20. To play the rich man when poor.
21. To be a visitor and call oneself a guest.¹
22. To feast and waste time in summer.

¹ i.e. claim the privileges of a guest.

27. 悶損人

1. 請貴客不來
2. 惡客不請自來
3. 被醉人纏住不放
4. 物賤無錢買
5. 出門逢債主
6. 與讐家對坐
7. 大署逢惡客
8. 美妾妬妻

27. *Mortifications*

1. Failure of an honoured guest to accept one's invitation.
2. The arrival of a disliked person¹ uninvited.
3. To be unable to rid oneself of a drunken man.
4. To be penniless when things are cheap.
5. To go for a stroll and run across a creditor.
6. To be seated next an enemy.
7. To meet a disliked person¹ on a hot day.
8. A lovely concubine and a jealous wife.

28. 癡頑

1. 有錢不還債
2. 知過不能改
3. 見他言語強拗
4. 見人文字強評騭
5. 自不知過強惟人
6. 把酒犯令不受罰
7. 家貧強作富貴相

28. *Stupidities*

1. To have money and not pay off debts.
2. To recognize one's faults and be unable to reform.
3. To listen to another's conversation and contradict him sharply.
4. To read another's essay and assail it violently.
5. To be blind to one's own failings but violently disapprove of another's.
6. To guess wrongly in a drinking game but refuse to pay the forfeit.²
7. Insolently to pose as wealthy when poor.

¹ Or a guest who does not drink.

² Guessing games to encourage drinking were (and are) common in many forms, the penalty for an error being to drink a cup of wine.

29. 愚 昧

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|-------|
| 1. | 背 | 面 | 說 | 人 | 過 | |
| 2. | 好 | 說 | 人 | 家 | 密 | 事 |
| 3. | 棄 | 家 | 耽 | 酒 | | |
| 4. | 圖 | 他 | 酒 | 食 | 作 | 證 人 |
| 5. | 三 | 頭 | 二 | 面 | 趨 | 奉 人 |
| 6. | 說 | 六 | 親 | 過 | 惡 | 與 外 人 |
| 7. | 父 | 母 | 在 | 索 | 要 | 分 析 |
| 8. | 會 | 聚 | 不 | 識 | 尊 | 長 位 次 |
| 9. | 有 | 憾 | 於 | 人 | 望 | 人 怨 |
| 10. | 有 | 惠 | 於 | 人 | 望 | 人 報 |

29. *Unenlightened*

1. To discuss a man's faults behind his back.
2. To love betraying secrets.
3. To destroy one's family for love of wine.
4. To be a suborned witness.
5. Deceitfully to hasten to flatter.¹
6. To blab abroad the shortcomings of one's relatives.
7. To demand division of property while parents are alive.
8. To be ignorant of the order of precedence in an assembly.
9. To cherish resentment and yet expect forgiveness.
10. To be kind to a man and expect gratitude.

30. 時 人 漸 顛 狂

- | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| 1. | 無 | 故 | 讐 | 妬 | 他 | 人 |
| 2. | 酒 | 後 | 呼 | 鬼 | 神 | |
| 3. | 孝 | 子 | 說 | 歌 | 令 | |
| 4. | 重 | 孝 | 鬪 | 雞 | 走 | 馬 |
| 5. | 讐 | 記 | 恩 | 門 | | |
| 6. | 長 | 大 | 漢 | 放 | 風 | 箏 |
| 7. | 養 | 閒 | 漢 | 出 | 入 | |
| 8. | 婦 | 女 | 出 | 街 | 坊 | 罵 詈 |
| 9. | 賣 | 田 | 了 | 吉 | 凶 | |
| 10. | 將 | 田 | 宅 | 與 | 人 | 作 保 |

¹ Lit. three heads and two faces.

30. *Present-day Idiosyncrasies*

1. Unreasoning jealousy.
2. Invoking the Spirits in one's cups.
3. Dutiful sons reciting ditties.¹
4. Truly dutiful sons going to cock-fights and races.
5. Enemies remembering those who were kind.
6. Adults flying kites.
7. Supporting idlers.
8. Women cursing in public.
9. Selling property to defray wedding or funeral expenses.
10. Mortgaging one's real estate on behalf of another.

31. 非禮

1. 呼兒孫表德
2. 母在呼舅作渭陽
3. 對父母呼妻弟
4. 聽妻話恠尊長
5. 祭亡人却動樂
6. 徑入他人房闖

31. *Improper*

1. To call upon sons and grandsons to testify to one's virtue.
2. To send a maternal uncle away during one's mother's lifetime.
3. To call wife or younger brother in the presence of one's parents.
4. To uphold one's wife and blame one's elders.
5. To sacrifice to the dead and yet make merry.
6. To walk straight into another's private rooms.

32. 枉屈

1. 好父母無好子
2. 好兒無好婦
3. 好女無好婿
4. 有錢不會使
5. 好衣不會著
6. 好廳館不灑掃
7. 有正帛不裝著

¹ 令 = songs, "ditties." 張可久, also called 小山, a scholar of the Yüan Dynasty, wrote a collection of rhymes and songs with the title 張小山小令.

8. 好顏色不解正配
9. 好妾驅使重難事
10. 惜錢有病不醫
11. 男女長成不教讀
12. 家藏書不解讀
13. 明月夜早睡
14. 有好花不吟詩酌酒
15. 近好山水不遊玩
16. 有美味慳藏臭腐
17. 清要官自犯贓罪
18. 有美質懶惰廢業
19. 權在手不作好事
20. 年少時好閒不習事

32. *Things gone Aglew*

1. Good parents lacking good sons.
2. A good son lacking a good wife.
3. A good daughter lacking a good husband.
4. Having money and not knowing how to spend it.
5. Having fine clothes and not knowing how to wear them.
6. A fine dwelling left unswept.
7. Having silk and not making clothes.
8. Having a beautiful colour and not knowing how to match it.
9. A beloved concubine urging one to a very difficult matter.
10. Being too sparing of money to get treatment when sick.
11. Letting children grow up uneducated.
12. Having a library and not reading.
13. Going to bed early on moonlight nights.
14. Looking at beautiful flowers and neither reciting poetry nor drinking wine.
15. Failing to enjoy fine scenery when near it.
16. Having delicate-flavoured food and yet being stingy enough to hoard rancid bean-curd.
17. An official demanding probity in others and himself breaking the law against bribes.
18. Having a good constitution and wasting one's patrimony by idling.
19. Having power and not using it to do good.
20. In youth loving ease and learning nothing.

33. 不 祥

1. 臥 喫 食
2. 無 事 嘆 歎 曲
3. 臥 床 上 唱 曲
4. 露 頂 喫 食
5. 露 頂 寫 字
6. 牽 父 母 作 咒 誓
7. 槌 胸 罵 人
8. 薦 上 坐
9. 對 日 月 大 小 便 散 髮
10. 未 食 碗 中 先 插 匙 箸

33. *Unlucky*

1. To eat lying down.
2. To sigh when nothing's the matter.
3. To sing in bed.
4. To eat bareheaded.
5. To write bareheaded.
6. To swear an oath involving one's parents.
7. To beat one's breast and curse another.¹
8. To sit on grass.
9. To perform the toilet in the light of the sun or moon.
10. To dip spoon or chopsticks in the bowl before the meal begins.

34. 須 貧

1. 家 有 懶 婦
2. 早 臥 晚 起
3. 養 子 不 及 父
4. 作 債 不 追 陪
5. 倉 庫 不 點 檢 拾
6. 莊 園 不 收 拾
7. 拋 撒 飲 食
8. 愛 賭 博 飲 酒 物
9. 漫 藏 無 用 物
10. 狼 藉 米 穀
11. 棄 業 逐 樂
12. 家 事 不 愛 惜

¹ Curses are apt to light upon the person pointed at and an angry man beating his own breast inadvertently indicates himself as the object of his curses.

13. 多蓄愛寵
14. 好遷移不止
15. 好結納權貴
16. 慳不中禮
17. 物貴爭買
18. 物賤反不買
19. 多作淫巧
20. 遮蓋家人作非爲事

34. *Poverty is inevitable when one—*

1. Has a lazy wife.
2. Lies long abed.
3. Brings up a boy to be inferior to his father.
4. Borrows money in order to give entertainments.
5. Does not check store lists.
6. Neglects one's farm.
7. Throws away food or wine.
8. Likes gambling or drinking.
9. Fills storerooms with useless lumber.
10. Is careless about grain.
11. Wastes one's estate in the pursuit of pleasure.
12. Is not thrifty.
13. Maintains many concubines.
14. Is always changing one's residence.
15. Frequents the company of the powerful and rich.
16. Is economical to the point of meanness.
17. Insists on buying when things are dear.
18. Does not buy when things are cheap.
19. Tries too many smart tricks.
20. Screens the members of one's family when they do wrong.

35. 必富

1. 勤求儉用
2. 見藝廣學
3. 常點檢家事
4. 不迷酒色
5. 不欠債負
6. 奴婢解耕織
7. 夜眠早起
8. 家養六畜

9. 耕 作 不 失 時
10. 及 時 收 藏
11. 子 弟 一 心
12. 主 母 不 信 佛
13. 諸 婦 和 諧
14. 不 嫌 粗 辣
15. 財 物 有 簿 籍
16. 積 少 成 多
17. 買 賣 不 失 時
18. 物 料 不 作 踐

35. *Wealth is assured when one—*

1. Seeks diligently and uses sparingly.
2. Learns a trade and widens experience.
3. Takes stock frequently.
4. Is not self-indulgent.
5. Does not borrow.
6. Has hinds who can plough and maids who can weave.
7. Sleeps by night and rises early.
8. Rears stock.
9. Ploughs in proper season.
10. Stores up when the season arrives.
11. Has children who are harmonious.
12. Has not a mistress who believes in Buddha.
13. Has women-folk who all agree.
14. Puts up with hardships.
15. Inventories one's valuables.
16. Gathers the "mites" that make the "muckle".
17. Catches the market.
18. Does not trample on goods.

36. 有 智 能

1. 立 性 有 守
2. 密 事 機 藏
3. 結 交 有 智 人
4. 臨 事 覺 悟
5. 酒 後 不 多 語
6. 避 他 人 忌 諱
7. 博 古 知 今

8. 不習賤劣事
9. 不妄自逞能
10. 尊敬有德
11. 不親近小人
12. 不妄信奴僕
13. 入門問諱
14. 入境問風俗
15. 夜間常醒睡
16. 有疑問人
17. 不共愚人爭是非

36. *They are capable who—*

1. Keep their natures within moderate bounds.
2. Are discreet in secret matters.
3. Associate with the wise.
4. Understand what they are about.
5. Do not babble in their cups.
6. Respect other people's taboos.
7. Judge the present from the past.
8. Do not practise meannesses.
9. Boast not unseemly.
10. Esteem the virtuous.
11. Join not themselves to the meaner sort.
12. Credit not blindly the words of servants.
13. Inquire what to avoid.
14. Inquire about the customs of any state they enter.
15. Are on the alert at night.
16. Ask when in doubt.
17. Do not argue with every chance comer.

37. 教子

1. 習祖業
2. 立言不回
3. 知禮義廉耻
4. 精修六藝
5. 談對明敏
6. 進退威儀
7. 忠良恭儉
8. 孝敬慈惠

9. 博學廣覽
10. 交遊賢者
11. 不事嬉遊
12. 有守
13. 遇事有知識

37. *Train a Son to—*

1. Learn the ancestral business.
2. Keep faith.
3. Be ceremonious, just, moderate, modest.
4. Be thoroughly versed in the six kinds of knowledge.
5. Converse intelligently.
6. Be dignified in social intercourse.
7. Be loyal, true, respectful, economical.
8. Be filial, reverent, kindly, gracious.
9. Read widely and hold liberal views.
10. Make friends with the worthy.
11. Avoid becoming a slave to amusement.
12. Practise restraint.
13. Be resourceful.

38. 教女

1. 習女工
2. 議論酒食
3. 溫良恭儉
4. 修飾容儀
5. 學書學算
6. 小心軟語
7. 閑房貞潔
8. 不唱詞曲
9. 閒事不傳
10. 善事尊長

38. *Train a Daughter to—*

1. Learn women's duties.
2. Understand catering.
3. Be meek, true, respectful, thrifty.
4. Have as adornments consideration and manners.
5. Learn letter-writing and book-keeping.
6. Be careful to speak softly.

7. Be modest.
8. Sing no ditties.
9. Avoid gossip.
10. Delight in serving her elders.

39. 失去就

1. 卸起帽共人言語
2. 罵他家人奴婢
3. 鑽壁窺人家
4. 不敲門直入人家
5. 席面上不領坐
6. 主人未請先上廳
7. 開人家用盒書啟
8. 主人未揖食先舉箸
9. 衆食未了先卸箸
10. 探手隔坐取物

39. *Lapses*

1. Trying to be a Jack-of-all-trades.
2. Scolding another's servants.
3. Boring a hole in the wall to spy upon neighbours.
4. Entering a house without knocking.
5. Being careless about spitting.
6. Sitting uninvited in the seat of honour.
7. Opening boxes and letters.
8. Lifting chopsticks before the host's signal.
9. Laying down chopsticks before all have finished eating.
10. Stretching across the table to reach things.

40. 強會

1. 見他文籍強披覽
2. 見他鞍馬逞乘騎
3. 見他弓矢強彈射
4. 見他物件強評價
5. 見他文字強彈駁
6. 見他文人強處置
7. 見他關打強助拳
8. 見他評論強斷是非

40. *Presumption*

1. Opening another's dispatches.
2. Riding another's saddled horse.
3. Trying another's bow.
4. Pricing another's possessions.
5. Criticizing another's composition.
6. Settling another's domestic affairs.
7. Taking part in another's quarrel.
8. Deciding in a dispute.

41. 無見識

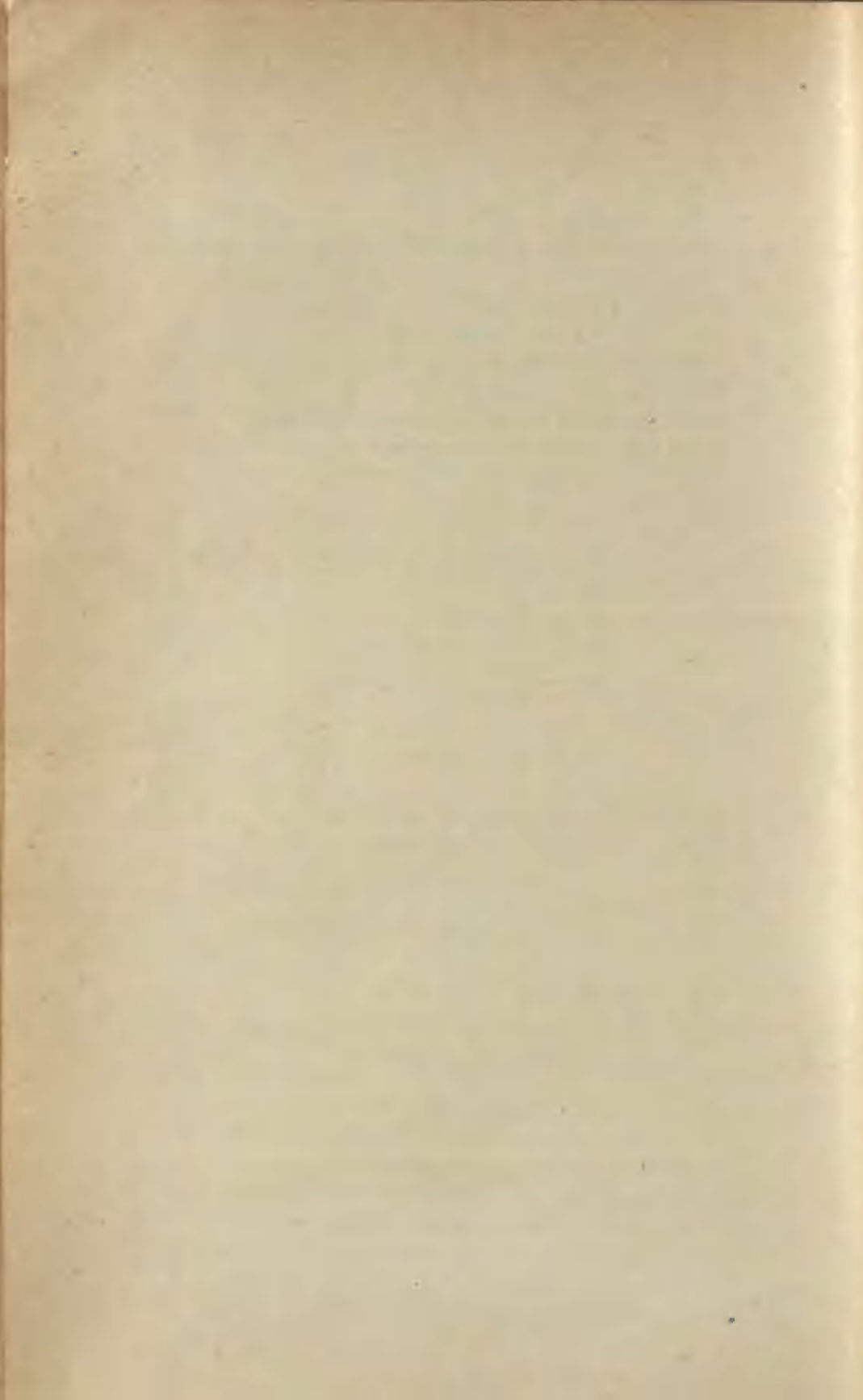
- | | | | | | | | |
|----|---|---|---|---|---|---|-----|
| 1. | 不 | 說 | 事 | 因 | 先 | 罵 | 人 |
| 2. | 不 | 問 | 道 | 理 | 隨 | 人 | 做 事 |
| 3. | 俗 | 人 | 學 | 僧 | 家 | 道 | 場 |
| 4. | 遇 | 事 | 不 | 分 | 別 | 是 | 非 |
| 5. | 縱 | 兒 | 子 | 學 | 樂 | 藝 | |
| 6. | 縱 | 兒 | 子 | 籠 | 養 | | |
| 7. | 男 | 兒 | 學 | 女 | 工 | | |
| 8. | 要 | 小 | 下 | 便 | 宜 | | |
-
- | | | | | | | | |
|-----|---|---|---|---|---|---|---------|
| 9. | 不 | 得 | 飲 | 酒 | 至 | 醉 | |
| 10. | 不 | 得 | 獨 | 入 | 寡 | 婦 | 人 家 |
| 11. | 不 | 得 | 黑 | 暗 | 獨 | 行 | |
| 12. | 不 | 得 | 與 | 無 | 賴 | 子 | 往 還 |
| 13. | 不 | 得 | 戲 | 取 | 物 | 不 | 言 |
| 14. | 不 | 得 | 開 | 人 | 私 | 書 | |
| 15. | 不 | 得 | 借 | 人 | 物 | 用 | 經 句 不 還 |

41. *Ignorance*

1. To abuse another without saying why.
2. To join in a scheme without investigation.
3. For a layman to imitate the ways of the priesthood.
4. Not to discriminate between right and wrong in a matter.
5. To allow a son to indulge in dancing.
6. To allow a son to cage animals.
7. For a man to learn women's work.
8. To be on the look-out for petty advantages.

Note.—The remaining sentences may have originally formed a separate group as they have a common form distinct from the earlier sayings under this heading.

9. Don't drink to intoxication.
 10. Don't enter a widow's house alone.
 11. Don't go alone in the dark.
 12. Don't consort with rogues.
 13. Don't take things for fun and say nothing about it.
 14. Don't open another's private letters.
 15. Don't borrow without returning promptly.
-



NOTES ON THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN AT MOUKDEN

By E. D. EDWARDS

(PLATE IX)

BY A.D. 1616 Nurhachu had become the acknowledged leader of the Tartar tribes which he had overcome one by one. In this year, at the request of the chiefs, he assumed the title of Emperor, with T'ien Ming 天命 as reign-title. T'ai Tsu 太祖, to give him his dynastic name, captured Moukden in 1621 and transferred his capital thither in 1625. He died in 1626.

T'ai Tsu's son, whose Ch'ing dynastic title is T'ai Tsung 太宗, succeeded in 1627 and took the reign-title T'ien Ts'ung 天聰 which he retained until 1635. He continued his father's conquests and his influence increased. In that year the time seemed to have come for the assumption of a new dignity so he took to himself a dynasty, naming it Ta Ch'ing 大清.

Certain emblems belong to an emperor; certain attributes are necessary to a dynasty. China had long been a model in the east, particularly in matters of ceremony. As a Chinese dynasty had ancestral temples, so the new (Manchu) Emperor built his; as the Ming had an Altar of Heaven, so the new dignitary must also have such an altar. He built it south-south-east of Moukden, his capital, about three miles outside the mud wall and half a mile from the Hun River, on the left bank. With the assumption of these new dignities, he took also a new reign-title, Ch'ung Tè 崇德 (A.D. 1636).

The Ch'ing Emperor watched the closing years of the Ming until 1643, when he died, leaving his throne to a son, best known as Shun Chih 順治, a boy in charge of the Regent Dorgun. Events led to the entry of the Regent with his charge into Peking in 1644 as conqueror and thenceforward the Ch'ing dynasty reigned there. Moukden ceased to be the capital and consequently the sacrifices to Heaven were no longer performed there but in Peking. The Moukden Altar fell into ruins.

In view of the importance of the Moukden Temple of Heaven in the early part of the dynasty it is surprising that it was not better preserved by the later Ch'ing rulers and also that so little has been written concerning it by either Chinese or foreign writers.¹

In a paper read before the North China Branch of the Royal

¹ Brief reference is made to the erection of the Temple in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*: Moukden, and by H. E. M. James in *The Long White Mountain*. It is not included in a list of China's monuments published by the China Monument Society in the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (vol. xliii, 1912).

Asiatic Society on *The State Religion of China during the Manchu Dynasty*, by E. T. Williams, M.A., and published in the *Journal of the Society* (vol. xlv, 1913) there appears only one reference to the performance of the Sacrifice to Heaven before the entry of the Manchus into Peking: "The *Ta Ch'ing Hui Tien* 大清會典 records that the Emperor T'ai Tsung Wên, in the first year of the period Ch'ung Tê, offered sacrifice to Heaven in the southern suburb and issued an edict saying: "The ancient emperors and kings before they were acquainted with cooked food, in performing the sacrificial ceremonies used the raw flesh of animals for offerings. After generations carefully followed in their footsteps without change . . . Later to prevent its spoiling it was allowed to cook and offer it. From this it became a rule in worshipping Heaven to use the cooked flesh of oxen."

"This edict was issued before the conquest of China" and must therefore refer to the worship of Heaven on the Altar at Moukden.

The substance of the above article is included in Mr. Williams' *China Yesterday and To-day* (Harrap, 1923), again without any further mention of the early worship at Moukden. But certain features of the Peking Temple may have been characteristic of the Moukden one also. Referring to the former the author says: "Color, form and number all play an important part in the construction of the temples. . . . The prevailing colour of the Temple of Heaven is blue, the azure of the sky."

In this connection it is interesting to note that Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor (to whose kindness I owe the details of the Moukden temple in its present state) says, "On one visit I saw a small piece of blue tile peeping out of the earth near the south gate. It was inconvenient to dig it up just then, and at my next visit it had disappeared."

"During the Ming Dynasty," Williams continues, "the tiles of the Temple of Heaven were green . . . When the buildings at the temple in Peking were repaired by Ch'ien Lung he directed that blue tiles should be substituted."

There is no reason to suppose that the altar in Moukden was covered, but it may well be that the gates were roofed over with tiles in the manner of gates, though this is not, it must be admitted, suggested by the plan of the temple ¹ in the *Shêng-ching t'ung chih* ² 盛京通志

¹ This plan may not be accurate. The text of the *Shêng-ching t'ung chih* states that there were nine steps, for example, whereas the plan shows but one flight of three.

² *Topography of the Province of Shêng-ching* (Fêng-t'ien).

(Fig. 1). It may even be possible that the terraces which formed the altar were paved with blue tiles, for "when the Temple of Heaven in Peking was repaired by Ch'ien Lung and it was decided to enlarge

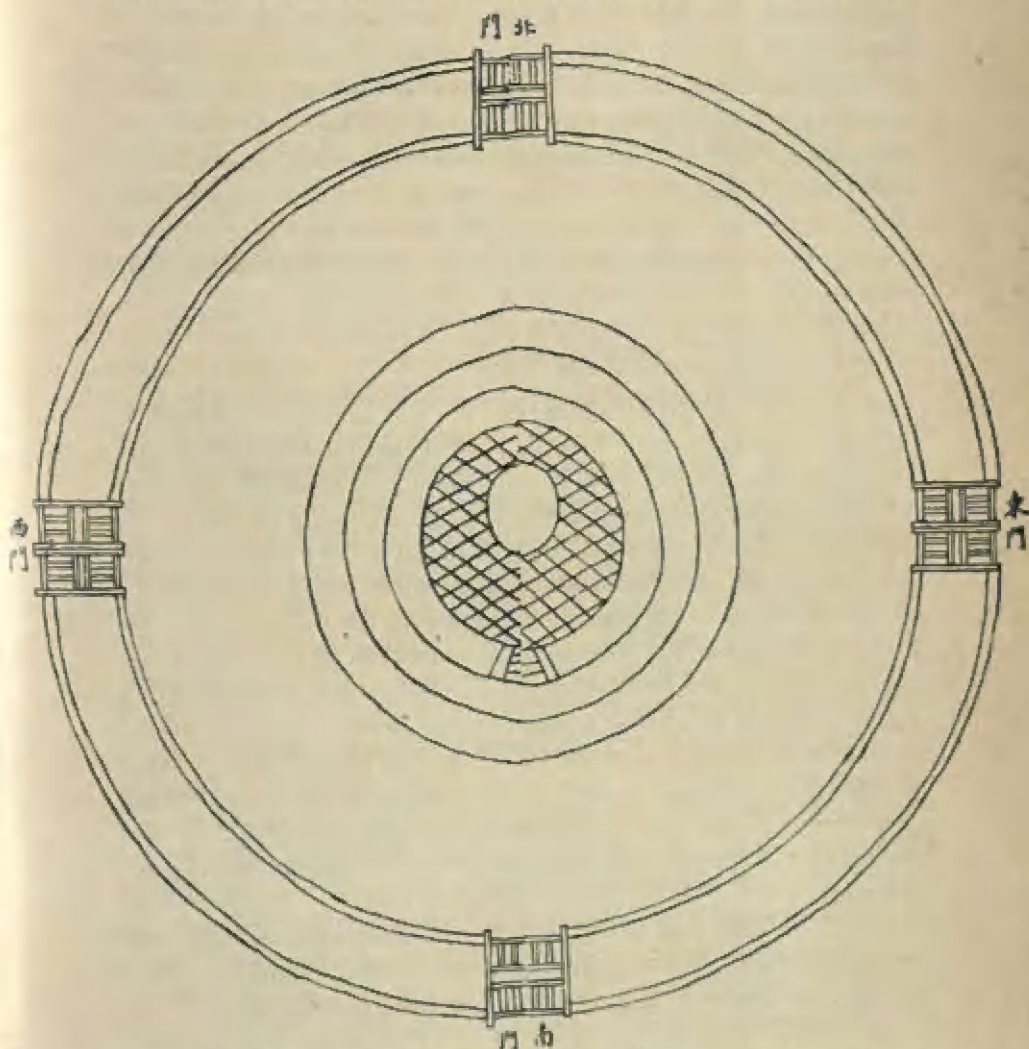


FIG. 1.—Plan of the Temple of Heaven, photographed from the *Shêng-ching t'ung chih*.
(The plan occupied two pages of the original and the blocks appear to have been made separately and not matched.)

the existing altar, a memorial addressed to the throne on the subject contained these words, 'In the old arrangement the tiles were little more than two feet square; in the present they must be enlarged to three feet five or six inches. Under these circumstances it will be

difficult to use tile, and it will be necessary to obtain stone of a moxa blue color.'” (E. T. Williams : *State Religion*).

“The circle, too, is appropriate to Heaven . . . hence the shape of the altars . . . Odd numbers belong to Heaven. Nine is the key number at the Altar of Heaven and the music consists of nine pieces.” (Ibid.) The note in the *Shêng-ching t'ung chih* says that the topmost terrace of the altar at Moukden consists of nine layers (i.e. circles of tiles) and is 18 (9×2) feet in circumference, the second of seven circles with circumference 36 (9×4) feet, and the third of five circles with circumference 54 (9×6) feet. All the three terraces are 3 feet in height. Thus the odd numbers are represented and nine is particularly emphasized.

Notes from Chinese Sources

T'u shu chi ch'êng 圖書集成¹: “T'ai Tsung Wên Huang Ti (having completed the city of Moukden) then built the Altar of Heaven.” Also, “Beyond the mud wall, outside the Tê-shêng 德盛 Gate was set up a circular mound surrounded by a wall 110 *chang*² in circumference. On the south were three gates (or possibly a triple gate) and on the east, west and north one each.”

Ta Ch'ing hui tien: “In the beginning of the dynasty, from the first year of Ch'ung Tê (1636) began the sacrifices on the altars in the suburbs. In the first year³ of Shun Chih (1644) it was determined that annually, on the day of the winter solstice, sacrifice should be offered to Heaven on the circular altar, and on the day of the summer solstice sacrifice should be made to earth on the square altar. In the fourteenth year were performed the ceremonies for invoking a good harvest and thereafter the ceremonial music and usages became gradually more complete.”

“In the first year of Ch'ung Tê, in the fourth month, were originated the sacrifices to Heaven in the southern suburb. (Note: Outside the Tê-shêng Gate on the nine-stepped circular altar.)”

Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih 大清一統志 (*Topography of the Empire*): “The Altar of Heaven was outside the Tê-shêng Gate. It was here that sacrifice was offered to Heaven in the beginning of the dynasty. The surrounding wall was 113 *chang* in circumference. On the south side

¹ Full title: 古今圖書集成.

² 丈 = 11 ft. 9 in. English measure.

³ I.e. the first year of his reign in Peking.

there was a triple gate (or three gates) while on the east, west and north there was one each. In the forty-third year of Ch'ien Lung an edict was sent to Shêng-ching ordering that the altar should be repaired. In the forty-eighth year it was repaired under instructions from the Throne."

Shêng-ching t'ung chih (1779 ed.): "The Altar of Heaven. Five *li* to the south, outside the Tê-shêng Gate, was set up a circular mound, constructed in the old style (i.e. in the style of the old Ming altar at Peking) in three terraces. Each terrace is built upon the circular surface of the one below and the bricks are laid round layer by layer (i.e. in concentric circles).

"The topmost terrace consists of nine concentric circles and is eighteen feet in circumference, the second of seven circles thirty-six feet in circumference and the lowest of five circles fifty-four feet in circumference. All the three terraces are three feet in height.¹

"The surrounding wall is 113 *chang* in circumference² and has a gate on the south and one each on the east, west and north. On the first terrace sacrifice was humbly offered to the Most High Ruler of Almighty Heaven, the tablet facing south, and to the Holy Ones (ancestors) in order of rank, their tablets facing east and west (Fig. 2).

"On the second terrace were offered the complementary sacrifices to the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Constellations, Clouds, Rain, Wind and Thunder, the tablets (of these deities) facing towards the east and towards the west respectively (Fig. 2).

"In the first year of Ch'ung Tê, in the fourth month, T'ai Tsung Wên Huang Ti having obtained the imperial seal and having, at the request of the chiefs and the great ministers, humbly accepted the exalted title, went in person to make the sacrifice announcing the fact. This was the inauguration of the sacrifices to Heaven in the south suburb. (Here follows a list of the utensils, etc., in use at the sacrifices.³) The musical instruments were placed at the foot of the altar, suspended some on the left and some on the right. The ceremonial rules were very complete.

"In the eleventh month, on the day of the winter solstice, T'ai Tsung, having personally led the imperial princes, their sons and all

¹ This was the precise arrangement of the tiles of the original Altar of Heaven in Peking.

² The wall of the Temple of Heaven in Peking is square.

³ The list is too long and detailed to be included here.

the ministers, civil and military, in a three days' fast, sacrificed to Heaven on the circular altar to announce that his troops were taking the field for the purpose of reducing Ch'ao-hsien.

"In the third year of Shun Chih (A.D. 1647) regulations were drawn up to the effect that whatever repairs might be required to any of the

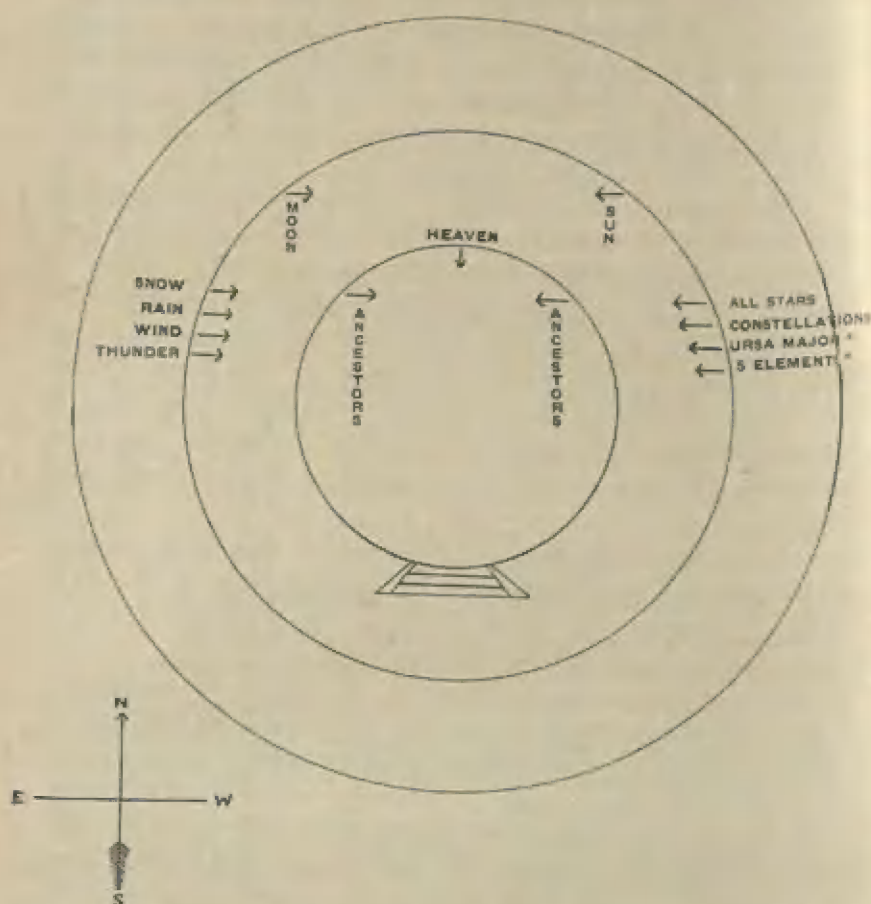
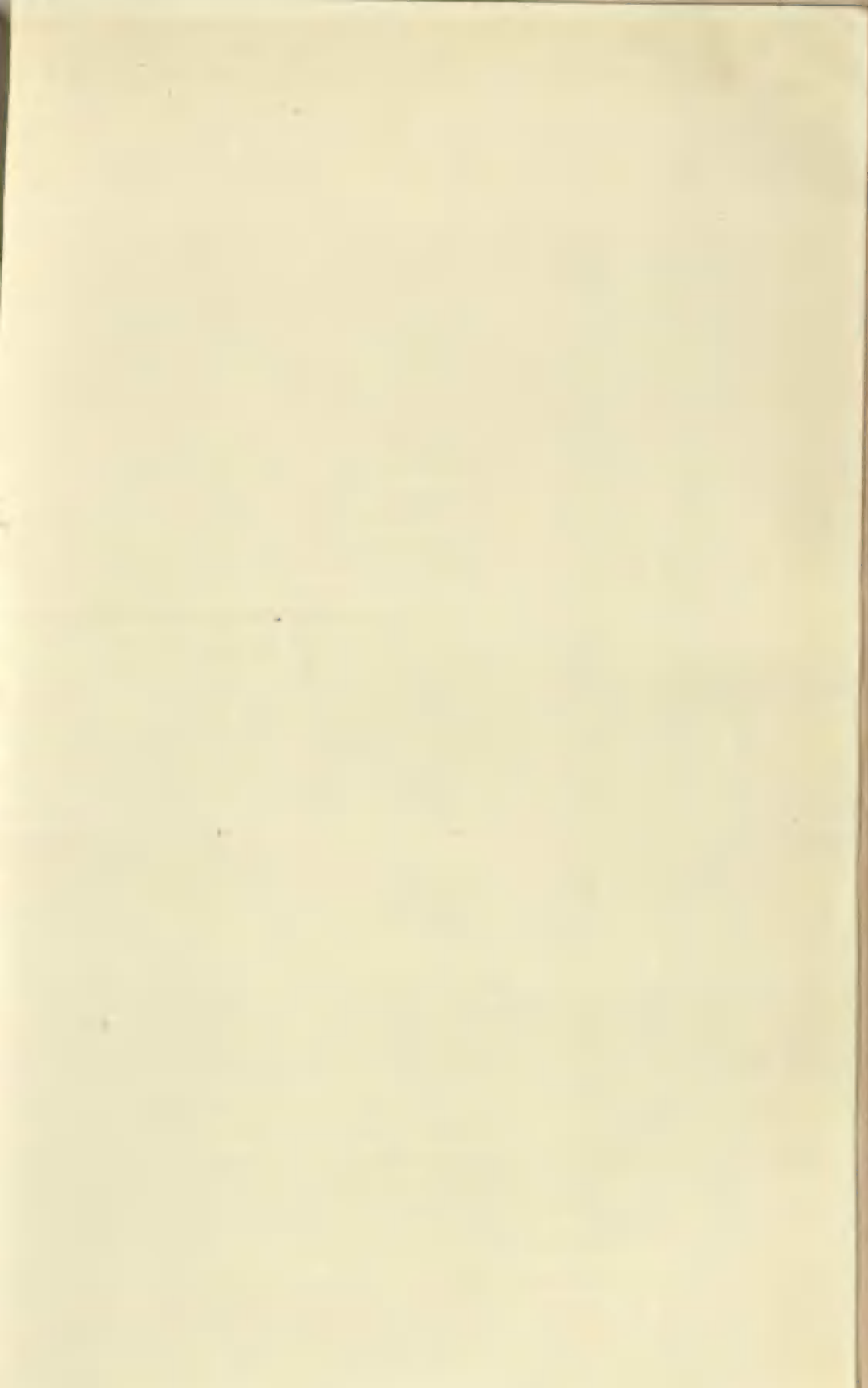


FIG. 2.—Rough plan showing approximate positions of tablets, as indicated in *Shêng ching t'ung chih*.

* Not specified in *Shêng-ching t'ung chih* but added by analogy with the practice at Peking.

altars in Shêng-ching report should be made to the Shêng-ching Board of Works who should thereupon examine into the matter and carry out the repairs.

"In the forty-third year of Ch'ien Lung (A.D. 1779) the Emperor went to Shêng-ching. Orders were received for the repair of the altars.





1



2



3

FIG. 1.—VIEW OF THE TEMPLE OF HEAVEN FROM THE ALTAR-MOUND, LOOKING DUE NORTH THROUGH THE SOUTH GATE.
FIG. 2.—VIEW OF THE ALTAR-MOUND, LOOKING DUE NORTH THROUGH THE SOUTH GATE.
FIG. 3.—LOOKING EAST FROM THE ALTAR-MOUND.

In the tenth month of the forty-fifth year (A.D. 1781) the repairs were completed.

"In the forty-eighth year (A.D. 1784), in the autumn, the ninth month, the Emperor visited Shêng-ching.

"There were four poems made to commemorate the repairs to the altars and temples. These poems were called (1) *Chin an* 謹案, (2) *Yü chih* 御製, (3) *Kung tsai* 恭載, and (4) *T'ien chang mên* 天章門."

Unfortunately I have not been able to consult the *Fêng ch'ang pai shan chi* 封長白山記, the record of a journey taken under imperial command by a high Manchu official to the original home of the Manchus, while the *Ch'ing t'ing man chou yüan liu k'ao* 欽定滿洲源流考, "researches into the history, antiquities and geographical details regarding the Manchu nation, drawn up in compliance with an imperial mandate about the year 1777" (Wylie, *Notes on Chinese Literature*), although it records the history of the worship of Heaven, gives no details of the temple at Moukden.

Notes on the Ruins (Plate IX)

The altar is a circular mound three feet high. It is of brick, now overlaid with dust and overgrown with weeds. The note in the *Ta Ch'ing hui tien* says that it had nine steps. There are no traces of stone. There are two other mounds, east and west, both on a brick foundation and also overgrown.

The note in the *Shêng-ching t'ung chih* says there were four gates, one on each side. There are now four openings, enlarged from the old gates by the disappearance of bricks, but there is nothing to indicate that, as stated in the *Ta Ch'ing i t'ung chih*, there were three gates (or a triple gate) on the south side.

Perhaps four-fifths of the surrounding wall are left. The circumference is approximately 1,100 feet. The wall is of brick, 41 courses high, say 10 feet. It is $2\frac{1}{2}$ feet thick, and roofed with three layers of brick, the lowest layer projecting over the wall so as to protect it from wet. The bricks are grey, smooth, well-made and hard. They measure about 12 by 6 by 2 inches. (The ordinary house brick is 9 in. long, while the bricks of the Great Wall and of the walls of Peking are very much larger.)

The sills of all four gates remain. It is probable that the gates were roofed over.¹

¹ See comment on p. 788 by Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor.

The purpose of the two lesser mounds referred to above (Fig. 3) is not clear. They can scarcely have been used by the musicians, for the position of the musical instruments is stated to have been at the foot of the altar and these mounds, as will be seen from Fig. 3, are at some little distance from the larger one. Beyond the deities mentioned there seems no indication of the worship of any others in the Temple of Heaven. The *Yü chih Shêng-ching fu* 御製盛京

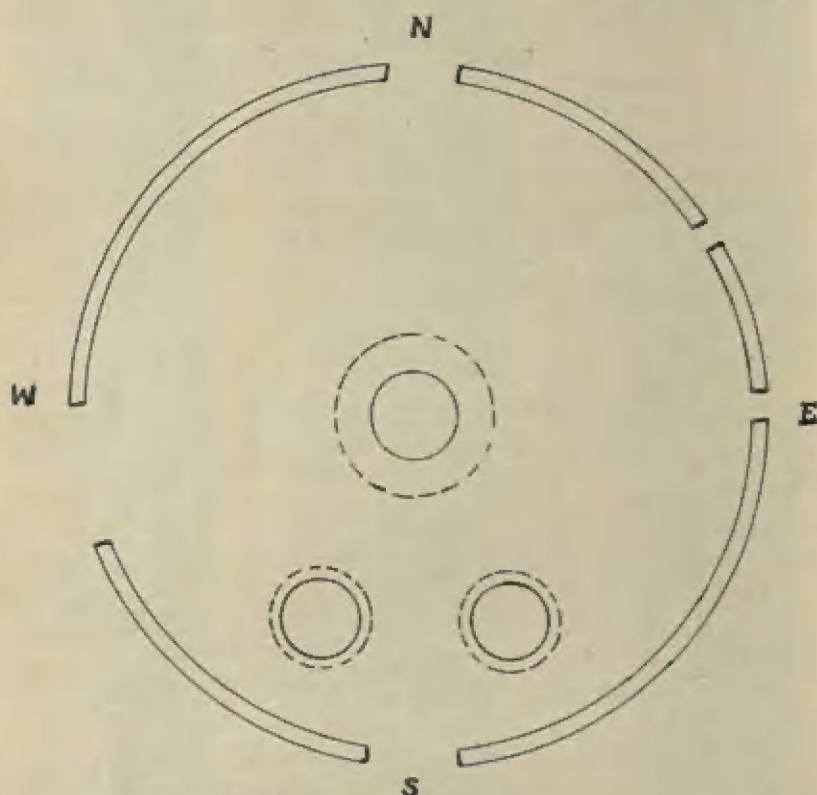


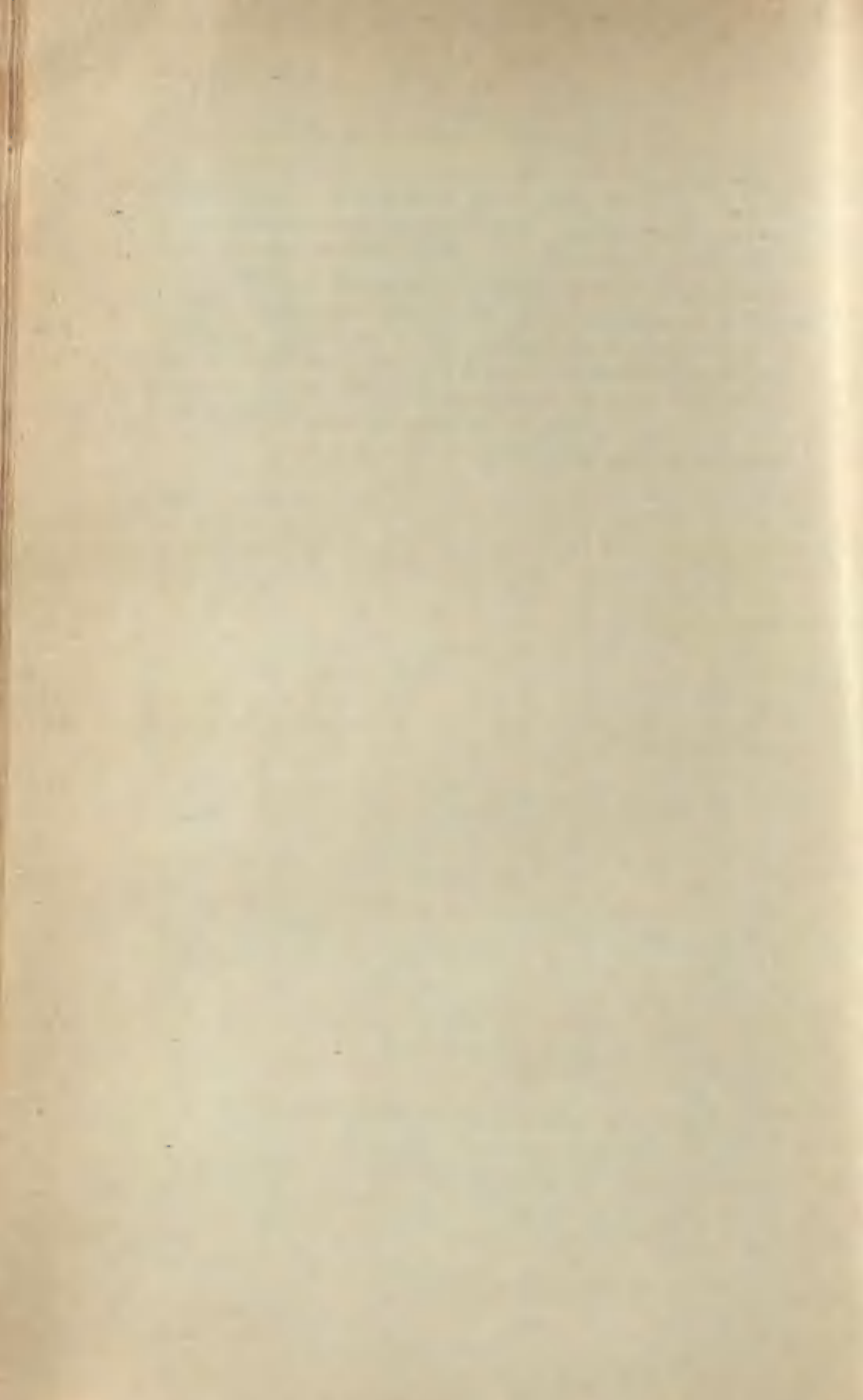
FIG. 3.—Rough plan of ruins of Altar of Heaven, Moukden.

Scale:—100 ft. to 1 in., approx.

賦, a poem in praise of the city of Moukden written by the Emperor Ch'ien Lung, records the erection of a circular altar and refers to the height and solidity of the wall, but says nothing of these two mounds. Amiot, in his translation of the poem,¹ says: "D'un côté sont les appartements du jeûne et des expiations; de l'autre sont ceux où l'on

¹ *Eloge de la Ville de Moukden* . . . Paris, 1770.

dépose ce qu'on doit offrir"—this presumably by analogy with the practice at Peking. There appears, however, to be no reason to connect such possibly temporary structures with the two mounds, which were of a permanent character. In the Temple of Heaven at Peking there stands in the south-east corner of the square court which surrounds the altar a "cylindrical structure of green glazed tile", the altar of burnt offerings, while in the south-west corner are three tall masts on which are hung the lanterns which illumine the early morning sacrifices, and it is to these positions that the mounds of the Moukden Temple approximate most closely.



RAMAKATHA—A STUDY

By K. R. PISHAROTI

THE latest work published in the Balamanoramā Series is Vāsudeva's *Rāma-kathā*.

The editor has rightly pointed out that the author cannot be the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatīri, the famous poet-grammarian-devotee of Kerala, as was suggested by the late lamented Mm. T. Gaṇapati Śāstrī. One may not subscribe to all that he has said about Kulaśekhara, but it must be conceded that he has laid proper emphasis on the fact that our author cannot be identified with the famous Yamaka-poet who wrote the *Yudhiṣṭhira-vijaya*. It may also be admitted with the editor that he cannot be the same as the author of *Śauri-kathodaya* and *Tripura-dahana*, for their parentage differs, and the styles of the two are different. Similarly, it may well be accepted that our author is identical with the writer of *Samkṣepa-rāmāyaṇa* and *S°-bhārata*. So far I agree with him; but I am not so sure that the authors of *Rāma-kathā* and of *Vāsudeva-vijaya*, the grammatical treatise to which Nārāyaṇa wrote his supplement, cannot be identical. I cannot also agree in assigning this Vāsudeva to the seventeenth century, a view that has been induced by an incorrect reading and a wrong interpretation.

The opening stanza of the quotation given from the *Samkṣepa-rāmāyaṇa*, as given in page 9 of the introduction, gives an incorrect reading in the third *pāda*. It reads *prakāśaḥ śrīkaro rājā*; but the correct text is *prakāśaśrīkaro rājā*. This is the reading given in the manuscripts which I have had occasion to examine, and it is significant as proving the family to which Ravi Varma belonged. The expression *prakāśaśrīkaro rājā* means "the king who brings prosperity to the kingdom of *Prakāśa*", i.e. the ancient kingdom of Veṭṭat in South Malabar, not the least important of the kingdoms in ancient Kerala. This family was at one time the chief centre of light and learning, and our traditions say that many literary stars enjoyed its patronage. The most important patrons of whom we now have any information are Rāma Varma, Āditya Varma, and Ravi Varma. A reading of the various contexts in which these names occur suggests that the latter two were contemporaries, the one following the other on their ancestral *gaḍi*. The editor has had to find out a

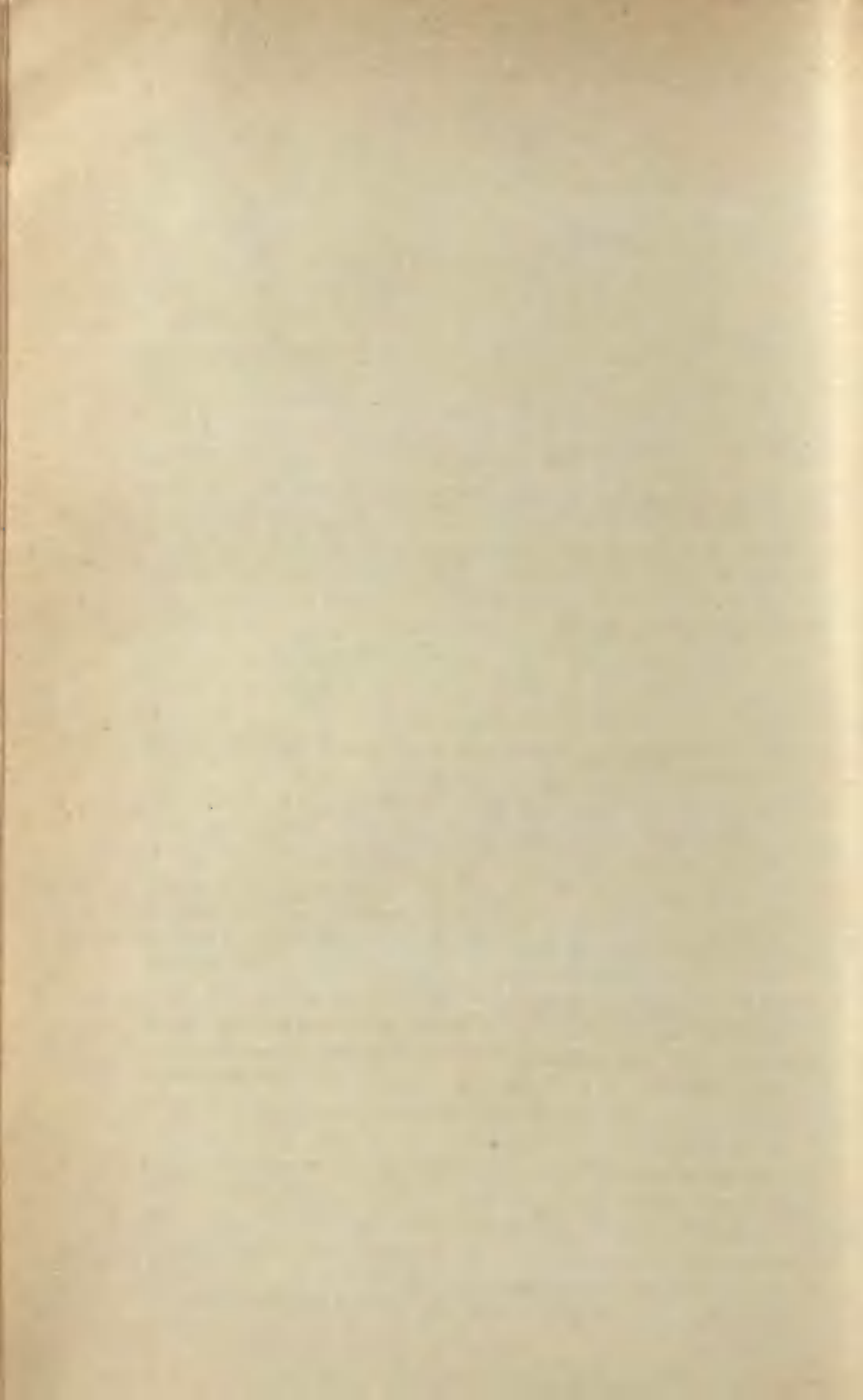
royal house to locate his author, and in the absence of any information regarding the various royal families of Kerala he naturally tried to find for him a place in a family which has produced an Āditya Varma. But the substitution of the correct reading and the identification of the kingdom of Prakāśa with the Veṭṭat kingdom show that the Āditya Varma of the text need not, rather should not, be transplanted from Veṭṭat in South Malabar to Travancore in South Kerala. The author of the *Rāma-kathā* was a protégé of Āditya Varma of *Veṭṭat* and not of *Travancore*. Hence the date of the work, as fixed up by the editor, cannot claim correctness or finality.

I have elsewhere elaborated my view of this Vāsudeva, and the following is a summary of it. I incline to identify him with the Vāsudeva who figured as a budding boy-poet at the court of the famous Vikrama of Calicut, which at the beginning of the fifteenth century contained a number of literary gems. Uddaṇḍa, the author of the drama *Mallikā-mārutam* and the poem *Kokila-saṃdeśam*, Nārāyaṇan Nampūtiripād of Cennos Mana, the author of *Tantra-samuccayam*, Kāḱkaṣṣeri (Dāmodaran) Bhaṭṭatiri, the famous rival of Uddaṇḍa, and the author of *Vasumatī-vikrama*, a drama in six acts—these are a few of the Sanskrit poets who graced that court. The genius of the young Vāsudeva first manifested itself in a *Samdeśa-kāvya*, the *Bhṛṅga-saṃdeśa*, in reply to Uddaṇḍa's *Kokila*, which was written at the instance of the great Vikrama himself. We have no information that the literary traditions of this warrior-statesman-poet king were continued by his immediate successors; on the other hand, we see that literature flourished in other courts, for instance, at Cochin and Veṭṭat. One therefore inclines to think that after the demise of Vikrama Vāsudeva, then in his prime, migrated to the court of Veṭṭat, where he found new masters in Āditya Varma and Ravi Varma, at whose bidding he wrote the *Rāma-kathā*, *Samkṣepa-rāmāyaṇa* and *Samkṣepa-bhārata*. From this point of view, the *Rāma-kathā* may well be assigned to the closing decades of the fifteenth or the opening decades of the sixteenth century.

I am also of opinion that this Vāsudeva is identical with the grammarian Vāsudeva who wrote the grammatical treatise *Vāsudeva-vijaya*, to supplement which the famous Nārāyaṇa Bhaṭṭatiri wrote his *Dhātu-kāvya*. Himself a grammarian of no mean order, it is strange that he should have written a *supplement*, and not another *original* work. But a reason can be found if we may identify the grammarian with the scholar of the same name in the Bhāṭṭa Mana.

In the closing years of the fifteenth century and the opening years of the sixteenth, the Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana rose to high eminence. During this period it produced well over a dozen members, all of whom were distinguished scholars. The most famous of them are Ṛṣi and his brothers Śaṅkara and Bhavadāsa, and Ṛṣi's nine sons, Parameśvara, Nārāyaṇa, Vāsudeva, etc. The nine brothers had one sister, and her son was the grammarian Nārāyaṇa. The author of the *Rāma-kathā* may well be identified with the Vāsudeva who was one of the nine brothers, and the grammarian. On this view there was a reason why Nārāyaṇa should write a supplement only ; for he is thus paying his homage to his uncle. From our point of view, then, Vāsudeva the author of the *Rāma-kathā* is identical with the Vāsudeva of Payyūr Bhāṭṭa Mana, the boy-protégé of the Zamorin Vikrama, and the author of *Bhr̥ṅga-saṃdeśa* and the grammatical treatise. This suggests the opening years of the sixteenth century as the date of the *Rāma-kathā*.

In concluding this note, it may not be out of place to emphasize that great care must be taken in dealing with Kerala Sanskritists, because there is a confusing recurrence of similar names both among protégés and patrons, and a complete absence of a connected history of Kerala. These make the subject very difficult. It is also worth remembering that Travancore history is not Kerala history, that it is only a *part* of it, and *not* the whole of it. This important fact cannot be too much emphasized, because it has been very often forgotten, and even recognized scholars have been found who have said that Bhāskara Ravi Varma, the donor of the Jewish plate, was a king of Travancore ! This clearly attests the popular ignorance of the very fundamentals of Kerala history, an ignorance which has considerably vitiated the conclusions of even eminent scholars and led them to propound astonishing theories.



GLEANINGS FROM EARLY URDU POETS.—II

By T. GRAHAME BAILEY

QUTB MUSHTARĪ, 1609, A DAKNĪ POEM BY MULLĀ VAJHĪ OF
GOLKUNḌA

QUTB MUSHTARĪ is a MS. poem in the India Office Library. The Catalogue of Hindustani MSS. states (p. 64, No. 122) that the name and author are unknown; but Mohyeddin Qadri in his recently published *Urdū Shahpāre* gives the name of the poem, points out that twice in the course of it Vajhī is mentioned as the author, and adduces convincing reasons for concluding that this Vajhī and the author of the prose work *Sab Ras*, which was twenty-five years later, are the same person. The date of *Qutb Mushtarī* is A.H. 1018 = A.D. 1609.

Urdū Shahpāre is a work of great value. It discusses Urdu authors from the earliest times down to the death of Valī and to illustrate their writings gives well-chosen extracts, many of which are taken from MSS.

It has been debated whether Vajhī or the King of Golkunḍa, Qulī Qutb Shāh, was the first literary writer of Urdū poetry. The King reigned from 1580 to 1611. The exact date of his work is not known, but as it is unlikely that he wrote nothing till the last two years of his life, I have no doubt that the greater part of his poetry (which occupies 1,800 MS. pages) was anterior to Vajhī's poem. These two authors are of the highest importance. Before their time verse had been religious and moral, written not as poetry, but as a means of instruction. The chief religious poets before 1600 were Shāh Mirā Jī, d. 1496, his son Shāh Burhān, d. 1582, *Khūb* Muḥammad, who wrote in 1578, and the author of *Nūr Nāma* about the same time. Of these Shāh Burhān was a writer of real poetic merit. They all belonged to the Deccan or Gujrāt.

From the ease with which Qulī Qutb Shāh and Vajhī handle the language it is plain that Urdu poetry was even then not quite in its infancy. There is a surprising modernity about their writing. The bad habit of dependence upon Persian was only beginning.

Qutb Mushtarī deals with a legendary incident in the life of the King during whose reign it was written. He dreams, while a prince,

of a lovely maiden. After a time he sets out in search of her, and at the end of many adventures finds and marries her. Vajhī, who was poet laureate, must have been encouraged by the King to write the romance, for without his sovereign's approval he would not have dared to do so. It will be seen that he is fresher and more direct than most of the poets of the following century, and from the standpoint of poetry his work stands higher than that of many who are far better known. He is in fact little more than a name in prose, and is unknown in poetry.

With a view to making the text accessible to a larger number of scholars and students I have transliterated it into Roman. This has necessitated a decision upon the pronunciation of every syllable. It is perhaps regrettable that a quasi-canonical character has thus been given to ideas about early Dakṇi pronunciation which are sometimes conjectural, but the advantages outweigh the disadvantages. I have tried to make the spelling fulfil the metrical requirements of the poem, but have omitted the frequently occurring, unwritten extra -ā.

“THE DAWN OF LOVE,” FROM *Qutb Mushtarī* BY MULLĀ VAJHĪ OF
GOLKUNDA, 1609

1. Na bhuc̣i par diśe voh na āsmān mē
Rahyā Shāh usī nār ke dhyān mē.
2. Lagyā talmālāne bahūt dhāt sō
Kahyā jāe na bāt dū(vū)bāt sō.
3. Na yū bāt har ek kū fām hoe
Vohī jāne jis par jo yū kām hoe.
4. Kadhī cakh hāse hor kadhī cakh roe
Kadhī sudh pāve kadhī sudh khoe.
5. Isī dhāt din rāt rahtā ache
Apas mē ape yū voh kahtā ache.
6. Bhulāi cācal dhuṇ vū yū Shāh kū
Kī lubdāe jyū kāhrubā kāk kū.
7. Uṭhe hor phir soe Shāh jāe kar
Kī dū(vū) nār bhī khāb mē āe kar.
8. Jo har bār yū khāb mē yār āe
To ‘āshiq kū bin khāb bhī kuc banhāe (nabhāe).
9. Pareshān hairān betāb thā
Na kuc us kū ārām tā khāb thā.
10. Lagyā Shāh usūsā bharan āh nār
Kī nazdīk nē hai vū kanvunt (gunvant) nār.

11. *Kadhī be khabar hoe kadhī hoe hushyār*
Kadhī pīv pīv kai kadhī yār yār.
12. *Yū sun muṭribā sab khabardār hue*
Jo mastān the dadan(vū) so hushyār hue.
13. *Bahūt dhāt sō bāt samjhāe kar*
Kahe Shāh kī nazdīk yū āe kar :
14. *Kī ai Shāh tū Jam Shāh khurram ho ac*
Nahī gam tuje kuc tū be gam ho ac.
15. *Jakuc tuj kī honā so hāzīr hai sab*
Usāsā jo bhartā so tū kyā sababb
16. *Kahyā Shāh dīl mēc dharnā bhalā*
Kis pās zāhīr na karnā bhalā.
17. *Kise kaū kī munj 'ishq us kā ahe*
Vohī jāne munj 'ishq jis kā ahe.
18. *Jakoi rāz yū bāp kan khole gā*
Divānā huā kar munje bole gā.
19. *Nahī bāt kahne kī yū khol kar*
Kī samjhāū ab kis kī māi bol kar ?
20. *Achā sej par mauj jyū āb mē*
Kī catkā lagū gāī sakī khāb mē.
21. *Jitā muṭribā Shāh kī samjhā kahe*
Tagāful kiye Shāh hor cup rahe.
22. *Kite kai kī mastī ke cāle hai yū*
Kite kai pirat ke ulāle hai yū.
23. *Kite kai use kucc ochaṭ huā*
Kite kai use 'ishq kā puṭ huā.

Urdū Shahpāre, pp. 189, 190.

"THE WINE FEAST," FROM *Qutb Mushtarī* BY MULLĀ VAJHĪ, OF
GOLKUNḌA, 1609

1. *Shahanshāh majālis kiye ek rāt*
Vazīrā ke farzand te sab saṅgāt
2. *Har ek khūbshūrāt har ek khush liqā*
So har ek dīlkash har ek dīl rubā
3. *Mahābat ke kāmā mē jam Jam hai jyū*
Shujā'at ke kāmā mē Rustam hai jyū
4. *Nadīm hor muṭrib sughaṭ fahmdār*
Athe Shāh sū mīlkar yū sab ek thār.

5. *Ṣurāhī piyāle le hātā mane*
Nadīmā te mashgūl bātā mane.
6. *Lage muṭribā gāne yū sās sū*
Ki dharī hale mast āvās sū
7. *Jo muṭrib dū(vū) ṣahrā mē is dhāt gāe*
To phir un kū is shauq te hāl āe.
8. *Jo gāvan vū Shāh kū kamāte athe*
So rāgā pa rāgā jamāte athe.
9. *Nadīmā latāfat mē jo cakḥ āe*
To rotyā ko khush kar gharī mē hāsāe.
10. *Sharāb hor ṣurāhī nuqal hor jān*
Hue mast majlis ke logā tamām.
11. *Jo huī rāt ādhī bichī do pahar*
Khabardār yārā hue be khavar.
12. *Bisar gai nadīmā taraz bāt kā*
Gāvāe khavar muṭribā zāt kā.
13. *Na milte na khūbī jhagarte kahī*
Yakas ke ūpar ek parte kahī.
14. *Lage mast ho saṭne mastī saṅgāt*
Yakas ke so pāvā ūpar ek hāt.
15. *So yū kuc voh yārā hue be khavar*
Ki pānī pīte the sharāb hai kakar.
16. *Yakas kū bulā ek azmāō sū*
Gale lagte the mast ho chāō sū.
17. *Bajāō jo kār to ūthē gāe kar*
Saṭe muṭribā hosh khushī pāe kar.
18. *Ṣurāhī piyāle sū hamdast ho*
Kird phirte the dū(vū) dono mast ho.
19. *Yitā mast sāqī huā sud gāvāe*
Ki pyālā mānge to ṣurāhī kū lyāe.

Urdū Shahpāre, pp. 191-2.

THE DAWN OF LOVE

1. Not on earth she appeared nor in heaven.
The prince recked of naught but the maid ;
2. He was restless in numberless ways,
Nor in words could the matter be told,
3. Nor yet could all understand,
Only he upon whom it had passed.

4. Now a little he smiled, now he wept,
Now lost, now alive, to the world.
5. In this state he remained night and day,
With himself alone had he speech.
6. The charmer absorbed all his thought,
Like amber attracting the grass.
7. He arose, but anon went and slept,
For the maid was seen only in dreams.
8. If the friend comes thus in a dream,
Then the lover wants nothing but sleep.
9. Bewildered, distressed and perturbed—
No peace all the day, save in sleep.
10. The prince breathed out groanings and sighs,
For that virtuous maid was not near.
11. Lost in thought or alert, now he says
"My dear, dear one," and now "my dear friend".
12. The singers were roused by the news,
E'en the drunken all sober became.
13. They reasoned with him many wise,
They spoke to the prince, coming near,
14. "O prince, like King Jam, be thou glad ;
Thy sorrow is groundless, grieve not :
15. Whatever thou needest is here ;
Then why dost thou utter these sighs " ?
16. Said the prince, " To keep secret is good,
Good also to tell not one soul ;
17. To whom can I say that I love her ?
Let her whom I love alone know.
18. To my Sire be this secret imparted,
He'll surely regard me as mad.
19. Not openly can this be told,
To whom can I trust this my woe ?
20. On my couch I'm a tossing sea surge,
For my dream-friend my thirst has aroused."
21. In vain did the singers console,
He turned a deaf ear and was dumb.
22. Many said " These are follies of youth ",
Or " These are o'erturnings of love ",
23. And " This is love's savour ", said some,
And others " Mere lightheadedness ".

A WINE FEAST

1. One night the Emperor an assembly made,
The sons of ministers sat with him there,
2. And every youth was handsome, fair to see,
And winsome every one with youthful charm.
3. In war as unafraid as great King Jam,
In bravery not Rustam's self more bold.
4. Courtiers and singers, elegant and wise
Sat in one place together with the King.
5. Goblet and pitcher taking in their hand
The courtiers one and all engaged in talk ;
6. And when the singers rhythmically sang,
The earth was trembling with the jovial sound.
7. Upon them as they sang in that wild waste
A frenzy passed through overmuch desire ;
8. And they that served the King in minstrelsy
Were adding melody to melody.
9. The singers entering into merriment
Would presently make even mourners gay.
10. With wine and pitcher, salted fruits and cup
Intoxicated all the guests became.
11. When half the night was come and midnight lowered,
Bereft of sense were friends with sense before.
12. Courtiers remembered not how to converse,
And singers their surroundings heeded not.
13. Not meeting as friends meet nor quarrelling,
But falling every one upon his friend.
14. The drunken courtiers swaying drunkenly
Placed each his hand upon another's foot.
15. And in this way the friends lost all their sense
And drinking water, " Sure, 'tis wine " declared,
16. And each to other called by way of test,
And drunken on the necks of shadows fell.
17. When bidden play the singers sang instead,
Witless each man through joy and revelry.
18. The pitchers holding goblets by the hand
Did reel from side to side inebriate.
19. The page became so drunk he lost his wits
And gave a pitcher when a cup was sought.

NOTES

In the transliteration into Roman character the words in brackets are what appear to me to be the correct reading for the word given immediately before, which is that in the printed text.

The chief points of Dakni grammar which emerge are the following : trans. verbs are used in the same way as intrans., even in tenses formed with the past ptc. The agent prep. *ne* is not found. *-ā* is the plur. ending, both nom. and obl., masc. and fem.

It will be noticed that Northern Urdu and Dakni words, forms and constructions are intermixed. A number of the Dakni words have long since disappeared from Urdu. Some are still common in Panjabi.

The spelling frequently reminds us of the actual pronunciation of modern Urdu as distinct from that usually laid down in books.

In these notes "U." stands for Northern Urdu.

The Dawn of Love.

1. *bhuṛī* for *bhuṛī*. *nār*, woman.
2. *dhāt*, manner, kind. *vū*, U. *voḥ*.
3. *yū*, U. *yeh*. *kū*, U. *ko*. *fām*, U. *fahm*.
5. *ache*, is.
6. *lubdāe*, connected with *lubdh*.
7. *hor*, and.
8. *nabhāy*, *na bhāy*, not be pleasing.
11. *kai*, U. *kahe*.
14. *ho ac*, become (either *ac* or *ach*).
15. *jakuc*, U. *jō kucch*.
16. *kis* for *kise*.
17. *kaū*, U. *kahū*. *ahe*, U. *hai*.
18. *sakī* for *sakhī*.
21. *jītā*, U. *jitnā*.
22. *kite kai*, U. *kitnō ne kahā*. *pirat*, love, a word still common in the Deccan.

23. *puṭ*, a common word used in North India as well as the Deccan, practically "admixture" or "taint", but with either good or bad sense. Two hundred years later Sayyid Inshā wrote *Rānī Ketakī kī Kahānī* in pure Hindi ; "*aur na kisī bolī kā mel hai na puṭ*." And 'Alī Ausat Rashk, 1799-1867, said *itnī puṭ imān kī rakhtā nahī*, I have not even so much faith.

The Wine Feast.

1. *saṅgāt* used prepositionally, with or along with.

3. *jam*, more often *jamjam*, happy, happily ; often like English "with pleasure", for "certainly", "by all means". Here a play on the name of King Jam.

4. *athe*, U. *the*.

6. *hale* ; the vowel in both Pj. and Dak. is *a*, as in eighteenth century U., *halnā*, shake, is not the same as *hīlnā*, become accustomed : Pj. *ālḥḍ*, *īḥḍ*.

7. *ṣahrā*, used for the place of meeting, as if a picnic in the desert.

9. *rotyā*, U. *rotō*.

14. *saṭne*, also 17 ; *saṭnā*, leave, give up, hence lose ; Pj. *saṭṭṇḍ*, *suttṭṇḍ*. *mastī saṅgāt*, U. *mastī se*.

15. *kakar*, U. *kahkar*.

19. *yitā*, U. *itnā*.

Some everyday Pj. words occur in the extracts. Such are : *dis*, Pj. *diss* appear : *kadhī*, Pj. *kadī*, sometimes ; *hor*, Pj. *hor* (*or*) and : *jam*, Pj. *jamjam*, with pleasure : *hal*, Pj. *hall* (*all*), shake : *bisar*, Pj. *vissar*, forget : *gāvā*, Pj. *guḍ*, lose : *saṭ*, Pj. *saṭṭ*, *sutt*, ; in Pj. means throw.

CHILDREN'S STORIES FROM CHINESE TURKESTAN

Collected and translated by R. O. WINGATE

چىنك تۈر باتو نىنك حكاىە سى

اوتكان زمانده چىنك تۈر باتو دىب بر پهلوان بار ايردى
انىنك بر سىنكلى سى بار ايردى چىنك تۈر باتو بر كون
سىنكلى غە نصيحت قىلىپ ايتى اى اوكام توخە كىرسە^۱ تاخ
دىمانك موشوك كىرسە^۲ پاش دىمانك دىدى وينە بر سوز قىلدى
اوى نى سپور سانكىز بر دانه قوناق چىقسە انى توخە غە برىنك
وبر دانه^۳ گولە چىقسە انى چايناب موشوك كا برىنك دىب
نصيحت قىلىپ اوزى شىكارى چىقىپ كتى بر كون توخە كىرسە
تاخ دىدى وتوخە سونى اوچاق غە^۴ اوروب اوت نى اوچوردى
وموشوك كىرسە پاش دىدى وموشوك اوى دىن بر نچە جىنك
كوشت نى اليب قاچتى اول وقت اول چوكان قايداغ قىلاى
دىب يغلاب موشوك نى پاش دىماسام وتوخە نى تاخ دىماسام بولور
ايكان دىب قىلفان گناھى غە پشيمان بولوب اولتوردى اول وقت
ايشيك نىنك الدىدا بر كىم مانكفاندىك بولدى اول وقت امدى
اكام كلكان^۵ اوخشايدور دىب خيال قىلىپ تورسە

چينك تمور باتو اويده بارمو
 ۸ مسليان قيليجي ياني دا بارمو
 ۷ دول دول آطي ايغيل دا بارمو
 ۹ وانك وانك كوچو كي حويلي دا بارمو
 ديب انكلادي چوكان ديدى كه

چينك تمور باتو اويده يوق ۱۰ دو
 مسليان قيليجي يانيدا كتي
 دول دول اطي تكيده كتي
 وانك وانك كوچو كي اليدا كتي

ديدى اول وقت يته باش ليق ۱۰ يالمونكوز كي ريب تونكلوك
 غه بر ارغمچي ساليب اول قيز بلا ني اليب كليپ تاپاني غه بر
 تمورني سانجيب قان ني ۱۱ شوروب ايچتي اول قيز سريق بولوب
 كتي بر نچه كون دين كين اكاسي كليپ ايتي اي اوكام نه بولدي
 نه اوچون چراينكي سريق بولوب كتي ديدى اول چوكان
 ايتي هيچ غه بولمادي ديدى اكاسي ايتي هر كناهينكي بولسه
 اوتوم دنك ديدى اول چوكان ايتي ۱۲ توخه ني تاخ ديب ۱۳ ايديم
 اوت ني اوچوردى و ۱۲ موشوك ني پاش ديب ۱۳ ايديم كوشت
 ني اليب قاچتي اندين كين بريته باش ليق يالمونكوز كليپ تاپانيم

نى تىشىب قانى نى ايچتى ديدى اول وقت اكاسى ايتى يەنە كلامدور
 ديدى اول چوكان حاضر يەنە كلامدور ديدى اول وقت اول قرى
 كليب يەنە شونداغ گب قىلدى اول وقت اكاسى ايتى "يوق
 دانك ديدى اول چوكان ايتى

چينك تمور باتو شىكار غە كىتى
 وانك وانك كوچو كى الديدا كىتى
 دول دول اطلى تكيده كىتى
 مسليان قىليچى يانيدا كىتى

ديدى اول وقت اول قرى كىردى چينك تمور باتو قىليچ
 برله اولتوردى پس چينك تمور باتو بولك نهايت خوش هوا
 برىركا كوچوب كىتى اندا اولتوروب اوبدان يوردى اول يرده
 هم جانورلار تولا ايردى

THE STORY OF CHING TIMUR VATU

In olden time there lived a paladin called Ching Timur Vatu, and he had a sister. One day Ching Timur Vatu charged his sister thus, saying, "Oh, my little sister, if a hen should happen to come in, don't say 'Takh' (i.e. Shoo) to it, or if a cat should come in, don't say 'Pash' to it." And again he added, "If, in sweeping the room, you come on a grain of maize, give it to the hen, or if you come on a bit of dried apricot, chew it a little and give it to the cat." And when he had given these instructions he went off to his hunting.

One day a hen came in, but the girl (lit. she) said "Takh",

whereupon the hen upset the water into the fire and put it out. And when a cat (happened) to come in, she said "Pash", and the cat ran away with several pounds of meat.

Then the maiden began to cry, saying "Whatever shall I do? If only I hadn't said 'Pash' to the cat, and 'Takh' to the hen."

And as she sat regretting the wrong she had done, someone came up to the door outside. Then she guessed that it was her brother arriving, but as she surmised she heard (a voice) say,

"Ching Timur Vatu is he in the house?
Mesliyan his sword, is it by his side?
Doldol his horse, is it in the stable?
Vang Vang his puppy, is it about the place?"

So she replied:

"Ching Timur Vatu is not in his house,
Mesliyan his sword went by his side,
Doldol his horse went too beneath him,
And Vang Vang his puppy ran before him."

Then there came in a seven-headed ogre, who, fastening a rope to the skylight, seized the maiden (bound her up), pierced holes in her heels with a bit of iron, and sucked and drank her blood. So the girl became weak and pale (lit. became yellow).

Her brother arrived some days later, and he said, "Oh my little sister, what is the matter? Why has your face become so pale?" The maiden answered, "Nothing is the matter." But her brother said, "Whatever you may have done wrong, I have forgiven it. Now speak." The girl answered, "I said 'Takh' to the hen, and it put the fire out; and I said 'Pash' (Out of the way!) to the cat, and it ran off with the meat: and then a seven-headed ogre came in, and pierced my heels and drank the blood." Then her brother asked, "Is it going to come back?" And the maiden answered, "The ogre is just coming now." And at that moment the old wretch arrived, and asked the same questions as before. The brother said (to the girl), "Say that I am away." So the maiden called out,

"Ching Timur Vatu went away to hunt,
Vang Vang his puppy ran before him,
Doldol his horse went beneath him,
And Mesliyan his sword went at his side."

Then the old wretch entered, and Ching Timur Vatu killed it with his sword. And after that Ching Timur Vatu moved, to live at another place where the air was very good. And in that place there were also many wild animals (to hunt ?).

Notes

I overheard an old woman telling this story to some small children, so I sent a boy who could write, to take it down from her lips. Hence come certain words not used in literary Turki, and such repetitions as *اول وقت* and *ديدي* at the end of every speech.

1. Shoo !

2. Pash ! is usually pronounced "posh"—Get out of the way ! A word very much used in colloquial Turki. Other such words that are not used at all in written Turki are "maili" *ميلي*—Never mind ! No matter ! "Taṅg" *تانك* I don't know ! and the children's word "Pa !" *پا*—too hot ! which are all in the nature of interjections.

3. Dried apricot.

4. From *اوروماك* to upset, to roll.

5. "Presumably," from *اوخشاماق* *okhshamaq* = to be like. *Okhshaidör* always takes the present or past participle.

6. Mesliyan. Possibly a name, or an adjective denoting "sharpness".

7. Doldol. This was the name of 'Ali's mule ; it may originally have had some meaning, or it may be onomatopœic, like the following name, in which case it would be equivalent to Trot, Trot.

8. Vang vang = Bow wow.

9. The final *r* of *dür* is dropped to rhyme with Vatu.

10. Ogre.

11. From *شوراماق* *shuramaq* = to suck.

12. Notice accusative after *ايتي* *eyti*, instead of the usual dative.

13. Written as pronounced, instead of correctly *ايتي*. The sounds of *t* and *d* in Turki very closely approximate to one another.

14. Lit. "Say, No !" *يوق* when pronounced *yog* = "not", or "is not", or "does not exist"; but pronounced *yag* = "No !" *دانك* *dang* is here written as pronounced, instead of correctly *دنك*.

خدا اوچون اوغورلوق قیلغان اوغری حکایه سی

بر اوغری برکون اوغورلوق اوچون نیت قیلیب چیقتی بر
اوکره کا چیقتی اوی نینک تونکلوکیدین قایلایسه نهایت بر
صاحب جمال نورانی بر یکیت اولتورادور انینک بر خاتونی بار
ایردی اول نهایت سرت^۱ قوقلوق ایردی اولار یاتادورغان
وقته اول خاتون ایرینی سن اوران نینک ایاغیدین کیرکیل دیب
کوب خفه قیلور ایردی بیچاره یکیت اول خاتون نینک قیلغان ظلم
جبرلاریکا چیدامای بر کیچه یغلار ایردی ای خدا مونداغ^۲ موش
توواق قری دین منی خلاص قیلنمیل دیب اول اوغری انی
کوروب رحمی کلیب من نچه یل نینک ایچیده اوغورلوق قیلیب
بورورمن اما هیچ^۳ صواب ایش قیلما دیم بوکون خدا اوچون
بر اوغورلوق قیلای دیب اول یردین چیقیب باشقه بریرکا
باردی بر اوکره کا چیقیب تونکلوك دین نظر قیلنودیک بولسه
سل دیو افریت دیک بر بد بشیر خطای اوران غه کیرای دیب
تورادور بر فرصتدین کین اویدین پری ذات دیک بر چوکان
چیقیب اوران غه کیرکالی توردی اول خطای انی کوروب حی
مینک ایاغیم غه کیریپ یاتقیل دیب بوتقانه کیرکالی قویادی بو
بیچاره چوکان اول خطای نینک بوتی فی قوجاغلاب یاتی اول
اوغری فکر قیلدیکه بو چوکان اول نورانی یکیت کا لایق ایکان

اول موش تواق قری بول خطایغه لایق ایکان دیب اهسته
 تونکلوکئی تشیب کیریپ اول چوکان فی کوتاریپ اول یکیت
 نینک ایچیکا سالیپ قویدی اول موش تواق قرینی الیب باریپ
 اول خطاینینک ایچیکا الیب کیریپ قویدی اوغری اویکا یانیپ
 کئی نصب شب بولغانده اول یکیت نینک 'بدنلاریکا یومشاق
 بر راحت اوروندی بویکیت' تعجب خدایم منینک نالهیم فی اجابت
 قیلیپ بو خوش روی بدن یومشاق ملیکه فی منکا تکوزوب دور
 دیب فکر قیلدی و اوخلادی اول چوکان هم او یغانسه 'نهایت
 چیرایلیق بریکیت نینک قولیدا یاتقان کوروب منینک آم فی
 خدایم اجابت قیلیپ اول افلاس خطای دین منی خلاص قیلیپ
 دور بویکیت قوینیغه کلتورکان اوخشایدور دیب نهایت
 خرسند بولدی

ایرته سی خطای قویوب گوره خانه کا کیرسه 'دانکره
 لارینک جوزه نینک توبه لارینی المایدور ایشیک الدینی سپورمایدور
 خطای در غضب بولوب کیر کودیک بولسه خاتونی اوخلاب قالیپ
 دور خطای نینک 'اچینی کلیپ' نانکمای پیدی دیب قونکیکا
 ایکی فی تپدی اول خاتون قورقونجیدین حیران بولوب من قایداغ
 بولوب بو خطای نینک اورانیغه کلیپ قالغان دور من دیب تورسه
 اول خطای 'خویچی خویچی دیب بر' بانکبانکره فی کوتاریپ

اورغالی توردي اول موش توواق قری يلانكناچ اويدن قاچتی
امچاكلارينی "سانك گالاتیب اول خطای اوقه سیدین قوغلاب
مانکدی خلائق مسجدین یانیب ایکان انی کوروب خلق لار حیران
بولوب حوی¹⁰ جانکوییدی غه بولدی دیب سوردی اول خطای
ایتی که منده خاتون یوق بولدی بوخاتون اوران ده¹² یائینکزه بولدی
بوخاتون منده خاتون ایماس دیدی اول خاتون دین سوردی سیز
کیم نینک خاتونی ایردینکیز دیب اول ایستی من فلانی یکیت
نینک خاتونی ایردیم دیدی سن بوخطای نینک اوی کا قچان
کلدینک دیدی اول موش توواق قری ایستی که من کیچه ایریم
نینک ایچیده ایردیم اویانسام بوخطای نینک یوتقانیده یاتقان
کوردم دیدی قوم جماعت لار بیلان اول خطای اول یکیت
نینک اوی کا باردی قایلانسه خاتونی اول اویده تورادور اول
خطای یکیتکا ایستی ای آخوند منده خاتون سنده خاتون سنده
خاتون منده خاتون بولانکزه بولدی منده خاتونی¹³ برینکزه بار
سندھ خاتون¹⁴ الینکزه باردیدی اول یکیت ایستی که حی جانکوییدی
بکار گب نی قیلماک منده خاتون سنده خاتون اورنیدا غه ایش
"قیلینک بار دیب اول هم بر "مابانک فی الیب حقیب هر
ایکی لاسی نی اوروب چیقاردی

THE THIEF WHO STOLE ON GOD'S BEHALF

A thief one day went out to carry through a theft that he had planned. He climbed up on to a roof, but happening to look through the skylight of the house, he saw a youth who was possessed of the most dazzling beauty, sitting below. He was married, but his wife was an extremely ugly hag. When their bed-time came, the wife said to her husband, "Here you, get in at the bottom of the bed," and continued to make herself unpleasant. One night, unable to bear his troubles and his wife's tyranny, the poor lad was weeping, and prayed, "Oh God, deliver me from this horrible old woman!" And thereupon the thief watching, took pity on him, and said to himself, "How many years have I not passed in thieving, and not done so much as one good deed yet! But this day I will do a robbery for God's sake."

Then he left that place, and going to another, he climbed up on to a roof, and when he was in a position to peep through the skylight, he saw a nasty creature of a Chinaman, as ugly as any devil, who was about to go to bed. A moment later a fairy-like maiden came out of (another) room, and she also was going to get into the bed, when the Chinaman seeing her, called out, "Hey, get in and lie down at my feet." He would not let her share any of the quilt, so this poor girl lay hugging the Chinaman's feet.

Then the thief thought to himself, "This maiden is worthy of that handsome young man, and that hideous old hag will do for this Chinaman." And so thinking, he quietly made a hole through the skylight, got in, carried off the girl, and laid her in the young man's bed. Then, taking the hideous old woman, he re-entered the Chinaman's house and put her down there. Then the thief returned home.

At midnight the youth's body rubbed against something soft and nice, and the young man, astonished, thought to himself: "God has granted my petition and given me this fair-faced, soft-limbed princess in exchange (for the hag)." And he fell asleep. The maiden too happened to awake, and finding herself lying in the arms of a very handsome youth, she exclaimed in delight: "It seems that God has heard my sighing, and it must be He who has freed me from that wretched Chinaman, and brought me to the bosom of this youth."

In the morning the Chinaman got up, but when he went into the pawnshop, no one was dusting the table where the ledgers lay, and no one had swept in front of the door. And when he went back into the house in a rage, his wife was still asleep. Then the Chinaman in anger, swore at her (lit. said "Nangmai pedi") and kicked her a

couple of times behind. The woman, in a maze with fear, said, "Whatever has happened, that I should come and find myself in this Chinaman's bed?" As she spoke, the Chinaman seized a piece of wood and threatened her with it, crying, "Get out! Get out!" The horrible old woman fled, half-naked and shaking, out of the house; while the Chinaman came in pursuit after her.

People were just returning from the mosque, and astonished at the sight, they asked, "Hi, Sir Chinaman, whatever is the matter?" The Chinaman answered, "I lost my wife, this woman became lying down in the bed. This woman is not a wife for me" (talking broken Turki). Then they asked the woman, "Whose wife were you?" and she replied, "I was wife to the young man So-and-So." Then they said, "And when did you enter this Chinaman's house?"

The hideous old hag said, "Last night I was in my husband's bed, and when I awoke I found myself lying in this Chinaman's quilt." Then the congregation went with the Chinaman to the house of that young man, and when he (the Chinaman) looked, behold his wife was there in the house. Then the Chinaman said to the young man, "Oh Sir, I have a wife, you have a wife. You have a wife, she became wife to me. You want to give my wife (back) and to take your wife." But the youth answered, "Hey, Sir Chinaman, do not talk nonsense (or slander). What is it that you propose to do? to take my wife in exchange for yours!"

And he in turn snatched up a board, and coming out he drove them both away.

Notes

1. قوقلوق filthy.
2. قوقلوق موش تواق hideous, evil (from مشترك?).
3. صواب ایش, lit. "a righteous deed", but usually used in Turki for "doing a good turn", or "a work of supererogation".
4. بدئلاریکا honorific plural.
5. تعجب. In my MSS. this was wrongly spelt with a *d* for *t*. The *t* in Turki is often almost interchangeable with *d* in pronunciation. Not only can one meet Mehmet as a colloquial form of محمد but it is usually regarded as another form of the name Muhammad, and written ممت; possibly by analogy with Ahmed

(often pronounced Ahmet). Both forms of the name are used. Cf. Mary Ann and Marian in English.

6. *نهایت*, used for "very" throughout this story, would, in speech, probably be replaced by *bek* (بك?). *Nihayeti bek* is often used colloquially for "extremely".

7. *اچینی کلدی*, lit. "his bitterness came"; the ordinary idiom for "become angry".

8. One of the commonest Chinese words of abuse. Raquette, *Eastern Turki Dialect*, Sec. 1.

9. Chinese words.

10. A title used only to Chinese. Raq., *East. Turki Dial.*, Sec. 1.

11. *سانک گالاتماک* to flop. A rare verb. Properly the causative form of *سانکو لاماک* to hang down.

12. *یاتیکزه* "you lie down", with the Chinese ending *ze* 着 added. And so later throughout the Chinese speeches. This is usual in Chinese-Turki. Cf. the very familiar word *بلانگزه* *balangze* "your child" (or "your wife").

13. *برنگزه بار*. Broken Turki. But probably the 2nd pers. possessive suffix added to the root, instead of, as properly, to the future participle, i.e. *بر* for *برکو*, *قیلغو* for *قیل*, to convey the sense of "you wish to give", "you want to do".

14. *قیلینک بار*. Raq., *Grammar*, ii, p. 53. See above, Note 13.

برای هر یل دا اوج مرد کار ایشلاتور ایردی هر بر مرد کار
 العان دا بر اوئی نی سمیز باقار ایردی اول مرد کارنی م بر آی چه
 باقار ایردی اول بای اندین اول مرد کارغه اوئی نی الیب چیق
 دیدی مرد کار معقول دیب چیقی بای م اوزینی¹ یاساب چیقی
 و سفرکا یاریب بر تاغقه باردی اول تاغدا التون بار ایردی اما
 تاغقه چیقان آدم هر کیز توشالماس ایردی اول بای ایتی بو اوئی نی
 سونین دیدی ادم² توغراج سویدی پای ایتی اینا کچیکنه

گوشت قالب دور الينك دیدی آدم معقول ديب باشینی تیره
 نينك ايچيكا³ تیقتی بای اول آدم فی برتبی و آدم تیره نينك
 ايچيكا کيريب کتتی اندین اول بای اغیزینی⁴ بوغوب⁵ نری راق
 باریب توردي اول وقت قوش لار کلیب انی الیب تاغ توپه
 سیکا الیب چیقیب قوش لار تیره فی یب اجتی اندین اول مردکار
 چیقیب شول بای فی تاش برلان اولتورای ديب التون فی⁶ تازا
 اتی بای نری توردي اندین کین کلیب⁷ تیزیب خورجین غه
 سالیب اطغه ارتیب اوی کا کتتی

ینه برمر تبه شونداغ قیلدی اما اول مردکار آدم⁸ آهسته
 تاغدین توشوب ینه شهر کا کیردی اول بای اوچونجی قطار
 مردکار الغالی بارغاندا اول آدم باشقه یانکزه بولوب ینه کلدی
 اول بای بالدور کی ديك قلیب اولار ینه بارغاندا بای ینه اوی فی
 سونی دیدی اول آدم معقول ديب سویدی اول بای ایتی اینا
 کچیکنه گوشت بار دیدی اول آدم ایتی حی بای اوزلاری
 قایللاب باقسلا دیدی اول بای باشینی تیره نينك ايچيكا تیقسه
 مردکار برنی تپی و بای ايچيكا کيريب کتتی اندین اول آدم
 اغیزنی⁴ بوغوب قویدی و قوش لار تاغ توپه سی کا الیب چیقیب
 کتتی قوشلار تیره فی یسه بای تیره دین چیقیب شول آدم
 اولسون ديب التون تاش لار فی تازا اتی اندین مردکار بای نينك

خورجین بی الیب همه سی نی تیزیب بای آطیغه مینیب شهرکا
باریب بای خاتونی نی الی اندین اول آدم تازا بای بولدی

A certain Bey (i.e. rich man) used to engage three labourers a year. And when he had got a farm labourer, he would fatten up an ox; he used also to see that the labourer fared very well for the space of one month. After that time (one day) the Bey said to the labourer, "(Come) drive out the ox." "Very good, Sir," answered the man and went out. The Bey then got ready, and set out too, and after they had travelled some way they came to a mountain. Now in this mountain there was gold, (but) no one who climbed up the mountain had ever been able to get down again. (Lit. any man who climbed . . . had never been able . . .)

The Bey said, "Now flay this ox." So the labourer cut its throat (or, slit it up?) and flayed the beast. The Bey said, "Look here, there is a tiny piece of the flesh left (sticking to the hide). Take it away." "Very good," said the labourer, and put his head right inside the hide. Then the Bey gave him a kick, and the man disappeared completely into the hide.

Thereupon the Bey bound up the opening of the hide, went away and waited a short distance off. Presently the eagles came and carrying off the hide, flew to the top of the mountain. There they pecked a hole in the hide (lit. ate until they opened the hide), and the labourer climbed out. Thinking, "I will kill that Bey by (dropping) stones (on him)," the labourer hurled down lumps of gold in a most violent way (lit. violently threw). But the Bey kept some way away, and (only) afterwards came and piled up (the gold), packed it into his saddlebags, loaded up his horse, and went home.

Again a second time he acted in the same fashion. But the (first) labourer, with difficulty managing to clamber down from the mountain, came back to the city. And when the Bey went a third time to hire a labourer, that man changed his appearance and got taken again (lit. came again). The Bey doing again as he had before, when they arrived (at the mountain) again, he said "Now flay this ox." So the man said "Very good", and flayed it. Then the Bey said, "Look, there is still a little flesh left inside," but the man answered, "Hi Bey, please have a look yourself and see (that there is not)." Then the Bey poked his head into the hide, whereupon the labourer

gave him a kick, and he disappeared inside. Then the man tied up the opening, and the eagles came and carried off the hide to the top of the mountain. And when they had pecked a hole in the hide, the Bey clambered out. And saying to himself, "This labourer had better die," he hurled lumps of gold at him. Then the labourer got hold of the Bey's saddlebags, and gathering it all up, he rode off on the rich man's horse. When he came to the city, the labourer married the Bey's wife, and he too became an extremely rich man (lit. very much a Bey too).

Notes

1. یاساماق *yasamaq* more usually means "to build".
2. From توغراماق *toghramaq* = to cut across.
3. From تیقماق *tiqmaq* = to insert (or to prick out flowers).
4. بوغماق. Usual meaning is "to choke", but here clearly means to bind.
5. نری *neri*—far, corresponding to بری *beri*—near.
6. تازا *taza*, a colloquial word meaning "extremely"; used to strengthen the meaning of the word it qualifies, e.g. تازا اتی *taza atti* = he threw violently, تازا بای *taza bai* = very rich, or extremely influential a man. بای, pronounced *bai* in Turki, is used largely as a title.
7. From تیزماق *tizmaq* = to pile up, stack (wood).
8. آهسته in Turki either "slowly" or "gently" or "softly".

NOTES ON A GRAMMAR OF THE LANGUAGE OF ONGTONG JAVA¹

By H. IAN HOGGIN

PART I. Phonetic System.

PART II. Morphology.

PART III. Syntax.

PART IV. Texts.

PART V. A Representative Vocabulary.

TO the north-east of the Solomon Islands lies a ring of coral islands surrounding a lagoon about 100 miles in circumference. The nearest land is the northern tip of the island of Ysabel, which is some 200 miles to the south-west. This group of islands has been variously called Ongtong Java, Lord Howe's Group, Leueneuwa, Leua Niua, and Lua Niua. The three latter are more or less unsatisfactory attempts at writing the native name of the largest island, Luanua. There is no native name for the whole atoll and it is not only misleading but also wrong to use Luanua for the purpose. Lord Howe has already given his name to three other Pacific Islands, so that it seems best to take the name which Tasman gave and call the atoll Ongtong Java.

These islands are populated by natives with undoubted Polynesian affinities. In physical type they show a resemblance to the Samoans and their language is a Polynesian dialect, but in other respects the culture shows some marked differences from those of the central Pacific. The social organization is closely paralleled by that of Sikiana, in the south, and by that of the Tasman Islands, the Mortlocks and Pead Island (Nuguria) to the north. This organization is not characterized by rank, which is so important in Polynesia.

Ray has already collected the linguistic data from earlier writers and published them in the *Journal of the Polynesian Society* for 1917 (pp. 98 sqq.). To this paper it is not necessary for me to refer in detail, as the information is admittedly fragmentary. In one or two places it is quite incorrect.

I spent several months at Ongtong Java during 1927 and 1928, and the accompanying paper includes some of the results of ethnological research carried out at that time. It was also part of a thesis submitted for the degree of Master of Arts in the University of Sydney. I have to thank Professor A. R. Radcliffe-Brown of the University of Sydney for suggesting the main plan and also for much help in

¹ Part of the Anthropological Research carried out while the author held a Science Research Fellowship of the University of Sydney (1927-29). The research was directed by the Australian National Research Council.

almost every step in the discussion. Indeed, he is chiefly responsible for any value that the paper may have. I also am indebted to my friend, Mr. A. H. Pelham, of Teachers' College, Sydney, and to Mr. J. R. Firth, of University College, London, for suggestions and criticism.

There are two tribes on the atoll, the Pelau tribe in the northern islands, and the Luaniua tribe in the south. Their language is identical in all but a few minor points, e.g. in Pelau "foot" is *kapuæ*; in Luaniua it is *kapuæ*.

PART I

PHONETIC SYSTEM

The Ongtong Java language has five vowels which will be represented by the symbols *a*, *e*, *i*, *o* and *u*. Of these, the *a*, *i*, and *u* are pronounced as in Italian; the *e* and *o* correspond to the closed *e* and *o* of French (as in *été* and *cocher*). The sounds may be either long or short, but the quantity does not affect the quality of the vowel. This must be borne in mind especially with regard to the final *a*, which must never be pronounced like the English indefinite sound (as in the last syllable of "author").

The pronunciation of three of the consonants is unalterable, *m* and *v*, pronounced as in English, and *ŋ*. This symbol represents the *ng* of "singer", and must not be confused with the sounds in "finger".

As in other Polynesian dialects, the sounds which in our language are represented by *b* and *p* are normally indistinguishable to the native ear, and are used indiscriminately. For the sake of uniformity I shall use *p* throughout. Practically the same applies to the two sounds which in English are written as *k* and *g* (as in "great"). There is one exception to this rule. Whenever one syllable begins with the nasal *ŋ* and the next with the *k-g* phoneme, it is the *g* sound only which may be used. Again for the sake of uniformity I shall use the *k* symbol, but it must be remembered that the word which I shall write *layikuku* must be pronounced as if it were *layiguku*. Similarly, *kulanikava* must be spoken *kulanigava*.

In Polynesian generally we are familiar with the regular change of consonants from one dialect to another. It is therefore no surprise to find that the Samoan *f* is represented in Ongtong Javanese by *h*, so that *alofo* has become *aloha*. The Samoan *s* is apparently in the process of change. For this sound there is no hard and fast rule; it

is perfectly permissible to say *kahi* or *kasi* (Samoan *tasi*) and *hoa* and *soa* (Samoan *soa*).¹ Although it does not preserve uniformity I have thought it best to give each word its most common pronunciation. Thus, I shall write *kahi* because one hears it slightly more frequently than *kasi*; similarly, I shall write *soa* because I heard it more often than I did *hoa*.

Another typical trait of Polynesian is the almost indiscriminate use of *l* and *r*. I am not quite sure how these sounds are formed exactly. I have followed the Hawaiian convention and not the Maori because in reduplicated syllables, e.g. *lelele*, *kamalili'i*, etc., it is usual to employ the *l* sound only.

The glottal stop takes the place of an extra consonant and is written as an apostrophe (*pe'a*, *'olalo*, etc.). There are in all, then, five vowels and eight consonants, though for the sake of convenience we are compelled to use one extra symbol, the *s* as well as the *h*. The following is a complete list —

i u
e o
a

- h*, the aspirate ;
k, voiced and unvoiced velar stop ;
l, partaking of the sounds of both liquids ;
m, nasal labial stop ;
ŋ, velar nasal stop ;
p, voiced and unvoiced labial stop ;
s, unvoiced, post-dental fricative ;
v, voiced, bi-labial fricative ;
 ' , glottal stop.

These consonants may be arranged in a table, as follows :—

	Bilab.	Alv.	Velar.	Glottal.
Plosives . .	<i>p</i> (<i>b</i>)	(<i>d</i>) ?	<i>k</i> (<i>g</i>)	
Nasals . .	<i>m</i>		<i>ŋ</i>	
<i>l</i> , <i>r</i> . .		<i>l</i> (<i>r</i>)		
Fricatives . .	<i>v</i>	<i>s</i> (<i>h</i>)		<i>h</i>

¹ I do not wish to imply that the Ongtong Javanese people came from Samoa originally. I am merely using Samoan as a typical example of a Polynesian dialect.

The letters within the brackets represent sounds which are used by the natives but do not appear in my phonology because they are not distinguished as separate phones. I have included (*d*) because I think that the *l*, *r* phone does occasionally approach a *d*.

There are no diphthongs and when two vowels are used together each has its full value; 'ai is a word of two separated elements and *haeo* a word of three. Two consonants can never be used together. Almost all syllables are therefore open. However, in quick speech, where the final and the penultimate vowel are the same and the latter is accentuated, the final vowel is completely lost—*lagisi* frequently becomes *lapis*.

Accentuation generally falls on the penultimate syllable. If the word has only two syllables this means that it is the first which is stressed. So general is this rule that it is only necessary to indicate accentuation in the exceptions. This is done in the following way—*ama'ku* (stress on *ku*). If two words are combined to form a compound each will retain its original accentuation. The word *maka* has the normal stress; when it is combined with *si*, the resulting compound is 'maka-'si. Proper names must be mentioned separately. The general rule of penultimate syllable stress still holds provided the proper noun has more than two syllables. If it has only two syllables, then it is always the last which is stressed, e.g. *ma'o*, *pe'i*, *ho'u*, etc.¹

Accented *a*, or an *a* after a glottal stop, may be changed to *o* at any time, e.g. *ra'a* may become *ro'o*; 'ayau, 'onou; 'alalo, 'olalo, etc.

PART II

MORPHOLOGY

Throughout this paper I shall base my remarks to a great extent on what Jespersen has said in his *Philosophy of Grammar*.²

Of the various mechanisms covered by the word morphology, there are some which we can disregard completely because they do not occur in Ongtong Javanese. Affixation, internal modification and change of stress are never used.

Of the mechanisms which are found, I propose to begin by giving the words with a specialized function, firstly, the pronouns.

¹ There are no exceptions to this rule and it will not be necessary therefore to indicate their accentuation in the following texts.

² London, 1924.

Personal Pronouns

Singular. 1st person : 'ayau, mayau,¹ au,² 'aia² (co-existing alternative forms).

2nd person : 'a'oe, ma'oe¹ (co-existing alternative forms).

There is no third personal pronoun. Its place is taken by a noun plus the demonstrative particle.

Dual. 1st person { inclusive : kava.
 { exclusive : maua.
2nd person 'olua (literally, two).

Plural 1st person { inclusive : kakou
 { exclusive : makou.
2nd person 'okou.

As in the singular, there is no third personal pronoun. The noun plus the particle is used.

Possession.

The ordinary personal pronouns serve as possessives also. They are placed after the word they qualify, e.g. *ke moeŋa 'ayau*, literally, "the mat I", must be translated "my mat"; also, *ya moeŋa 'okou*, literally "the mats you", must be translated "your mats". Two special possessive pronouns may be used for parts of the body and relatives³:

<i>kou</i>	my, our.
<i>ko</i>	your (singular and plural).
e.g. <i>kou lima</i>	my arm.
<i>ko lima</i>	your arm.

Nevertheless it is still possible, though scarcely usual, to say:—

<i>ke lima 'ayau</i>	my arm.
<i>na lima 'olua</i>	the arms of the two of you.

Interrogatives

'oai	who?
(i) ai	whom?

e.g. *kamaya 'a'oe 'oai?*, literally, "father you who?", which must be translated, "who is your father?"

¹ Only employed occasionally.

² Scarcely ever used.

³ In songs, where the grammar is always lax, it is possible to use *kou* with one's own personal possessions. For example, one of the songs which the winner of a canoe race may sing speaks of *kou ea'a* (*ea'a* = canoe).

ya kama kakala 'anau i ai?, literally, "men say I whom?" translates "who do they say I am".

<i>chia</i>	how many?
<i>i hea</i>	} where?
<i>ke hea</i>	

e.g. *ya kaiya 'a'oe chia?* literally, "the brother of you how many," translates "how many brothers have you?"

'a'oe i hea where are you?

<i>pe he</i>	how?
<i>ke a</i>	what?
<i>yaea</i>	why?

'a'oe e 'aka ke a? What are you laughing at?

'a'oe e uaka pe he? How do you work?

Numerals

The numerals are also words of specialized function. Used alone they run as follows:—

1 <i>kahi</i>	9 <i>rivo</i>
2 <i>lua</i>	10 <i>seyahulu</i>
3 <i>kolu</i>	11 <i>seyahulu ma kahi</i>
4 <i>ha</i>	20 <i>kipu lua</i>
5 <i>lima</i>	21 <i>kipu lua ma kahi</i>
6 <i>oyo</i>	30 <i>kipu kolu</i>
7 <i>hiku</i>	100 <i>hui kalau</i>
8 <i>valu</i>	1000 <i>semaka</i>

also

one pair	<i>siaua</i>
two pairs	<i>luaua</i>
three pairs	<i>kalayaua</i>
four pairs	<i>hanyaua</i>
five pairs	<i>sehui</i>

When these numerals are used adjectivally a particle must be placed before them. There are three of these particles:—

ho used only with *kahi*.

ko } two co-existing alternative particles, used with all numbers

e } except *kahi*.

e.g. *ke yiu ho kahi* one coconut.

ya yiu ko kolu three coconuts.

N.B.—The answer to the question *ya ŋi e hia* ? (how many coconuts ?) is *ko kolu* or *ko ha*, etc. The noteworthy fact is that the particle must be used.

With cardinals these same particles are employed. The difference in meaning is indicated by the use of the singular particle for nouns (*ke*) instead of the plural (*ŋi*), e.g.

<i>ke aho e kolu</i>	the third day.
<i>ŋi aho e kolu</i>	three days.

Particles

In Ongtong Javanese there are certain stems which are normally meaningless to the native if they stand alone. These stems are given a function by the addition of a particle.

(1) *Noun Particles*.—A stem is made into a singular noun by having the particle *he* or *ke* placed before it. If the stem has more than two syllables it is both possible and usual to omit the particle altogether. Very occasionally the particle may be omitted with words of two syllables.

<i>he kaŋi</i>	}	the cry, a cry.
<i>ke kaŋi</i>		
<i>ke kakala</i>	}	the language, a language.
<i>kakala</i>		

Other particles serve to make the stem into a noun of numbers other than the singular.

<i>sa</i>	dual particle.	
<i>ya</i> or <i>ŋi</i>	plural particle.	
e.g. <i>sa kaŋi</i>	two cries.	
<i>ya kaŋi</i>	}	the cries, cries.
<i>ŋi kaŋi</i>		

The addition of *ŋ* is all that is required for the plural when a noun begins with *a* without a glottal stop.

<i>aiku</i>	becomes in the plural	<i>ŋaiku</i>
<i>akaha</i>	„ „ „	<i>ŋakaha</i>

It is not possible to say *ya aiku* or *ya akaha*, but it is perfectly permissible to say *ŋi aiku* and *ŋi akaha*. Similarly, if the stem begins with any other vowel *ŋi* may be used but not *ya*. With these other vowels (*e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*) it is not permitted to add the *ŋ* simply.

elemaka (eye) in the plural is *ŋi elemaka*.

This is the only plural permitted for this and similar stems.

Stems beginning with *he* . . . if they are used in the singular never take the particle, but are used alone. In the dual and plural they are normal, e.g.

<i>hekau</i>	a year, the year.
<i>ya hekau</i>	years, the years.
<i>heheau</i>	a thing, the thing.
<i>ya heheau</i>	the things, things.

(2) *Verbal Particles*.—There are three tenses in Ongtong Javanese, the indefinite, the past, and the future. The latter two are only used if they are absolutely necessary and generally the indefinite tense does duty for them both. These three tenses are indicated by three corresponding particles:—

e or *i*, the indefinite tense particle.

'u, the past tense particle.

a, the future tense particle.

The first of these particles may always be omitted from the stem if it has more than two syllables, e.g. *kakala*, *lelele*, etc.

Let us take the stem *o*:—

e.g.	<i>e o</i>	}	every tense of the English verb "to go".
	<i>i o</i>		
	<i>'u o</i>	}	every past tense of "to go".
	<i>a o</i>		
	<i>'ayau e o</i>	}	I shall go.
	<i>'ayau e o ke aho-la</i>	}	I went yesterday.
	<i>'ayau 'u o ke aho-la</i>	}	I had gone yesterday, etc.
	<i>'ayau e o kaiao</i>		
	<i>'ayau a o kaiao</i>	}	I shall go to-morrow.

There are three other particles which go with verbs—*se*, *hi* and *ha*. *se* is the negative particle, and is placed in front of the other verbal particles, e.g.

<i>'ayau se e aloha</i>	. . .	I do not love . . .
<i>'ayau se 'u aloha</i>	. . .	I did not love . . .

hi is the volitional particle;

ha is the causative particle;

e.g. *'ayau hi 'ai* I wish to eat, I am hungry.

ha oki! Make stop!, an exclamation made to a crying child.

The following is a complete list of the verbal particles :—

<i>e</i> or <i>i</i>	indefinite tense indicator.
' <i>u</i>	past " "
<i>a</i>	future " "
<i>se</i>	negative indicator.
<i>hi</i> }	special particles.
<i>ha</i> }	

(3) *Relational Particles*.—There are two particles which express relations, *i* and *a*. The first is used to indicate that the following word is the object, and the second to indicate that the following word has a possessive force. Neither of these two particles is necessary for the expression of the relation and they are frequently omitted. Indeed the *a* is almost never used at all, e.g.

' <i>ayau e aloha i 'a'oe</i>	} I love you.
' <i>ayau e aloha 'a'oe</i>	

and

<i>ke la'au a maakua</i>	} the staff of the priest.
<i>ke la'au maakua</i>	

(4) *Demonstrative Particles*.—

<i>pei</i>	this, these.
<i>pa</i> or <i>la</i>	that, those.

These particles are always put after the noun. They are the only ones to be so placed and for convenience I shall use a hyphen with them, e.g.

<i>ke yiu-la</i>	} that coconut.
<i>ke yiu-pa</i>	
<i>ke yiu-pei</i>	this coconut.
<i>pa yiu-la</i>	} those coconuts.
<i>pa yiu-pa</i>	

These particles sometimes serve instead of the definite article, there being no articles in Ongtong Javanese.

It will also be remembered that there are no third personal pronouns. A noun plus a demonstrative is used instead, e.g.

<i>kama-la</i>	that man there, he.
<i>kama-la kakala i 'ayau</i>	he told me.
<i>'ayau kakala pa kama-la</i>	I told them.

(5) *Accentuation Particle*.—As I have written them, it will be found that the first syllable of many proper nouns and pronouns of three syllables is '*a* or '*o*. This is really a particle incorporated into the word

itself. I have already explained that all proper nouns of two syllables have the final one stressed. The class of proper nouns and that of pronouns with which we are now dealing may be described as words of two syllables preceded always by a particle. In such words the stress is normal, that is, on the first syllable, e.g. 'a'ŋau, 'a'oe, 'o'pu'a, 'a'siŋa. My inclusion of the particle as part of the word is justified because the two are quite inseparable.

(6) *Other Particles*.—Jespersen points out that in some languages there is no real difference between a preposition and an adverb: "down" in the sentence "you go down" should not be separated from the same word in "you go down the street". In Ongtong Javanese "down" in each case will be preceded by the same particle.

i—the particle placed before all adverbs and prepositions, e.g. loko (in), keliu (below), mua (before), etc. If the adverb or noun has three or more syllables the particle may be omitted, e.g.

ke kama i loko ke mo'u the man in the garden.

ke kama haele i loko the man goes in.

and

ke papa i aluŋa ke papae the box above the table.

ke mayu 'u lelele i aluŋa the bird flew up above.

The following is a complete list of the particles :—

Before stems :—

<i>ke</i> or <i>he</i>	noun, singular (may be omitted in certain cases);
<i>sa</i>	noun, dual;
<i>ŋa</i> or <i>ŋi</i>	noun, plural.
<i>e</i> or <i>i</i>	verb, indefinite tense (may be omitted in certain cases);
<i>'u</i>	verb, past tense;
<i>a</i>	verb, future tense.
<i>se</i>	negative particle;
<i>hi</i>	to wish to;
<i>ha</i>	to cause to.
<i>ho</i> <i>ko</i> or <i>e</i>	before numbers used adjectivally.
<i>'a</i> ¹	
<i>'o</i>	indicates accentuation when used with certain proper nouns and pronouns.

¹ *o* and *a* are interchangeable after a glottal stop, vide above, p. 826.

$\begin{pmatrix} i \\ a \end{pmatrix}$	relational particles.
<i>i</i> or <i>a</i>	sign of adverb or preposition.

After stems :—

$\begin{pmatrix} -\eta e i \\ -\eta a \text{ or } -la \end{pmatrix}$	this, these. that, those.
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As an example, let us take the stems *'ai* and *kakala* :—

<i>ke 'ai</i>	food.
<i>\eta a 'ai</i>	the articles to be eaten, the foods.
<i>e 'ai</i>	to eat, etc.
<i>'u 'ai</i>	ate, etc.
<i>a 'ai</i>	will eat, etc.
<i>hi 'ai</i>	to be hungry.
<i>se hi 'ai</i>	not to be hungry.
<i>ha 'ai</i>	to cause to eat.
<i>ke 'ai-\eta e i</i>	this food.
<i>ke 'ai-la</i>	that food.
$\begin{pmatrix} ke kakala \\ kakala \end{pmatrix}$	language, speech, talk.
<i>sa kakala</i>	two languages, two speeches.
<i>\eta a kakala</i>	languages, speeches.
$\begin{pmatrix} e kakala \\ kakala \end{pmatrix}$	to speak, to talk, etc.
<i>'u kakala</i>	spoke, etc.
<i>a kakala</i>	will speak, etc.
<i>se kakala</i>	not to speak.
<i>hi kakala</i>	to want to speak.
<i>ha kakala</i>	to cause to speak.
<i>kakala-\eta e i</i>	this language.
<i>kakala-la</i>	that language.

Reduplication.

Reduplication is common in Ongtong Javanese. It serves two main ends, to intensify and to express frequentative action.

Intensive.—

<i>le</i>	run	<i>lelele</i>	fly
<i>\eta oho</i>	remain	<i>\eta o\eta oho</i>	sit
<i>lehu</i>	ash	<i>'ulehulehu</i>	cloud
<i>ulu</i>	top	<i>uluheulu</i>	hat

It is obvious that in each of these examples there is a connection between the two words (a cloud is regarded as a grey thing like ashes).

Frequentative.—

<i>aloalo</i>	paddle.
<i>velelele</i>	sweep.
<i>mayumayu</i>	to look around for some time and decide finally that someone is in hiding.
<i>sausau</i>	to be caught up by the wind, carried away, then brought down again, then carried up again. This word is also used of the outrigger of a canoe when the force of the breeze is just lifting it in and out of the water.

These two uses of reduplication are frequently combined, e.g.
haki break, *hakihaki* to go on breaking a thing until it is in small pieces.
mayava belly, *mayamayava* contemplate, i.e. turn a thing over in one's belly for a long time.

Word Combination

This mechanism is also common.

(1) Words may be combined to extend the meaning, e.g.

<i>maka</i>	extremity, <i>lima</i>	arm
<i>maka-lima</i>	finger.	
also <i>va'a</i>	canoe, <i>kua</i>	open sea, hence foreign parts
<i>va'a-kua</i>	steamer.	
also <i>maka</i>	extremity, <i>si</i>	coconut meat
<i>maka-si</i>	a stick for removing the meat from the coconut.	

(2) In some types of word combination the second word merely modifies the first, e.g.

<i>moa</i>	fowl, <i>kayi</i>	cry
<i>moa-kayi</i>	crying fowl, i.e. rooster.	
also <i>kama</i>	man, <i>ha</i>	to make, <i>makua</i> venerable, senior.
<i>kama ha makua</i>	man made senior, headman.	

In sections (1) and (2) the general rule is that the primary always stands first in the combination.

(3) A few words with an adverbial force may be attached to the end of certain words, e.g.

<i>-mai</i>	to me (this word cannot stand alone).
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-iho "downward", normally, but in combinations of this sort it generally means, from a place where I am not at present, but which is nevertheless connected with me.

kakala-mai tell me.

kapili-mai close to me.

aumai bring me.

haeliho come back from a place where I have been.

keiho fall down.

ke va'a-kua haeliho solomogi the ship will come back from the Solomon Islands.

In any combination if the first word ends with an *a* and the second begins with the same vowel, one of them is elided, e.g.

hegua place, *akaha* frigate bird

heguakaha place of the frigate birds.

Order of Words

1. Adjectives always follow the noun they qualify. (Adjuncts always follow their primary), e.g.

ke yiu e lahi the big coconut ;

ya yiu e mea the brightly coloured coconuts ;

ya yiu ko kolu three coconuts.

The exception is :—

kama'i, "many", which may precede the noun, though not necessarily. If it does then the singular particle must be used :—

kama'i ke yiu many coconuts.

2. Adverbs follow the adjectives they modify. (Subjuncts follow their adjunct), e.g.

ke yiu e lahi hamali'i literally, "the coconut big little," translates, "the medium sized coconut."

3. Adverbs usually, but not always, follow the verb they modify. (Subjuncts follow their adnex), e.g.

haele vave go quickly.

ke mayu 'u lele aluga the bird flew upwards.

4. Prepositions are placed between the two words which they link together : the "governed" word always stands after the preposition, e.g.

ke kama i loko ke va'a the man in the canoe.

ke poi i muli ke hale the dog behind the house.

haele i mua ke la'au go in front of the tree.

PART III

SYNTAX

Number.—In Ongtong Javanese only two of the classes of words may have number—the pronouns and the nouns. In the latter it is indicated by means of the particles.

<i>he</i> or <i>ke</i>	singular ;
<i>sa</i>	dual ;
<i>ya</i> or <i>gi</i>	plural.

For a detailed discussion of this see above.

N.B.—Verbs never have number.

Case.—How are we to define case ? On our definition hangs the question as to whether or not there is case in Ongtong Javanese. If it is something which can only be expressed by actual modification of the word as in Latin, then Ongtong Javanese has no case. I myself would definitely agree with this. The concept which in other languages is sometimes expressed by case is expressed chiefly by position. I explained before that there are relational particles, but it is never essential to use either of them and one, the *a*, is very seldom employed, e.g.

<i>ke moena ma'o</i>	literally, "mat Ma'o," translates "Ma'o's mat".
<i>ke hale ke si</i>	literally, "house copra," translates "house of copra", i.e. store.
<i>ke hale a heku'u</i>	the King's house.

Precisely the same rules apply to the pronouns except that there are two special ones which may be used for relatives and parts of the body

<i>kou</i>	my, our.
and <i>ko</i>	your (singular and plural).
e.g. <i>kou kamaya</i> }	
<i>kamaya 'aŋau</i> }	my father.
<i>ko lima</i>	your arm.
<i>ya moena 'okou</i>	your mats.

An oblique object is placed immediately after the word which governs it. The particle may or may not be placed before it, e.g.

<i>kaia ke poi piaka</i>	Piaka beats the dog.
<i>'aŋau haele i pelau</i> }	
<i>'aŋau haele pelau</i> }	I am going to Pelau.
<i>ke poi i loko he hale</i>	the dog in the house.

The position of the subject is not so definite. If there is no object the nominative will always stand first; if it is a pronoun it almost invariably stands first; if it is a noun and there is an object it may or may not stand before the verb. In the latter case it is rather more frequent to find the verb placed first, e.g.

<i>'ayau kaia ke poi</i>	I beat the dog.
<i>'u kaia ke poi piaka</i>	Piaka beat the dog.
<i>e kuyi ke paipi ke kama</i> <i>ke kama e kuyi ke paipi</i>	the man lights his pipe.

Gender.—There is no gender in Ongtong Javanese.

Tense.—There are three tenses—indefinite, past and future. These are indicated by particles:—

<i>e</i> or <i>i</i>	indefinite.
<i>a</i>	future.
<i>'u</i>	past.

Mood and Voice.—There are no moods in Ongtong Javanese. What in English is indicated by the imperative mood may be indicated by the particle *ha* "to make" or "to cause". This is not a true imperative.

After finite verbs where we would in English place an infinitive or a participle, Ongtong Javanese uses a noun, e.g.

<i>e oki ke 'ai</i>	to finish eating.
<i>e loa ke vaya</i>	to know how to spear fish.

With all nouns of more than two syllables the noun particle may be omitted, e.g.

<i>e oki lelele</i>	to finish flying.
<i>e loa makau</i>	to know how to fish.

After verbs of motion, instead of *ke*, the particle *yo* is used. This may also be omitted before words of more than two syllables, e.g.

<i>haele yo uyu</i>	to go to drink.
<i>haele kakala</i>	to go to talk.

There are no voices in Ongtong Javanese.

Adjectives.—Adjectives always follow the noun they qualify, e.g.

<i>he hiye laue</i>	a good woman.
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There is no copula in this language, and we might also translate this sentence as "the woman is good".

It might plausibly be argued that there are no adjectives in Ongtong Javanese, e.g.

<i>he hiye e lahi</i>	the fat woman ;
	the woman is fat.

<i>he hiye e lahi huhua</i>	the fat woman sings ; the woman is fat and ¹ is singing ; the fat singing woman.
<i>he hiye huhua e kaii</i>	the singing woman cries ; the singing and ¹ crying woman ; the woman sings and cries.

It seems best, nevertheless, to keep the expression adjective, that is, according to Jespersen, to regard these words sometimes as subjuncts instead of adnexes.

Adjectives are never compared. If a comparison is necessary a circumlocution is used, e.g.

'ayau makua, 'a'oe hohili'i I am old, you are young, i.e. I am older than you.

It is now possible to summarize a part of the syntax according to the Jespersen scheme.

Junction

(1) The primary always precedes the adjunct.² Nouns only may be primaries ; adjectives, nouns, and pronouns may be adjuncts, e.g.

<i>ke pamalo e mea</i>	the red calico.
<i>kakala luaniua</i>	the language of Luaniua.
<i>hale-yei</i>	this house.

(2) The subjunct always follows the adjunct. Probably only adverbs may be subjuncts, e.g.

<i>ke yiu e lahi hamali'i</i>	the medium sized coconut.
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Nexus

(1) If there be only primary and adnex, then the former will always precede the latter, e.g.

<i>'ayau haele</i>	I go.
<i>he hiye huhua</i>	the woman sings.

(2) An adnex generally precedes its subjunct, e.g.

<i>haele vave</i>	go quickly.
<i>aloalo hamaloo</i>	paddle strongly.
<i>haele vave vave</i>	go very quickly.

¹ There is no word for "and" in this context.

² The two exceptions to this rule are the true possessive pronouns *kou* and *ko*, which precede the noun, and *kama'i* (many), which may or may not precede it.

(3) Where we have a sentence consisting of subject predicate and object, the order of words may be either of two ways :—

(a) predicate + object + subject. (This is rather the more common form.)

or

(b) subject + predicate + object, e.g.

'u kaia ke poi he kama
he kama kaia ke poi } the man beat the dog.

(4) An indirect object always precedes a direct object, e.g.

kakala piaka ke yiu tell Piaka about the coconut. (*kakala* = tell about.)

Clauses

There is only the one type of clause in Ongtong Javanese. Further, conjunctions are practically never used, so that clauses run on together. If two verbs have the same subject it will only be stated once. It was pointed out above that the usual word-order is verb, object, subject. The most usual word order with two clauses is :—

verb + object + subject + verb + object

e.g. : *'u oki ke 'ai piaka haele pelau.*

lit. : finished the food Piaka will go to Pelau ; i.e. When Piaka has finished eating he will go to Pelau.

e kaka ke va'a kama kakala i'angau haele la.

lit. : carves the canoe the man told me to go there ; i.e. The man who is carving the canoe told me to go there.

The first example might also be translated :—

Piaka has finished eating and will go to Pelau.

and the second example :—

The man carves the canoe and tells me to go there.

Both these second translations convey a different meaning to us, but the Ongtong Javanese does not distinguish between our "when I have . . ." and "I have . . ." except by the context.

It is, of course, possible to make the word order :—

subject + verb + object + verb + object,

and it is usual to place the subject before the first verb if the second is of the English predicative type, e.g. :—

kama 'u kaka ke va'a malili the man who carved the canoe is ill.

It will be apparent that there is nothing corresponding to the absolute phrase. One was led to expect this from the word system.

The absence of relative pronouns also led one to suspect correctly that there would be no adjectival clauses.

Reported Speech

Speech is almost always reported directly, e.g.

kakala kapaka, olua lu kapaka i o i mo'u.

said the man, "We two married people will go to the garden."

Other examples of reported speech will be found in the accompanying texts.

Other Notes

It is impossible to express such ideas as "a three days' journey", "in three hours," etc. in the abstract. They must always be made concrete, e.g.

haele pelau vaho-pei si'iana ke aho e kolu.

lit. go from Pelau now, Sikiana the third day; i.e. Sikiana is three days' journey from Pelau.

"Three hours' time" is indicated by pointing to the place in the sky where the sun will be after that interval has elapsed, and saying:—

avea ke la, etc.

lit. by and by the sun . . .

i.e. When the sun is there . . .

Although words exist meaning "for a long time", "far away," etc., natives prefer to give a more concrete expression to their thought, especially in narrative, e.g.

haele haele haele vahialoa e ike pei.

lit. went went went Vahialoa saw Pei.

i.e. When Vahialoa had gone for a long time he saw Pei.

PART IV

TEXTS

The following text I have copied exactly from my notebook. It is a typical example of a folk tale. The first line is Ongtong Javanese, the second a literal translation, and the third an idiomatic translation.

'asiņa he hige. lilio he 'ave kema-ņa.

'Asiņa woman Lilio brother of her

'Asiņa was a woman and Lilio was her brother.

'aņau se makiņo he aņa kama-ņa.

I not know the consort of him

I do not know the name of his wife.

ya kamali'i kamalili'i he hiye, kamalili'i kayaka.

the children child female child male.

They had two children, a girl and a boy.

ke 'akala 'u malama, kakala kayaka,

the dawn was light said the man

At daybreak, as soon as it was light, the man said,

'olua lu kayaka i o i mo'u ke ave 'aia

two married people go to the garden sister my

"We two will go to the garden; my sister

i lososi ya kamali'i. 'olua i mo'u;

look after the children. two to the garden

will look after the children." The two went off to the garden;

omai; ke hale-la se veleleve; ya kamalili'i

return the house not sweep the children

they returned; the house was not swept; the children

he'au kaia. i omai i kakala kamaña-la ya kamali'i

thus beat returned said the father of the children

had been beaten. The father of the children spoke

pepei, "ya kamali'i kaia a'oe ñaea?" " 'ayau

thus the children beat you why I

in this way, "Why did you beat the children?" "I

se hi 'ai ya 'ai; 'ayau hi 'ai ya kama 'a'oe."

not wish to eat foods I wish to eat the children of you

do not want food to eat; I want to devour your children."

kakala pepei, "avea kaiao maua i o i mo'u;

said thus by and by to-morrow we two (excl.) go to the garden

The father replied, "To-morrow my wife and I will go to the garden;

a'oe 'u kaia ma'oe kamali'i 'u 'ai i o maua,

you killed you child ate go we two

when you have killed a child and eaten it we will return,

i omai kamali'i-la 'a'oe 'u oki ke 'ai, keña!

return the child you finished eating that

if you have finished eating the child, good,

poi 'a'oe e 'ai kamali'i keña!"

you eat child that

if you eat it, good."

i oiho kamalili'i-la oipa ke manava no 'ai.

goes the child then the belly to eat

She began to eat the belly of the child.

na vae kaoko; keya. i haeliho ke 'ave

legs remain there returns brother

The legs remained on one side. Her brother returned

ke hiye-la no ike na vae kaoko.

of the woman to see the legs remain

and saw the legs still there.

i kakala pepei " 'a'oe i hamai no 'ai

said thus you come to eat

He said, " If you come and eat up

na vae-pei i oki haakoa, 'a 'oe 'u se kaia,

these legs finish completely you not killed

these legs completely you will not have to be killed,

'a'oe seai, 'a'oe 'u kaia ". keya, he hiye-la

you not you killed then the woman

if you do not, you must be killed." The woman

e alo ke 'ai. i ko ka'u i kaia no make

is unwilling to eat takes the axe hit dead

did not wish to eat so he took the axe and hit her till

kaia i 'ave. no kayu i kaiao i o i mo'u.

to kill the sister to bury to-morrow go to the garden [the body.

she was dead. The next day the parents went to the garden to bury

kamalili'i 'u yoho a so'ia. i haeliho

the child remained alone came

The remaining child was left alone. (The spirit of the dead woman) [came

no 'eli ke lua. i 'eli'eli i keiho

to dig a pit dig fall

and dug a pit. When it was dug the child fell

kamalili'i-la i loko. i kasusu'imai i aea'e

child inside wriggle top

into it. It wriggled about in order to reach the top.

se le va ke aea'e. ko lua-la oiho

not able to come to the top those two return

It could not reach the surface. The two returned

ke mela 'u po, yo aya kamali'i-la.

the darkness night came to call out the child
when night had come and they called out to the child.

seai. omaka kamali'i-la e moe i loko ke lua 'u make

no see the child lie inside the pit dead.

There was no reply. Then they saw the child lying dead in the pit.

The text below is another typical folk tale :—

simusea e yoho peikahei. heyua-yei e make hi 'ai.

Simusea lived at Peikahei this place died wanting to eat

Simusea lived at Peikahei. The people of this place (Luanua) were
[dying of hunger.

e o yo 'au i kai hamai ke mayo yo 'ai

went to swim in the lagoon came a shark to eat

If they went to swim in the lagoon, a shark came and ate

ya kama ; oiho ke avava miki'ia kiya'ohu ;

people went to the reef inhales clam

them ; if they went to the reef, a giant clam engulfed them ;

oiho i kua hayikia ke oahaku ; e o i mo'u

went to the open sea came together the stone went to the garden

if they went to the open sea the stone crushed them ; if they went to
[the garden

kalualumia ke heli. simusea hamai ; hamai vasilia'e

chased the hawk Simusea came came to ask

a hawk chased them. Then Simusea came. He came and asked

heku'u. " 'a se ike ke heli ? " i mea'e pepe,

the king you not see the hawk replied thus

the king if he had seen the hawk. He replied,

" a'oe hamai se ike ke heli ? " i mea'e simusea seai.

you come not see the hawk replied Simusea no

" Did you come here and not see the hawk ? " Simusea told him no.

i yoho a kaiao yo ha'olo ya kamali'i i o yo 'au.

waited till to-morrow to tell the children to go swimming

He waited till the next day and then told the children to go swimming

ya kamali'i ealo, 'u haele yo 'au i kai.

the children unwilling went to swim in the lagoon

[himself

The children did not wish to so he went to the lagoon and swam

ke mayo-la 'u haeliai no 'ai simusea.

the shark went to eat Simusea

The shark went off to eat him.

simusea e ha ke mayava. ke mayava 'u maha

Simusea cut the belly the belly was cut completely

Simusea cut its belly, cut it through completely.

i masi'e simusea no ko ke mayo, i hapaomai

stood up Simusea to take the shark brought

He stood up and took hold of the shark and brought it

i uka. i huleiho heyua-yei no maka. I kaiao

to shore ran down this place to see to-morrow

[Next day

to the shore. The people of the village ran to the beach to see it.

kaka maka-si i haeliho ke avava. no miki'ia kiya'ohu.

trimmed a stick went to the reef inhaled the clam

[him in.

he trimmed a stick and went to the reef. The clam tried to suck

i ko maka-si isi kiya ke 'ohu, i ko i hapaomai i uka.

took the stick took from its shell the clam took brought ashore

He took his stick and removed it from its shell; then he brought it

[ashore.

i hamai kaiao i ko kiki'e, i haeliho

came to-morrow took husking stick went

When the next day came he took a husking-stick and went

ke oahaku. hayikia ke oahaku; ha ku kiki'e-la,

the stone came together the stone make firm that stick

[his stick.

to where the stones were. They came together but he had made firm

no eu i maseu ke oahaku. i yoho a kaiao

shake broke the stone waited till to-morrow

The stone shook and broke. He waited till the next day

i haele i mo'u. i haeliaku kiya ke heli-la.

went to the garden went to the mother of the hawk

and then went to the garden. He went to the hawk's mother.

kukuzu na pupu'u. halahi koko'a, he hiye-la se ike.

cook taro passed the door the woman not see

[him.

She was cooking taro. He passed by the door but she did not see

i va'aimai i ike ke hiye-la. i aya'ho " 'a'oe ea

went back saw the woman called out you there

He went back and she saw him. He called out to her, "You there.

e hamai yo maka ko kama. " *i mea'e*
 come to see your son replied
 I have come to see your son." The woman replied
ke hiye-la, " *'a'oe i mau kau kama-yei ?* " *simusea*
 the woman you strong my son Simusea
 " Are you as strong as my son ? " He
i me'ae, " *yo* ". *i haele yo yoho ke heli-la*.
 answered yes went to wait for the hawk
 answered " Yes ". He went in and waited for the hawk.
'u hamai. " *magumayu kama.*"
 came look for a long time and come to the conclusion a man is here
 When it came back it said " I believe there is a man here ".
i me'ae ke hiye-la. " *'oai magumayu kamaya ?*
 said the woman who think my son
 The woman asked it who did it think was there,
'ayau la'ia. " *'a'oe hamai yo 'ai.* " *'ayau i kau aiho*
 I alone you come to eat threw outside [outside
 she was alone, let it come and eat. She said she had already thrown
ya ha'a-yiu. " *i haela'e ke heli-la yo 'ai ya pupu'u.*
 the coconut husks came the hawk to eat the taro
 the coconut husks (i.e. the nuts were ready to eat). The hawk came
 [and ate taro.
e mea'e ke hiye-la " *'ayau haio i meaku*
 said the woman I hid
 The woman said " I have hidden
'ayau ike kama hamai. " *e mea'e ke heli-la*,
 I saw man come replied the hawk
 a man I saw come here." The hawk asked
 " *'oai ?* " *ke heli-la i leiho simusea yo 'ai.*
 who the hawk flew down to eat Simusea
 who. The hawk flew down to eat Simusea.
simusea i leaku. *simusea yo ko'o payapaya-ua*
 Simusea jumped Simusea perched on the shoulders
 He jumped and secured himself on its shoulders.
i le ke vai-layi ke heli-la. " *'u kayi*,
 flew to the sky the hawk cried out
 The hawk flew up to the sky. It called out

"*i ove 'āpau ouīa e mamao, ke la e iŋi*
fly I above far away, the sun will burn
"I will fly up and far away till the sun burns

ma ke polepole."¹ *kāŋi simusea*, "*ke la e iŋi*,
like iron called out Simusea, the sun burn
like iron." Simusea called, "Let the sun burn,

i ove 'a 'oe e mamao. i kau ma ke polepole."¹
fly you far off rest on the iron
you may fly far away and rest upon the hot iron."

ko lua-a 'u kili ke vai-layi i hakuli
the two left the sky turned
The two of them left the sky behind.

ke heli-la hakaliaya i hakeiho i oiho a kapaliho
the hawk right over fell down came close to
The hawk turned over and flew down rapidly close to

ŋa la'au-la. i haki'e simusea ŋoŋoho kāŋa māŋava.
the trees came under Simusea stopped on the belly
the trees, but Simusea (seeing the trick) climbed on to the belly of the
[bird and remained there.

i sae ke apokua ke heli-la.
staked the back of the hawk
The back of the hawk was staked instead.

i uhu i le hoe i aluya, "*i ove 'āpau*
pulled out flew again up fly I
Uninjured it flew up again. "I will fly

i ouīa i mamao, ke la e iŋi ŋei
go far away the sun will burn thus
far away and the sun will burn us. Then we will

i kau ma ke polepole."¹ *kāŋi simusea*
we will rest on the iron, cried Simusea
alight on hot iron." Simusea replied

"*i ove 'a 'oe i ouīa i mamao ke la e iŋi ŋei i kau ma ke polepole.*"¹
'u kili i aluya, hamaoha, oiho a kapiliho
left above came down went close to
They left the upper regions and came down. The hawk went close

¹ I am doubtful about the latter part of this sentence.

i lalo. haki'e simusea nyohoho ke mapava. keiho
 below came under Simusea remained on the belly fell
 to the ground. Again Simusea climbed on to the belly. The hawk
 [came down]

ke ayakua ke heli-la yo sae ke la'au i oki
 the back of the hawk staked the tree finish
 and a tree passed clean through its back.

ke apa'au ke heli-la haki. heku'u, ke heli-la
 the wing of the hawk was broken. the king the hawk
 The wing of the hawk was broken. The king, hearing the hawk
 'u make, i aya, "ke lija,"¹ "ke mo'u"²
 dead called aloud "ke lija" called out again "ke mo'u"
 was dead, called out, "Ke lija!" and again "Ke mo'u!"

i haele simusea peikahei yo yoho
 went Simusea to Peikahei to remain
 Simusea went to Peikahei and lived there

hegua-la. heku'u 'u yoho hegua-pei
 there The king remained here.
 The king remained here.

PART V

A REPRESENTATIVE VOCABULARY

Above	<i>alunja</i>	Baby	<i>mem'a</i>
adze	<i>ko'i</i>	back (of body)	<i>ayakua</i>
afraid, to be	<i>maka'u</i>	bad	<i>haeo, sa'igo</i>
afterbirth	<i>gua</i>	bailer	<i>ka</i>
afternoon	<i>ahiahi</i>	bail out	<i>ka-keliu</i>
alight on	<i>kau</i>	bald	<i>mole</i>
all	<i>haakoa</i>	bamboo	<i>makila</i>
alone	<i>so'ia</i>	banana	<i>huki</i>
always	<i>hamau</i>	basket	<i>'eke</i>
angry	<i>loko</i>	bastard	<i>kama-po</i>
ankle	<i>puili</i>	bat, flying fox	<i>pe'a</i>
ant	<i>loaka</i>	bear, to	
arm	<i>lima</i>	(children)	<i>hangau, sopo</i>
ashes	<i>lehu</i>	beard	<i>kalake</i> (always in (plural))
ask	<i>vasilia'e</i>		

¹ *ke lija!*—the signal for the men to collect coconuts for drinking.

² *ke mo'u!*—the signal for the women to set out for the garden to dig taro.

beat	<i>kaia</i>	child	<i>kamalili'i,</i> <i>kamali'i</i>
before	<i>mua</i>	clean	<i>ma'inyi</i>
behind	<i>muli</i>	close (adv.)	<i>kapili</i>
belly	<i>manava</i>	cloud	<i>'ulehulehu</i>
below	<i>keliu</i>	coconut (when	
big	<i>lahi</i>	no flesh	
bird	<i>manu</i>	inside)	<i>mumu'a</i>
black	<i>pe'la, uliuli</i>	— (when al-	
blood	<i>koko</i>	most	
boast	<i>makili</i>	ripe)	<i>niu</i>
boil, bubble up	<i>pupu</i>	— (when	
bone	<i>ivi</i>	ripe)	<i>ama'ku</i>
born, to be	<i>hapa'u, sopo</i>	— (when	
borne on the		sprout-	
wind, to be	<i>sausau</i>	ing)	<i>uko</i>
bowl (n.)	<i>'omeke</i>	coconut flower	<i>puga</i>
box	<i>papa</i>	coconut leaf	<i>loupiu</i>
break	<i>haki</i>	coconut leaflets	<i>lapa</i>
break into small		coconut meat	<i>si</i>
pieces	<i>hakihaki</i>	coconut palm	<i>niu</i>
breast	<i>u</i>	coconut shell	<i>upu, ma'o</i>
breathe	<i>manava</i>	coconut shoot	
bring	<i>aumai</i>	(leaf)	<i>kilo</i>
broom	<i>kaekahi</i>	cold	<i>semalio</i>
bunch	<i>hui</i>	come	<i>hamai</i>
burn (trans.)	<i>kuyi</i>	common (not	
— (intrans.)	<i>vela, iyi</i>	sacred, not	
bury	<i>kayu</i>	tapu)	<i>kaya</i>
butterfly	<i>pelu</i>	consort	<i>avaya</i>
buttocks	<i>muli</i>	contemplate	<i>manamavava</i>
		conversation	<i>kakala</i>
		(long con-	
		versation)	<i>kalakala</i>
Calm (weather)	<i>maliyo</i>	cook	<i>kukuyu</i>
canoe	<i>va'a, papau</i>	cough	<i>kale</i>
carve	<i>kaka</i>	cover up	<i>pili</i>
cemetery	<i>'ava</i>	crash	<i>pe'au</i>
change (v.)	<i>susu</i>	crawl	<i>kokolo</i>
chase	<i>kalualumia</i>	crooked	<i>pio</i>
cheek	<i>papeiaha</i>		
chest	<i>hakahaka</i>		

custom	<i>makiala</i>	fall down	
cut (open)	<i>ha</i>	(persons	
— (whittle)	<i>sepe</i>	and	
— (in pieces)	<i>ku</i>	things)	<i>keiho</i>
		— (persons	
		only)	<i>siŋa</i>
Dagger	<i>hoku</i>	fan	<i>ili</i>
dance	<i>lue</i>	far off	<i>mao</i>
dawn	<i>'aka</i>	farewell	<i>alohai</i>
day	<i>aho</i>	fat (of animals)	<i>momoga</i>
defecate	<i>saya</i>	father	<i>kamaya</i>
die	<i>make</i>	fell	<i>kuaveioki</i>
dig	<i>'eli</i>	few	<i>moisi</i>
dirty	<i>'ele'ele</i> (literally, "sandy")	fight (with fists)	<i>vuhu</i>
		— (with	
distribute	<i>ravai</i>	weapons)	<i>maka</i>
door	<i>koko'a</i>	finger	<i>maka-lima</i>
downwardis	<i>iho</i>	finish	<i>oki</i>
drill (a hole)	<i>meke</i>	fire	<i>ahi</i>
drink	<i>uyu</i>	fish (n.)	<i>i'a</i>
		— (v.) (with	
Ear	<i>akaliŋa</i>	hook and	
earth (as op-		line)	<i>makau</i>
posed to sky)	<i>papa</i>	food	<i>'ai</i>
eat	<i>'ai</i>	foot	<i>kapuae</i>
echo	<i>aŋa</i>	forehead	<i>mualae</i>
egg	<i>hua</i>	forget	<i>sili</i>
elbow	<i>pi'u-lima</i>	fowl	<i>moa</i>
empty	<i>pupa'u</i>	fragrant	<i>mayoyi</i>
exchange	<i>kau</i>	friend	<i>soa</i>
eye	<i>elemaka</i>	front, in	<i>mua</i>
eyebrow	<i>uluheulu-elemaka</i>	fruit	<i>hua</i>
eyelash	<i>ku-elemaka</i>	full	<i>pi, hoyu</i>
eyelid	<i>ulu-elemaka</i>		
		Garden	<i>mo'u, vusi</i>
		ghost	<i>hamaka'u</i>
Flat expanse	<i>papa</i>	go (of persons,	
fly (n.)	<i>lajo</i>	animals	
— (v.)	<i>lelele</i>	and	
face	<i>maka</i>	things)	<i>haele</i>

go (of persons only)	<i>o, hano</i>	Language	<i>kakala</i>
good	<i>koole'a, laue</i>	laugh	<i>'aka</i>
green	<i>kea</i>	lazy	<i>maka na nae, e.g.</i>
guard	<i>'api</i>		<i>maka na nae ke</i>
gum (mouth)	<i>nia-noniho</i>		<i>makau—lazy</i>
			at fishing.
Hair	<i>lohulu</i>	leave behind	<i>kili</i> (prob. applies only to a place when one is going a journey)
— (pubic only)	<i>huyu</i>		
hand	<i>kukua-lima, lima</i>		
hat	<i>uluheulu</i>		
head	<i>pohulu</i>	leg	<i>vae</i>
hear	<i>lopo</i>	lick	<i>hakeo</i>
heart	<i>haku-mayava</i>	light	<i>malama</i>
heavy	<i>mau</i>	light in weight	<i>mamahua</i>
hole	<i>hoku</i>	lightning	<i>uila, 'emo</i>
— (if torn)	<i>sasae</i>	lime	<i>kala-maige</i>
hook	<i>'au</i>	lip	<i>pupua</i>
hot (of things and persons)	<i>vela</i>	little	<i>solili'i</i>
— (of persons only)	<i>'o</i>	log	<i>la'au</i>
house	<i>hale</i>	look at	<i>maka</i>
		louse	<i>'uku</i>
		love	<i>aloha</i>
Inside	<i>loko</i>		
ignorant, I am !		Make	<i>penapena</i>
(I do not know !)	<i>lokueia</i>	man	<i>kayaka</i>
ill	<i>malili, kipo-haeo</i>	mankind,	
image	<i>aiku</i>	people	<i>kama</i>
island	<i>moku</i>	many	<i>kama'i</i>
itch	<i>avala</i>	mat (woven on loom)	<i>kala, mohuki</i>
		— (woven by hand, of pandanus leaf)	<i>moeja</i>
Jump	<i>leaku</i>	— (woven by hand, of coconut leaf)	<i>kapa'au, 'apiki</i>
Kick	<i>'asi</i>		
kill	<i>kaia make</i>		
king	<i>heku'u</i>		
know	<i>makingo</i>		
knee	<i>pukili</i>		

micturate	<i>mimi</i>	pardon ! (i.e. I	
moon	<i>malama</i>	did not	
mosquito	<i>gamu</i>	hear !)	<i>'ia</i>
— Anopheles	<i>ijiini</i>	pass by	<i>halahi</i>
mother	<i>kija</i>	path	<i>makiala, ala</i>
mountain, hill	<i>mouya</i>	peel (v.)	<i>ohe</i>
mouth	<i>nyuku</i>	penis	<i>ali</i>
		person	<i>kama</i>
Nail (finger or		pestle	<i>ku'i</i>
toe)	<i>moi'u</i>	pit	<i>lua</i>
name	<i>igoa</i>	place (n.)	<i>hegya</i>
nasty (taste)	<i>mala</i>	place together	
navel	<i>uso</i>	in upright	
neck	<i>ua</i>	position	<i>hayiki</i>
net	<i>'u peya</i>	platform (seat)	<i>papae</i>
night	<i>po</i>	pole, propel a	
no	<i>seai</i>	canoe by	
nose	<i>esu</i>	means of	<i>ko'o</i>
not	<i>se</i>	presently, in	
now	<i>vaho-gei</i>	the future	<i>avea</i>
		priest	<i>maakua, ali'i</i>
Ocean	<i>moaya</i>	protect	<i>lolosi</i>
oil	<i>lo</i>	pudding (taro)	<i>pumea</i>
old	<i>makua</i> (persons	pull out, pull	
	only)	up, uproot	<i>uhu</i>
ordure	<i>kae</i> (always in	purify	<i>malama</i>
	plural)		
outrigger	<i>ama</i>	Quickly	<i>vave, alualu</i>
outside	<i>haho</i>		
oven	<i>umu</i>	Rafter	<i>o'a</i>
		rain (n.)	<i>ua</i>
Paddle (n.)	<i>hoe</i>	— (v.)	<i>lo-maile</i>
— (v.)	<i>aloalo</i>	rainbow	<i>aumaka</i>
painful	<i>lihu, esu</i>	rat	<i>iolo</i>
paint, smear		red, brightly	
with colour	<i>musi</i>	coloured	<i>mea</i>
palm (of hand)	<i>alohi-lima</i>	remain (of per-	
paste made		sons)	<i>yofo</i>
from dried		— (of things)	<i>kaoko</i>
fruit	<i>poi</i>	remember	<i>mayaku</i>

replete	<i>puhu</i>	sit	<i>ŋoŋoho</i>
reply	<i>mea'e</i>	sky	<i>vai-layi</i>
retch	<i>lua</i>	sleep	<i>moe</i>
ring (n.)	<i>mogi</i>	slimy	<i>lalali</i>
rock (v.)	<i>kilia</i>	slowly	<i>hamali'i</i>
— (n.)	<i>haku</i>	smoke (n.)	<i>ahu</i>
root	<i>kia</i>	— (v.)	<i>umi</i> (tobacco)
rub	<i>solo</i>	snake	<i>'aka</i> [only]
run	<i>le, hulo</i>	sneeze	<i>pisiola</i>
		snore	<i>olo</i>
Sacred	<i>kapu</i>	sore (n.)	<i>puka</i>
sail (n.)	<i>puei</i>	spear (fighting)	<i>makahi</i>
sand	<i>'ele</i>	— (fishing)	<i>si'a</i>
scrape		spear fish (v.)	<i>vaya</i>
(vegetables)	<i>valuvalu</i>	spider	<i>velevele</i>
scraper (shell)	<i>asi</i>	spine	<i>oiloko</i>
scratch	<i>maneo</i>	spirit of the	
sea water	<i>lo-kai</i>	dead	<i>aiku, kipua</i>
see	<i>ike</i>	spit	<i>savale</i>
seek	<i>ulu</i>	spray	<i>pia</i>
semen	<i>si</i>	sprinkle	<i>sausau</i>
sexual inter-		stalk (v.)	<i>moki</i>
course	<i>ogi</i>	stand	<i>ku</i>
sexual organ (of		star	<i>heku</i>
person of		steal	<i>lalao</i>
opposite sex)	<i>mea</i>	stink	<i>pulau, mungopilo</i>
shadow	<i>ŋeiŋa</i>	stone	<i>haku</i>
shake (intrans.)	<i>eu</i>	stool	<i>kuai</i>
shark	<i>ma'ŋo</i>	stopper	<i>pono</i>
sharp	<i>'a</i>	strait (passage	
shave	<i>sepe</i>	between two	
shiver	<i>mama</i>	islands)—if	
shore	<i>uka</i>	covered at	
shoulder	<i>papa-papa-ua</i>	low tide	<i>ava</i>
shut	<i>pui</i>	— if covered	
shuttle	<i>si'a</i>	at high tide	
silence!	<i>se le va</i>	only	<i>avava</i>
sing	<i>huhua</i>	strongly (with	
simple minded,		meaning of	
mad	<i>vale</i>	quickly also)	<i>hamaloo</i>

sugar cane	<i>kolo</i>	trumpet (shell :	
sun	<i>la</i>	Casis	
sunset	<i>la ausulu</i>	cornuta)	<i>pu</i>
swallow (v.)	<i>holo</i>	turn	<i>huli</i>
sweep	<i>velevele</i>	turtle shell	
sweet	<i>malie</i>	ornaments	<i>asaya</i>
swell	<i>pu'u</i>	Understand	<i>loa</i>
swim	<i>'au'au</i>	undo	<i>veke</i>
Take	<i>ko</i>	untrue !	<i>louyukulaue !</i>
take away	<i>auho</i>	unwilling, to be	<i>'elo</i>
talk	<i>kakala</i>	urine	<i>mimi</i>
tall	<i>loloa, hohoa</i>	Vagina	<i>po'o</i>
tatu	<i>kaka</i>	vein	<i>ua</i>
tear up	<i>momosi</i>	vomit	<i>lua</i>
— completely	<i>sasae</i>	vulva	<i>miko</i>
testicles	<i>ulua</i>	Water	<i>vai</i>
thatch	<i>lau</i>	water bottle	<i>kaha</i>
thing	<i>heheau</i>	— bag to	
throb	<i>manava</i>	carry	<i>kaikai</i>
throw away	<i>pesia</i>	weep, cry out	<i>kayi</i>
thunder	<i>hakuli</i>	wet	<i>su</i>
tickle	<i>kiki'i</i>	white	<i>ma'iyi</i>
tide, coming in	<i>hoyu</i>	white man	<i>laepa</i>
— high water	<i>pi</i>	wind	<i>makayi</i>
— ebbing	<i>masa</i>	wing	<i>apa'au</i>
— low water	<i>pupa'u</i>	witchcraft	<i>pa'ava</i>
to-day	<i>ke aho-pei</i>	woman	<i>hahige, hige</i>
toe	<i>maka-vae</i>	wound	<i>mayu'a</i>
to-morrow	<i>kaiao</i>	Yawn	<i>maipa</i>
tongue	<i>alelo</i>	year	<i>hekau</i>
tooth	<i>yiho</i>	yes	<i>yo</i>
top	<i>ulu, aca'e</i>	yesterday	<i>ke aho-la</i>
tree	<i>la'au</i>		
true !	<i>hamaoyi</i>		

A NOTE ON THE "YING TSAO FA SHIH"

By W. PERCEVAL YETTS

THE vicissitudes suffered by this famous architectural treatise, and especially the sources of the splendid re-edition published in 1925 were the subject of an earlier article in the *Bulletin* (Vol. IV, Pt. III (1927), pp. 473-92). A happy chance throws new light on the 1925 edition and allows me to add this note to what was said before. It is the presence in England of a sixteenth century manuscript copy of a part of the *Ying tsao fa shih*. If the editors of the 1925 edition had had access to this, they would doubtless have turned to it for data in their efforts to reconstruct the lost Sung original. At all events, the drawings it contains are of great interest to students of Chinese decorative design, for reasons to be mentioned presently.

The fact is well known that the last remaining set of the stupendous *Yung-lo ta tien* was almost entirely destroyed when the Han-lin College, on the north side of the British Legation, was burnt down by the Boxers in 1900. This set was the first of two transcripts finished in 1567. The three other copies probably perished at the downfall of the Ming dynasty.

According to a recent circular sent out by the National Library of Peking, 286 fascicules or volumes 冊, containing 542 *chüan*, are known to have escaped destruction in 1900 and now to be scattered over the world. An appeal made by the Library for news of items not included in their list will no doubt result in more being reported. Several volumes in England, for instance, are not noted in the census, and of these three belong to Mr. C. H. Brewitt-Taylor. The architectural fragment mentioned above occurs in one of his volumes which is devoted to the category of crafts, *chiang* 匠. It is *chüan* No. 18244 of the great encyclopædia, and consists of 18 folios containing parts of the thirty-fourth chapter of *Ying tsao fa shih*.

The main purpose of this note is to point out that striking differences exist between the ornamental designs drawn in the *Yung-lo ta tien* copy and those in the magnificent 1925 edition of the architectural treatise. Taking advantage of Mr. Brewitt-Taylor's kind permission, I have had photographs made of designs for the painted frieze between bracketed consoles. These drawings, reproduced here in Figs. 1 and 3, are taken from f. 4 of the *Yung-lo ta tien* copy, and alongside them

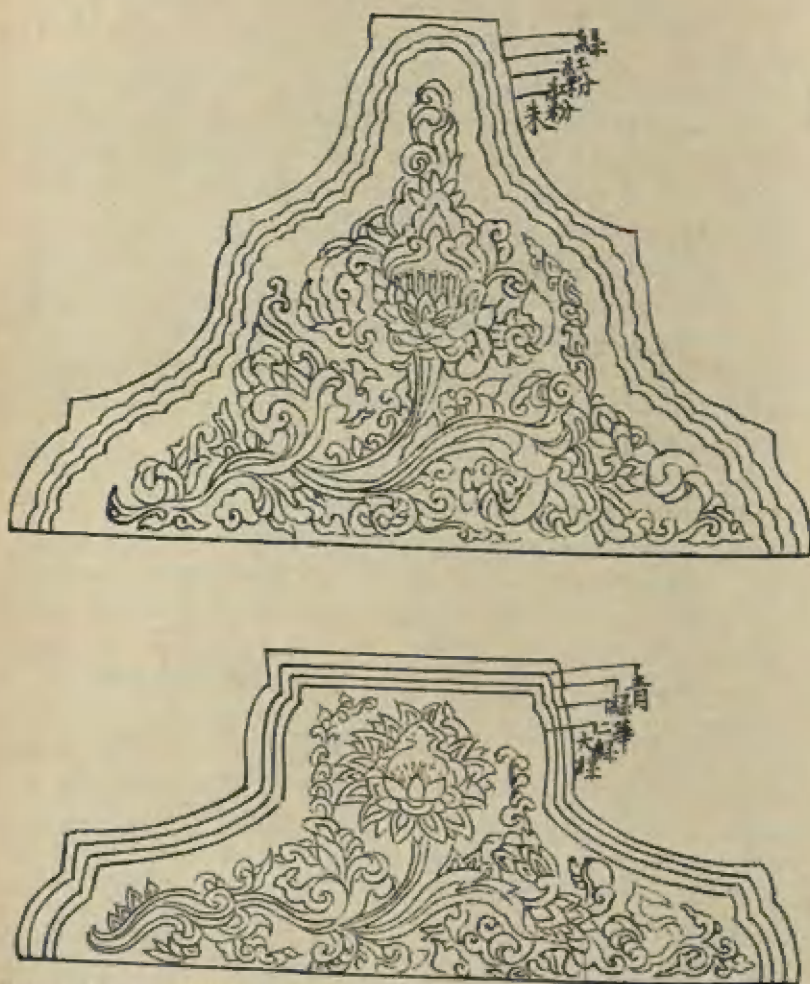


FIG. 1.—Designs to illustrate the *Rules for Painted Works* 彩畫作制度, which are set forth in *chuan* 14 of *Ying tsao fa shih*. They are reproduced (about two-thirds actual size) from the *Yung-lo ts tien*, as stated in the accompanying note. These drawings represent coloured decoration for the spaces between two consoles: the upper being suited to the more elaborate kind, the lower to the simpler. To be noted is the careless manner in which the lines from the colour labels are drawn.

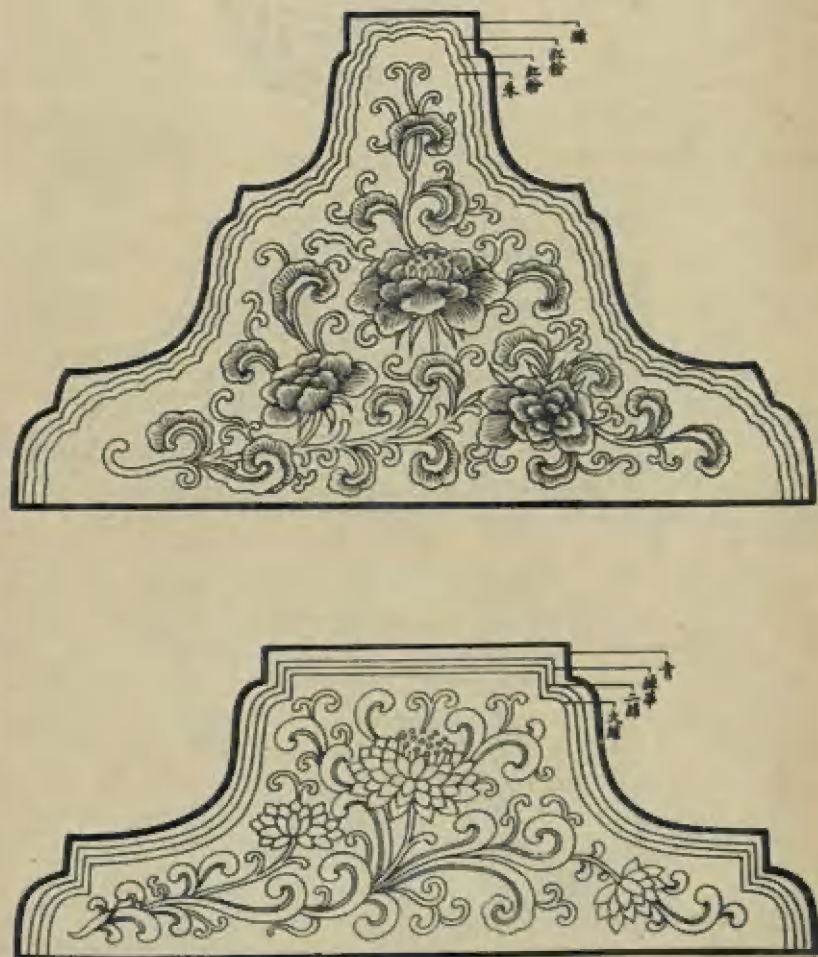


FIG. 2.—Versions of the same designs as those shown in Fig. 1, thus interpreted in the 1925 edition of *Ying tao fa shih*. This edition includes counterparts printed in colour. It represents the border of the upper design in four bands, from without inwards: leaf green, pale pink, deeper pink and scarlet. The floral part of the upper design is in light and dark blues and greens. The border of the lower design is coloured from without inwards: dark blue, pale, middle and dark leaf green; while the floral part exhibits all three shades of blue, red and green.

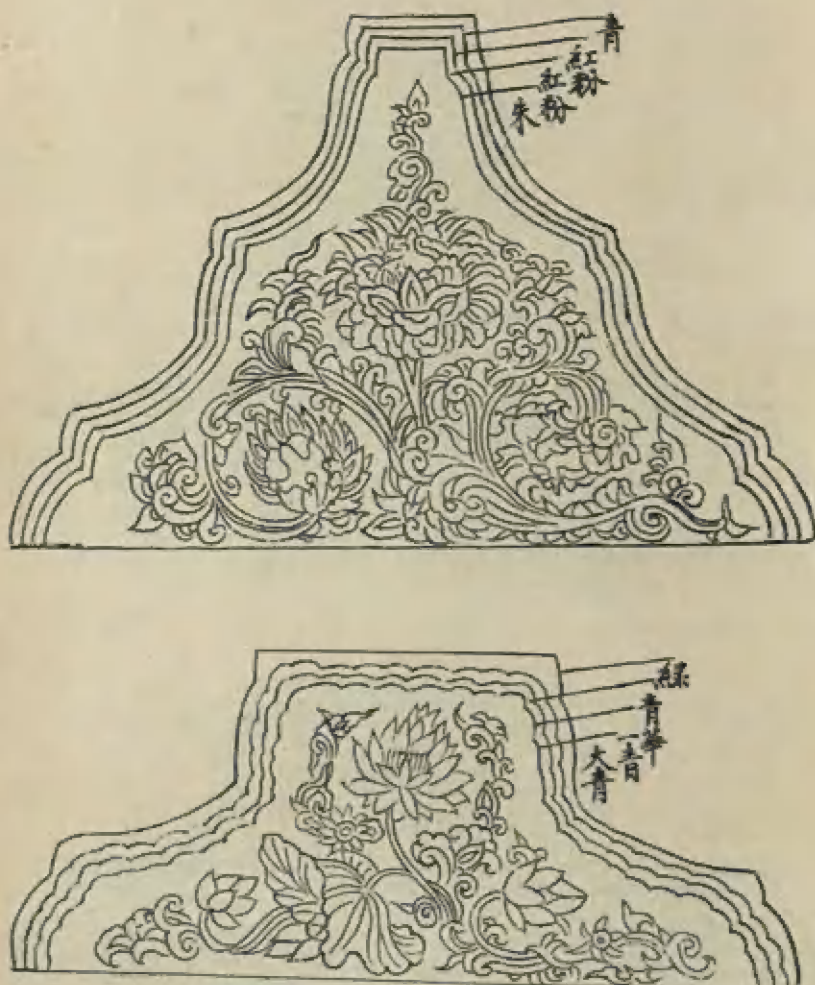


FIG. 3.—These, like the designs in Fig. 1, are reproduced from drawings in the *Yung-lo ta tien*, and they are prepared for the same decorative purpose. In common with the 1920 edition, the outermost band of the upper design is marked 青 "blue"; and it is printed blue in the coloured counterpart of 1925, although in the outline drawing of that edition it is marked 綠 "green" (c. Fig. 4). The colour in the third band of the border in the lower design is labelled 一青, instead of 二青 as in the 1920 and 1925 editions.

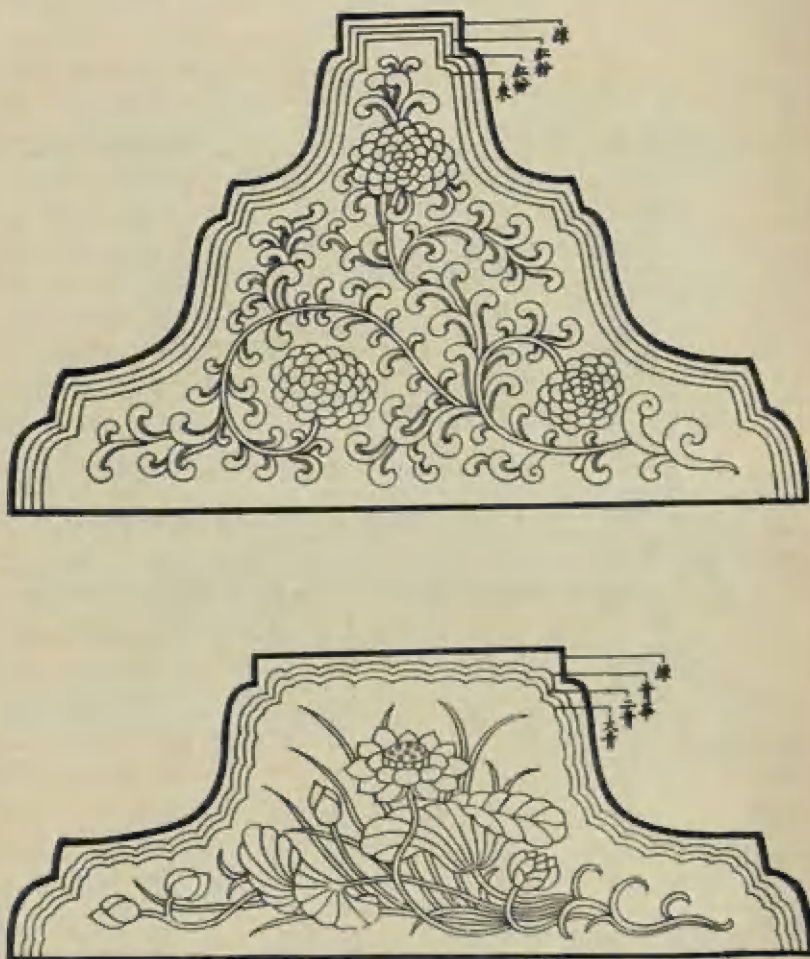


FIG. 4.—The 1925 interpretation of designs shown in Fig. 3. The contrast is even more marked than that between Figs. 1 and 2. Though the version published in the 1920 edition of *Ying tso fa shih* has less decorative significance than this, it keeps more closely to the spirit of Fig. 3. The colour scheme of the upper design, as represented in the 1925 edition, is similar to that of the upper design in Fig. 2, except that the outermost band of the border is printed dark blue. The lower design has a leaf green surround to the border and the three bands within it are pale, middle and dark blue. The floral ornament is coloured realistically, the petals of the lotus being scarlet gradated to pale pink.

appear in Figs. 2 and 4 the corresponding designs as represented on f. 6 of *chüan* 34 in the 1925 edition. The question is which of these two versions of the same motive truly represents the original Sung design. A point to be noted is that the photo-lithographed facsimile published in 1920 gives another variant, and it is more like that of the *Yung-lo ta tien* than that of 1925. The manuscript reproduced in the 1920 edition is traced to the 1145 printed edition, but it is said to have been copied at third hand (see my former article, pp. 474, 484-5). Judged by comparison with known Sung relics decorated with floral designs, the *Yung-lo ta tien* drawings would appear to resemble more closely the style of that period. The set of the gigantic encyclopædia, to which this volume belonged, should have been executed with due care; since it was made specially for the Palace at Peking. Nevertheless, the illustrations bear evidence of perfunctory treatment as regard the colour labels, and the question is whether they are to be regarded as trustworthy copies of those in the original set of 1407. The source of the latter is not known, so far as I am aware; but probably it was a copy of the 1145 *Ying tsao fa shih*.

The comparison made here involves a bigger issue than the reliability of this latest edition of the sole important treatise on Chinese architecture which has survived. It manifests the truth that traditional designs suffer change from time to time in accordance with varying factors, and that copyists, though aiming at faithful imitation, cannot exclude from their work influences of the current style and their own personal mannerisms.

THE ORKHON INSCRIPTIONS

*Being a Translation of Professor Vilhelm Thomsen's
final Danish rendering*

By E. DENISON ROSS

THE two famous monuments known as the Orkhon Inscriptions, erected in honour of the two Turkish princes, Kül-Tegin and his brother Bilgā Kagan, though mentioned in Chinese histories, remained forgotten and ignored down to quite recent times. They stand near the Lake Kocho Tsaidam, to the west of the River Orkhon, about 50 miles north of the monastery of Erdentso (the site of the ancient city of Kara Korum), and about 25 miles to the north-west of the ruins of the capital of the Uighurs, Kara-Balgassun. They are two great square monoliths, which originally reposed in two sockets. Both these sockets are still in their original position, but the monuments have been thrown down, with the result that Monument II is in four pieces. They contain long Turkish inscriptions in Runic characters on three sides, and on one side (the western) the inscription is in Chinese. The Chinese inscriptions are very beautifully cut; the Runic inscriptions, which are also probably the work of the Chinese stone-cutters, are less elegant. It may be mentioned that the Chinese inscriptions differ entirely in their contents from the Turkish.

In 1896 the late Vilhelm Thomsen, of Copenhagen, published his first decipherment and translation into French¹ of these Runic inscriptions, which are of the greatest historical importance for the early history of the Turks. In 1922, in the third volume of his collected essays,² he published an entirely new translation into Danish of these inscriptions, his researches in the interval having thrown a great deal of new light, both linguistic and historical, on the interpretation of these texts.

No rendering of these famous inscriptions has hitherto appeared in English, although a full translation was published by H. H. Schaeder in the *ZDMG.*, Neue Folge, Bd. iii, 1924. I thought it would be of interest to readers of our *Bulletin* to know what were the contents of these remarkable monuments, erected respectively in A.D. 732 and 735. Professor Thomsen also published at the same time a new translation of the Tonyukuk inscription found near the other two, and of this I hope to publish an English version in a future number.

¹ *Inscriptions de l'Orkhon*, Helsingfors, 1896.

² *Samlede Afhandlinger*, vol. iii, Copenhagen, 1922.

TRANSLATION OF MONUMENTS I AND II (1)

South side of Monument I (I S) = North side of Monument II (II N)

- 181 I, the God-like, Heaven-bred Turkish Wise [Bilgä] Kagan, I
 II S 1 have mounted my throne (?). Hear from the beginning to the end
 of my words, first and foremost Ye my younger brothers, my brother's
 and my sister's sons (?) and my young princes, and then all Ye my
 kindred and my people, Ye Shadapit-begs on the right, Ye Tarkans
 182 and Buyruk-begs on the left, Otuz—["Thirty"—] (Tartars ? . . .)
 begs and peoples of the Tokuz—["Nine"—] Oguzes ! Harken well
 to these my words, give close heed to them ! Towards the East,
 towards the sun's rising, towards the South, towards the mid-day,
 II N 2 towards the West, towards the sun's setting, towards the North,
 towards the mid-night—let all peoples within this [circle] listen to
 183 me ; so far around have I disposed all the peoples. So long as the
 Turkish kagan rules in the forest of Mount Ötükän without the
 wickedness of to-day the kingdom suffers no ill. To the East I have
 made campaigns as far as the Shantung plain, and almost reached the
 II N 3 sea ; to the South I have made campaigns as far as Tokuz-Ersin (?)
 and almost reached Tibet ; to the West I have made campaigns
 beyond Yenchü-ügüz ["The Pearl River"] as far as Tämür-kapig
 184 ["The Iron Gate"] ; to the North I have made campaigns as far as
 the land of the Yer-Bayirku's. To all these lands have I led [the Turks].
 The forest of Mount Ötükän has no [foreign] overlord ; the forest
 of Mount Ötükän is the place wherefrom the kingdom is held together.
 185 While I have ruled here, I have become reconciled with the Chinese
 II N 4 people. The Chinese people, who give in abundance gold, silver,
 millet (?), and silk (?), have always used ingratiating words and have
 at their disposal enervating riches. While ensnaring them with their
 ingratiating talk and enervating riches, they have drawn the far-
 dwelling peoples nearer to themselves. But after settling down near
 186 them these have come to see their cunning. The good and shrewd
 men, the good and stout men, however, they have not shaken ; and
 even if a man have fallen away from [us], they have not succeeded
 in leading astray the sober ones within his kindred or his people.
 II N 5 But by letting yourselves be snared by their ingratiating talk and
 enervating riches, many of you, Turkish folk, have gone to destruction.
 When some among you, Turkish folk, said : " I will settle in the South,
 but not in the forest of Mount Chugay, but in the plain," then the
 187 wicked men encouraged this party among you, Turkish folk, in this

wise : " When they are far away they give bad gifts ; when they are
 II N 6 near they give good gifts." Thus did they urge them on. The foolish
 persons were taken by these words, and went down to their neighbour-
 hood, whereby many among you have come to destruction. " If thou
 I S 8 then go forth to that land, O Turkish nation, thou wilt come to
 destruction ; but if thou stay in the land of Ötükän, and send out
 caravans, thou wilt never suffer any need. If thou stay on in the
 mountain forest of Ötükän, thou shalt ever hold an everlasting
 kingdom, O Turkish nation, and thou shalt be full-fed. When thou
 art hungry, thou dost not remember what fullness is ; but once thou
 I S 9 art full-fed, thou hast no thought of what hunger is." Without giving
 II N 7 heed to the words of your kagan, of him who, thanks to those of like
 mind among you, has set you on your feet—ye have wandered forth
 from place to place, and ye have all there languished and suffered
 need. Those among you that have stayed behind there have all had
 to go on from place to place, to life or death. Under the will of Heaven,
 and for that it was my high calling, I became kagan. After having
 I S 10 become kagan I gathered together the whole luckless people ; the
 poor people I have made rich, the people small in numbers I have
 II N 8 made a numerous one. Or is there, perhaps, any untruth in these
 my words ? Turkish begs and peoples, harken unto this ! How
 thou, O Turkish people, hast preserved the kingdom (through being
 obedient ?), I have here written down ; how thou hast been divided
 up, when thou wast faithless, I have here set forth. All that I had to
 I S 11 say to you I have written down on this memorial stone [literally, the
 everlasting stone]. Having obeyed this, ye Turkish peoples and begs
 now living, ye begs that up to now have been obedient to the throne,
 could you indeed wish to be found wanting ? (2)

I (have had) the memorial stone (hewn ?). From the Chinese
 Emperor I have had artists to come, and have set them to work.
 I S 12 My request has not been refused (?). They have sent the Chinese
 Emperor's court painters. I have bidden them set up a separate
 [or excelling ?] hall, and inside and out I have had them to make
 various (?) [remarkable ?] paintings. I have had the stone hewn ;
 that which lay in my heart to utter I have (had written . .).
 Understand to see [: to read ?] this (. . . ?) all as far as the suns
 and subjects of the Ten Arrows.¹ I have had the memorial stone
 I S 13 hewn. For those of you (?) who might have been withdrawing [into

¹ It is interesting to note that the combination *unug* which Thomsen following Radloff originally read as *unug* = beloved, he now reads as *on og* or the Ten Arrows.

winter camp?], or from barren (?) places striving towards grazing-ground, I have had this memorial stone hewn in a barren (?) place, and have written this. When ye see it, then know so much: this stone I have (. . .). He that has written this inscription is his sister's son (?) Yolig Tegin.

The East Side (I and II E)

- (3) When the blue sky above and the dark earth below were made,
 II E 3 then were made between them both the sons of men. Over the sons
 of men set themselves [as rulers] my forbears Eumin kagan and Istāmi
 kagan, and having set themselves [as rulers] they governed and kept
 I E 2 in order the Turkish peoples' kingdoms and polity. All [the peoples
 in] the four quarters of the world were foes to them; but they waged
 wars against them and overcame all the peoples in the four quarters of
 the world, made them keep the peace and bow their head and bend their
 knee. Towards the East they made them settle as far as the mountain
 II E 4 forest of Kadirkan, to the West as far as Tāmir-kapig [: "The Iron
 I E 3 Gate"]. Over so great a distance did they rule between [these] two
 [extremes], bringing order to the "blue" Turks [kōk Türk], who were
 without lord and without any tribal [organization]. They were wise
 kagans, they were stout-hearted; also their buyruk's [: high officials]
 were wise, were stout-hearted. Both begs and peoples were united.
 I E 4 Therefore were they able to govern so great a realm, to bring order
 into the political body. According as their fate was laid down so they
 died. To witness the funeral and take part in the mourning there
 II E 5 came from the East, from the sun's rising, the far-off Bōkli (?)—nation,
 the Chinese, the Tibetans, Apar (?), Apurum (?), the Kirghiz, the
 Üch—[: "Three"—] Kurikans, the Otuz—"Thirty"—Tatars,
 the Kitays, Tatabi—so many nations came to take part in the
 mourning and funeral. Such illustrious kagans they were. After them
 I E 5 their younger brothers became kagans, and their sons became kagans;
 but the younger brothers were now not like their elder brothers, the
 II E 6 sons were not like their fathers. It was incapable kagans that mounted
 the throne, it was bad kagans; their buyruks were likewise incapable
 I E 6 and they were bad. Because of want of harmony between the begs and
 the people, and because of the Chinese people's cunning and craft and
 its intrigues, and because the younger and the elder brothers chose to
 take counsel against one another and bring discord between begs and
 II E 7 people, they brought the old realm of the Turkish people to dissolution,
 I E 7 and brought destruction on its lawful kagans. The sons of the nobles

became the bondsmen of the Chinese people, their unsullied daughters became its slaves. The Turkish begs gave up their Turkish names [or titles ?], and bearing the Chinese names [titles ?] of Chinese begs they

1 E 8 obeyed the Chinese Emperor, and served him during fifty years.

11 E 8 For him they waged war in the East towards the sun's rising, as far as Bökli kagan, in the West they made expeditions as far as Tämirkapig ("The Iron Gate"); for the Chinese Emperor they conquered

1 E 9 kingdoms and power. The whole of the common Turkish people said thus: "I have been a nation that had its own kingdom; where is now my kingdom? For whom do I win the kingdoms?" said they. "I have been a people that had its own kagan; where is my kagan?"

11 E 9 Which kagan is it I serve?" they said. Speaking in this wise they rose

1 E 10 up against the Chinese Emperor; but as they, having risen up, had not been able to put themselves in order and take proper thought, they once more submitted. All these were [not only] not minded to give [us] help, but [even] said: "Let us [rather] slay the Turkish people and root it out"; but they went [themselves] to meet

11 E 10 destruction. But the Turks' Heaven above, and the Turks holy

1 E 11 Yer-sub did as follows: to the end that the Turkish people should not perish but that it should [again] become a people, they raised up my father Elterish kagan and my mother Elbilga katun, supporting them from the heights of Heaven. My father the kagan went forth

1 E 12 with seventeen men. When they heard the tidings that he was going forth outside [China], they that were in the towns went out, and they that were on the mountains came down from them, and when they

11 E 11 gathered together they were seventy men. As Heaven gave them strength, my father, the kagan's army was as wolves, and their foes as sheep. Making marches East and West, he gathered people and

1 E 13 brought them together, and there came to be in all seven hundred men. When there had come to be seven hundred men he set the people in order in consonance with my forefathers' institutions, the people that had lost its realms and its kagan, the people that had become

11 E 12 thralls and slave-women, the people whose Turkish institutions had

1 E 14 been broken up, and he put heart into them. He now brought order into the Tölîsh peoples and the Tardush peoples, and gave them a yabgu and a shad. To the south the Chinese people was our foe, to the North Baz kagan and the people of the Tokuz ["Nine"] Oguz's were our foes; Kirghiz, kurikans, Otuz ["Thirty"] Tatars, Kitays

1 E 15 and Tatabis—they were all hostile to us; (with) all these (had)

11 E 13 my father the kagan (to fight?). Forty-seven times he went

campaigning, and fought in twenty fights. By the will of Heaven we took from them that had a kingdom their kingdom, and them that had a kagan we robbed of their kagan; he made the foes to keep the peace, and made them bow their head and bend their knee. After
 I E 16 having won so great a kingdom and such great power he died. Instead of my father the kagan we raised up Baz kagan as first balbal. (4)¹ So my father's brother the kagan took over the government. Having mounted the throne, my father's brother the kagan organized anew
 I E 17 the Turkish people, and set it on its feet; the poor he made rich, those that were few he made many. When my father's brother the kagan had mounted the throne I myself became shad over the Tardush people (5). Together with my father's brother the kagan I took the field eastwards as far as the Green River [*yaşıl ügüz*] and the Shantung plain; westwards we made campaigns as far as Tāmir-kapig; as far
 I E 18 as the Kirghiz land beyond Kōgmān we made campaigns. Altogether we made twenty-five campaigns and fought thirteen times. From them that had a kingdom we took away their kingdom; them that had a kagan we robbed of their kagan; we made them bend their
 II E 16 knee and bow their head. The Türgish kagan was of my Turks, my
 I E 19 people. Because of his foolishness, and because he was filled with deceit towards us he was slain and his buyruks and begs were slain. The people of the Ten Arrows suffered evil. So that the land governed by our forbears should not be without a lord, we set in order the people that was small in numbers [? or: the Az people?] (. . .)
 I E 20 who was Bar's beg; we gave him here the title of kagan, and gave
 II E 17 him the princess my younger sister to wed. But they were faithless, the kagan was slain, and the people became thralls and slave-women. So that the land Kōgmān should not be left without a lord, we came, after setting Az-og (?) the Kirghiz people in order, and fought, but
 I E 21 we gave them (their independence?) back again. So far as the other side of the mountain forest of Kadirkan in the East, we let the people dwell, and organized it; so far as Kāngū-tarman in the West we let
 II E 18 the Turkish people dwell, and organized it. At that time the slaves themselves had slaves, the slave-women themselves had slave-women; the younger brother knew nought of the elder brother, the sons knew nought of their father. So great was the kingdom and the dominion
 II E 19 which we had won and organized. But, Turkish and Oguz begs and

¹ It was a custom of the Turks to set up stones round the tomb of a fallen prince, each stone representing an enemy he had slain during his lifetime. Such stones were called *balbal*.

- people, hearken to this ! Did not Heaven above fall down, or the earth below open, who could then have destroyed thy kingdom and thy might ? Turkish peoples ! Tremble and go into thyself ! It is thou thyself that has been deceitful and acted cravenly towards thy wise kagan, who through thy obedience had raised thee up, and brought thee to thy goodly realm, which had been free and independent. Whence came, indeed, armoured men and split thee up ? Whence, indeed, came lance-bearing men and dragged thee away ? Thou people from the holy Ötükān mountain-forest, it was thou thyself that went forth ! Some of you went eastwards, others of you went westwards ; but in those lands whither ye went ye attained only to this, that your blood flowed in streams and your bones lay like mountains. Your nobles' sons became thralls, your unsullied daughters became slave-women. Through your foolishness and cowardice my father's brother the kagan found his death. As the first one I had the Kirghiz kagan raised to be balbal. Heaven, which, so that the name and fame of the Turkish people should not perish, had raised up my father the kagan and my mother the katun, Heaven, which had given them the kingdom—this same Heaven, so that the name and fame of the Turkish people should not perish, has now appointed me as kagan. I did not become a ruler over a flourishing (?) people ; I became the ruler of a people which within was without food and outside was without clothing, a wretched and weak people. Together with my younger brother Kül tegin did I deal with this. So that the people's name and fame won by my father and my father's brother might not perish, for the sake of the Turkish people, I have not slept by night, and by day not found rest. Together with my younger brother Kül tegin, and with the two shads I have toiled unto death. By so toiling I have brought the peoples to not being as fire and water [: disunited] (After I had mounted the throne as kagan ?) those peoples that had gone forth far around came back, dying, without horses, and without clothing. That I might set the people up I (undertook) twelve (expeditions) with great armies, northwards against the Oguz people, to the East against the Kitay and Tatabi peoples, to the South against the Chinese, and I fought (. times). By the will of Heaven, and because I was greatly deserving and it so brought it about, I brought the dying people back to life ; for the naked people I found clothing, the poor people I made rich, the scanty people I made numerous. I have made the other, which has a kingdom and a kagan, to stand higher. All the peoples in the four quarters of the world I have brought

- to keeping the peace and making an end of hostilities ; they all have obeyed me (6), and serve me. After having done so much for the power of the kingdom, my brother Kül tegin died by the decree of fate. At my father the kagan's death my brother Kül tegin was (left behind at the age of) seven years. (At ten years of age ?) my brother
- I E 31 Kül tegin was given a man's name [: was received among the grown up], to the happiness of my mother the katun, who is like Umay.¹ At the age of sixteen he accomplished as follows for my father's brother, the kagan's kingdom and power : we made a campaign against Altı ["Six"] Chub (?) and the Sogds and defeated them. The Chinese
- I E 32 Ong tutuk (came with an army of) fif(-ty thousand and we fought). Kül tegin attacked at the run with the footmen, and took by force of arms the tutuk with spearmen prisoners, and brought them armed to the kagan. That army we destroyed there. When he was twenty-
- I E 33 one years old we fought with Chacha sāngün. First (he attacked riding on) Tadik (?) chur's grey (horse ; this horse) was killed there. The second time he attacked, riding on Ishbara Yamtar's grey horse ; this horse was killed there. The third time he attacked riding on Yāginsilig beg's brown horse Kādimlig ; this horse was killed there. His armour and his moon-diamond (ornament) they hit with more
- I E 34 than 100 arrows, but not one hurt the [armour-?] plates or his head (. . . .) their [? his ?] attack ye all remember, Turkish begs. That army we there destroyed. Thereafter the Yer-Bayirkus under Ulug- ["great"] erkin became our foes. We hewed them up and
- I E 35 defeated them by Lake Türgi-yargun. Ulug-erkin fled with but a few men. When Kül tegin was (26) years old we made a campaign against the Kirghiz. Making ourselves a way through the snow that lay a lance's depth, we marched up over Kōgmān mountain-forest and fell
- I E 36 on the Kirghiz people as they slept. Kül tegin attacked at a run, riding on Bayir-ku's white stallion. One man he shot with an arrow, two men he pierced through, one after the other. In this attack he broke the leg of Bayir-ku's white stallion. The Kirghiz kagan we slew, and took their realm. In the same year we marched against the Türgishes up over the Altun mountain-forest, and crossing over the
- I E 37 River Irtish. The Türgish folk we fell upon as they slept. The Türgish kagan's army came up by Bolchu like fire and storm, and we fought. Kül tegin attacked riding on the grey horse Bashgu. The grey horse Bashgu (.). On the way back from there the Türgish
- I E 38 kagan's buyruks took the Az [people's] tutuk a prisoner. Then we

¹ A children's deity.

slew the kagan, and took over his kingdom. The whole of the common
 I E 39 Türgish people submitted. This people (. . . .). To organize
 the Sogd people we went over Yenchü-ügüz as far as Tämirkapig.
 Afterwards the Türgish common people revolted, and went off towards
 Kängäräs. Our army had neither horses nor supplies at the resting-
 I E 40 places; they were evil peoples (. . . .). They were brave men
 that had attacked us. In despair under such conditions we sent out
 Kül tegin with a few men to come up with them. They gave a great
 fight. He attacked, riding on his white horse Alpshalchi. There he
 slew and conquered the Türgish common people. As he withdrew
 (. . . .).

North Side (N)

I N 1 (. .) he fought with (.) and with Kosshu tutuk, and slew all his
 men. Their tents and goods he took all home without leaving anything.
 When Kül tegin was 27 years old, the Karluk people, which at that
 time was free and independent, came to a war with us. We fought
 by the holy spring [or mountain-top; literally "head"] Tamag.
 I N 2 Kül tegin was, when this battle took place, 30 years old. He attacked
 at a run, riding on his white horse Alpshalchi. Two men he pierced
 through one after the other. The Karluks we slew and overcame. The
 Az people came to war with us. We fought by Lake Kara (?)-köl.
 I N 3 Kül tegin was then 31 years old. Riding on his white horse Alpshalchi
 he attacked at a run. He took prisoner the eltäbir of the Az people
 and annihilated there the Az people. As the kingdom of my father's
 brother the kagan had become rebellious and the people had taken a
 hatred (?) to him, we fought with the Izgil people. Riding on his white
 I N 4 horse Alpshalchi, Kül tegin made his attack at the run. This horse
 fell dead there. The Izgil people was destroyed. The Tokuz-Oguz
 people was my own people. As Heaven and Earth were in a turmoil
 they rose against us. Within one year we fought five times. First
 I N 5 we fought at [the town of] Togu-balik. Kül tegin attacked at a run,
 riding on his white Azman. Six men he transfixes with his lance,
 a seventh man he cut down in the hand-to-hand fight of the armies.
 The second time we fought with the Ādiz at Kushlagak. While Kül
 I N 6 tegin attacked at a gallop, riding on his brown Az, he transfixes one
 man, nine men he hewed down in the turmoil of the fight (?). The
 Ādiz people was destroyed there. The third time we fought with the
 Oguz people at Bo(. . . .). Kül tegin attacked, riding on the white
 Azman, and transfixes [foes with the lance]. We overcame their army

- and brought their people to submission. The fourth time we fought
 I N 7 at Chushbashi. The Turkish people was rebellious and nigh to being
 craven. After Kül tegin had scattered (?) their army which had come
 first, we surrounded and slew, at Tonga tegin's funeral, the alpagus
 of the Tongra of one kindred and (?) ten men. The fifth time we fought
 I N 8 with the Oguz at Äzgänti-kadaz (?) Kül tegin attacked riding on his
 black-brown Az. Two men he transfixed (. . .). This army was there
 slain. After wintering in [the stronghold of] Maga- [or Amga-] kurgan
 we set forth in the spring with an army against the Oguz; Kül tegin
 we sent off to bear the orders home (?). The hostile Oguz fell on the
 I N 9 camp. Kül tegin transfixed nine men among them, riding on his
 white Ögsiz [= "the motherless"], and did not yield the camp. My
 mother the katun, along with my stepmothers, my aunts, and elder
 sisters, my daughters-in-law, my princesses—all of those^{*} that were
 left alive, would have become slave-women, and those of you that were
 I N 10 slain would have been left lying in the camp or on the road. If Kül
 tegin had not been there, it would have been all over with you all.
 Now my brother Kül tegin is dead. I have myself mourned. My eyes,
 though seeing, have become as blinded; my thoughts, though conscious,
 have become as without consciousness. I have myself mourned.
 I N 11 But the sons of men are all born to die, so soon as Heaven ordains the
 time. Thus did I mourn, with the tears coming from the eye, and
 wailing from the heart, I have mourned ever and again; deeply have
 I mourned. I thought that the two shades, my younger brothers and
 brothers' sons, my sons, my begs and my people would weep till their
 eyes grew sick. To take part at the funeral and mourning Udar Sängün
 I N 12 came from the Kitay and Tatabi peoples. From the Chinese Emperor
 came Ishiyi and (?) Likäng. They brought in immeasurable quantity
 precious things, gold and silver [to the value of] a *tümän* [= 10,000].
 From the Tibetan kagan came a *bölön*,¹ From the peoples of the Sogds,
 Persians(?), and Bukhara tribes, dwelling in the West, towards the
 I N 13 sun's setting came Näng [? or Näk ?] sängün and Ogul tarkan. From
 the Ten Arrows and my son [? son-in-law or: from my sons, the
 Ten Arrows, and] the Türgish kagan came Makarach, the keeper of
 the seal, and Oguz Bilgä, the keeper of the seal. From the Kirghiz
 kagan came Tardush Inanchu chur. To build the hall, carry out the

¹ It is interesting to note the Turkish transcription of the Tibetan word *blon*—pointing to the pronunciation of the initial "b" which has only an orthographical value to-day (= *lon-po*, an official).

works of art [the paintings ?] and the inscribed stone there came the Chinese Emperor's Chikans and Chang Sängün.

On the Face between the North and the East Side (I N E)

Kül tegin died in the year "sheep" [731] the seventh [day]. In the ninth month, the 27th we held the funeral. His hall, the works of art [the paintings ?] and the inscribed stone—all we dedicated in the year "ape", the 7th month, the 27th [= 21 August 732]. Kül tegin died in his 47th year. (. . . .) All these artists were sent for by the toyguns (*sic*) and the eltäbirs.

On the Face between the South and the East Side (I S E)

He that has written [: composed] this inscription is I, Kül tegin's sister's son (?), Yolig tegin, who have written it. Tarrying here for twenty days, I have written all on this stone and these walls. Ye showed always a greater care than the others (?) for your princes and your tayguns. Now are ye dead. [Be in ?] Heaven just as [ye were then] amongst the living.

On the Face between the South and the West Side (I S W)

The toyguns (?) that saw to (?) Kül tegin's gold, silver, precious things, belongings, and 400 stud-horses (. . .) My lord the tegin (.) up to Heaven (. . . .). The stone I, Yollig [*sic*] tegin, have inscribed.

On the West Side to the Right of the Chinese Inscription (I W)

(1) Inantchu apa⁷yargan tarkan is my name. The (Tur-) kish begs and the Turkish (people) (2) witnessed from the enclosure the funeral. Because of my brother Kül tegin's (merits) and because he has served my kingdom, I, the Turkish Bilgä kagan have taken my place in the middle that was kept for me to keep watch over my brother Kül tegin.

NOTES

(1) The gaps in the inscription are shown by (), with a greater or a smaller number of dots or strokes, or attempts to fill in the missing matter conjecturally. In between [] are put words which are inserted in the translation for the sake of making it clearer by explanations and the like. In general in giving Turkish words and names I do not usually distinguish the sounds *q*, *j*, at the back of the tongue from *k*, *g*, or from *i*; *ch* I use as in English = *c* (tsh); *sh* = *s*.

- (2) (From here II goes on thus): As far around as (my father) the kagan and my father's brother the kagan after having mounted the throne had ordered (and organized) the peoples in the four quarters of the world, (just as far around) have I myself by the favour of Heaven, after having mounted the throne, ordered and organized the peoples (. . . .). To the Türgish kagan with very great magnificence I sent (the princess) my daughter in marriage. The daughter of the Tür (gish kagan) I gave with very great magnificence to my son in marriage. (The princess) my younger sister I sent (with very) great magnificence (to the Kirgiz (?) kagan) in marriage. (. . . . the peoples in the) four (quarters of the world I have brought into peace), to bow (their head) and bend their knee.
- II N 11 By the blessing of Heaven above, and the earth below (I have led) my people, whom none [before] had seen with their eyes or heard of with their ears, to the (lands lying ?) forwards, towards the up (rising) of the sun, to the right, towards the middle of the day, backwards, (towards) the sun's (setting, to the left towards the middle of the night ?). I have won for my Turks, my people, their (yellow gold and) white silver, silk-stuff, and millet (?), riding-horses and stallions,
- II N 12 black sables, and blue squirrels; I have brought it about that (my
- II N 13 people) can live without cares. (. . . . So that thou dost not part thyself) from this thy kagan, from these thy begs, from (this) thy
- II N 14 (land), O Turkish nation, then will it be well with thee, thou shalt come home again and not have any cares. (. . .) From the Chinese Emperor I had artists (to come. My) request has not been refused (?) Court artists have been sent. I have made them build a separate (? or excelling ?) hall and inside and outside I have (bidden them make) various (? excelling ?) paintings (. . .). Understand to see [: read]
- II N 15 this [all] as far as the Ten Arrows' sons and subjects. The memorial stone (. . . .).

- (3) (II has in front of this): I, the godlike Turkish Wise [Bilgā]
- II E 1 kagan appointed by Heaven, these are my words: When my father the Wise [Bilgā] (kagan had come into the rule, . . . were rejoiced and glad) the illustrious begs and peoples of the Tokuz—["nine"] Oguz's (?) Now that my father the kagan is dead (I myself in accordance with) the Turkish Heaven's (and the Turkish, holy Yer-sub's will ?) come into the government of (this kingdom)
- II E 2 as kagan. After I had come into the government the Turkish begs and peoples were glad and rejoiced, who had been in sorrow as though they must die, and looked upwards with quieted (?) eyes. After

myself mounting the throne I have given out so many important laws (for the peoples) in the four quarters of the world (.).

II E 14 (4) (In the parallel place in II is here inserted :) When my father the kagan died, I myself was left behind at an age of eight years.

(5) (Instead of the last clause II has :) (I served) myself (my father's brother the kagan, so long as I ?) was tegin ; (by the will of
II E 15 Heaven) I was at fourteen years old appointed shad over the Tardush people.

(6) (From here II goes on as follows :) At the age of seventeen
II E 24 I made a campaign against Tangut. The Tangut people I destroyed ; their young men and households, their horses and belongings I took
II E 25 away from there. At 18 years old I made a campaign against Altı— [“six”] Chub (?) and the Sogds and defeated them. The Chinese Ong tutuk came with an army of 50,000 ; I fought at Iduk-Bash [“The holy spring” or “mountain-top”] and I destroyed there this army. At 20 years old I made a campaign against the Bashmil people and its Iduk-kut, since they did not send caravans [with tribute], (.) I made them submit again, and all together come to us.

II E 26 At 22 I made a campaign against the Chinese ; I fought against Chacha sāngün and (his army of) 80,000 men ; I destroyed his army there. At 26 the Chik people together with the Kirghiz became our enemies ; I made a campaign over the river Kem against Chik, I fought at Örpän and beat their army. The Az people (.), I brought them into submission to me again. At 27 years I made a campaign against the Kirghiz. As we made ourselves a way over the

II E 27 snow, which lay to a lance's depth, I marched up over the Kōgmān mountain-forest, and fell upon the Kirghiz people as they slept. I fought with their kagan in the Songa (?) mountain-forest, and I slew their kagan and occupied their kingdom. In the same year I marched against the Türgish people up over the Altun mountain-forest and beyond the Irtish river, and I fell upon (the Türgish people as they slept). The Türgish kagan's army came like fire and storm ; we fought

II E 28 at Bolchu ; I slew there the kagan and his yabgn and shad, and brought their kingdom under my sway. When thirty years old I made an expedition against Beshbalik ; I fought six times (and conquered ?), the whole of their army I did destroy. What peoples are there within ? (.) came to call (. . .) ; thereby Beshbalik was saved. When

II E 29 I was 31 years old the Karluk people became hostile to us, at the time when it was living in freedom and without any cares. I fought by the holy spring [or : mountain-top] Tamag, and I destroyed the Karluk

- people, and conquered it. (When I was 32 years old) the Karluk people gathered together (and came ? ; their army conquered)
- II E 30 I, and destroyed it. The Tokuz-Oguz's were my own people. Since Heaven and earth were in a tumult, and since envy have taken hold of their mind (?), they rose in rebellion. Within one year I fought four times. First I fought by [the town of] Togu-balik ; having made my men swim over the River Togla I (overcame and destroyed) their army. The second time I fought at Andargu [? or Urgu ?] and overcame (and destroyed their army The third time) I fought (at Chush Bashi). The Turkish people was mutinous and near
- II E 31 to being craven, but I drove away (?) their [foes'] army, which had got the advantage, and was coming to break us ; and many that were near to dying came back to life again at this. There I surrounded and hewed down, at the funeral of Tonga tegin, the Tongra [tribes] yilpagu's of one kindred. The fourth time I fought at Äzgändi-kadaz ; their army I overcame and destroyed there. (Their horses) and their belongings (I took away there. When I was 24 (?) years old) there was a failure of the crops after we had wintered in [the stronghold of] Maga-[or Amga-]kurgan. In the spring I marched against the
- II E 32 Oguzes ; the first army had gone forth, the second army was at home. Three Oguz armies came to attack us ; in the belief that we were left without horses and hard pressed, they came to attack us. One of their armies set forth to plunder our settlements, the second of their armies came to fight. We were few and we were hard beset, the Oguzes (. ; as Heaven) gave us strength, I overcame and broke
- II E 33 them there. By the favour of Heaven, and because I myself accomplished somewhat, (. .) the Turkish people (. . . .). If I had not first done so much, the Turkish people would have perished and come to destruction. (Turkish) begs (and people), think of this, know this !
- II E 34 The Oguz people (.) I took the field ; I laid waste their abodes. The Oguz people came united with the Tokuz Tatars ; at Agn I fought two great fights ; their army I destroyed, their tribes I overcame. After having accomplished so much (my father's brother the kanga (?) died). By the favour (of Heaven) (I became) myself
- II E 35 when 33 years old (kagan) kagan,¹ who had set (them) on their feet again, was faithless. Heaven above and the holy Yer-sub and (. .) kagan's good fortune were not favourably minded towards him. The Tokuz-Oguz people left their land, and went to China. (. . . . from) China they came (back) to this land. I will set them

¹ Which kagan is here spoken of is not clear ; perhaps Bögü kagan (p. 188 f.) (?)

- II E 36 on their feet, thought I (.) the people (.) was faithless, (therefore) its name and fame came to ruin in the South in China; in this land it became a shame (?) unto me. When I myself had become kagan, I (set) the Turkish people (on its feet). (There)
- II E 37 I fought and overcame their army. Some of them submitted again, and became a people; others found death. I marched down along Selenga . (?) and there laid waste their settlements. (.) the Uygurs' eltäbir fled eastwards with about 100 men (.).
- II E 38 (. . .) The Turkish people suffered hunger; I set them up through taking these horses. When I was 34 years old the Oguzes fled and gave themselves up under China; in wrath I took the field (.).

[The rest of the East side and its continuation on the South side contain such great gaps, that these parts are here left out as far as II S 8:]

- II S 8 Küg Sängün came at the head of an army of 40,000 men; I met him at the mountain Tüngkär, and defeated him and hewed down
- II S 9 3,000 men (.). After my eldest son had died of sickness, I had Küg Sängün set up as balbal. For 19 years I governed as shad,
- II S 10 for 19 years I was kagan and ruled the realm. 31 (years I was tegin?). For my Turks, for my people I have brought so much good. Having¹ accomplished so much my father the kagan died in the year "dog"
- II S 11 [734], the 10th moon, the 26; in the year "pig" [735], the 5th month the 27th, we held the funeral (.) Lisün tay-sängün came at the head of 500 men; they brought sweet-scented things (. .) gold and silver in quantity beyond reckoning; they brought corpse candles(?) and set them up; they brought sandal-wood
- II S 12 (. . . .). All these people cut their hair and slashed their ears and cheeks. They brought their good riding-horses, their black sables, their blue squirrels in quantity beyond reckoning, and all this they offered up.

[The end of this part from 1.13 has only an enumeration of those who there took part in the funeral, and in the homage to the new kagan.]

¹ While up to now it has been always the dead kagan who is represented as speaking (except in II E 1-2), here it is suddenly the new kagan that starts speaking without any transition.

On the Face between the South and the West Side (II S W)

(The description concerning the Turkish Bilgā) kagan I, Yolig tegin, have written. (He that had all this painted and set up, the hall, the paintings, and the statues, is I, the kagan's sister's son (?), Yolig tegin. For a month and four days I have tarried here, and written and had painted (and had set up).

Over the Chinese Inscription on the West Side (II W ; p. 483)
 (= the beginning of this translation)

(Since my father) Bilgā kagan, (who has ruled) over (the Turks, is dead), I will, when it is spring, when (Heaven's) drums (sound ?) as—(?), when the deer flees on the mountain, again mown. My father (the kagan's) stone I have myself as kagan (. . .).

(7) The month is not given ; perhaps the first month of the year.

„RĀINĀ“

Von DAVID KÜNSTLINGER

WÖRTER vom Stamme رعى kommen mehreremal im Kurān vor.

So 20, 56 : Speiset und weidet وَأَرْعُوا euer Vieh. 28, 23 : الرعاة die Hirten. Die Weide heisst : المرعى 79, 31.87, 4. Im Sinne von „hüten, beobachten“ 23, 8.70, 32 : وعهدهم راعون und die ihre Verpflichtung einhalten, beobachten. 57, 27 : فما رَعَوْهَا حَقَّ رِعَايَتِهَا, aber (das Wohlgefallen Gottes) beachten sie (die Christen) nicht der richtigen Beachtung gemäss. In 2, 98¹ wird denjenigen, الذين آمنوا verboten راعنا zu sprechen, dafür sollen sie انظرونا, schau auf uns, beachte uns, behüte uns gebrauchen. In 4, 48² wiederum wird denen الذين هادوا der Vorwurf gemacht, dass sie راعنا zu sprechen pflegten; besser wäre für sie (v. 49), wenn sie statt dessen انظرونا sagen würden. Da die beiden verschiedenen Wörter verwandte Bedeutung haben, in fast synonymem Sinne gebraucht werden können, so ist nicht einzusehen, weshalb Muḥammad den einen Ausdruck zu verwenden befahl, den anderen hingegen, der ihm offenbar missfiel, zu verwenden verbot.

Die muḥammadanischen Kurānkommentatoren wissen hierüber keinen Bescheid zu geben. Was sie zur Erklärung vorbringen, mag man es auch geistreich nennen, bietet keineswegs eine annehmbare Beleuchtung dieses merkwürdigen Verbotes.

Hier sei manches aus *Tabarīs Tafsīr* zu 2, 98 in Band i, 354 ff. der ersten Ausgabe angeführt.³ (Weder Zamahšarī noch Baiḍāwī bieten darnach etwas Neues.) راعنا soll خلافاً, Gegenteil, Widerspruch sein. Die Ungläubigen, die Juden, die Juden und Christen sollten den Propheten in beleidigendem Sinne ارعني سمعك angesprochen haben, daher wird an die Gläubigen das Verbot gerichtet, so nicht sprechen zu dürfen.⁴ Oder : Die Muslime pflegten die obige Phrase den Juden

¹ Medinisch; s. Noldeke-Schwally, *Gešch. d. Qurāns*, i, 176.

² Medinisch, das. 200.

³ Zu 4, 48, beruft er sich auf seine Erklärung zu 2, 98.

⁴ Pautz, *Muḥ. Lehre v. d. Offenbarung*, 133, 2, erklärt fälschlich diese Tradition als sei راعنا vom Stamme راع „schlecht sein“, denn dieser lautet راعع; s. Geiger, *Was hat Moh.*, etc., 17.

nachzusprechen. Natürlich wie diese in beschimpfender Absicht; daher das Verbot. *Tabarī* sah selbst ein, dass diese Erklärung den Tatsachen nicht entsprechen kann. Es wäre ja ganz unverständlich anzunehmen, die Muslime hätten in diesem Falle den Juden nachgeahmt. راعنا soll andererseits الخطأ الراعن Sünde, Irrtum sein. Spricht also nicht, خطأ, sondern انظرنا soll der Befehl Allahs gelautet haben. راعنا — lautet eine andere Erklärung — sollten die Verbündeten, أنصار, wie in der heidnischen Zeit auch später angewendet haben. Allah verwehrte denselben dieses Wort in Bezug auf den Propheten zu gebrauchen. راعنا soll wiederum gar ein Zauberwort gewesen sein. Es wurde zu benutzen verboten, damit man mit dem Worte keinen Zauber treibe. Endlich bringt *Tabarī* Belege aus der Tradition, Muhammad habe einige Wörter als unstatthaft anzuwenden befunden und befahl andere für dieselben zu benutzen. So z.B. solle man nicht الكرم für العنب, عبدی für فتای sagen.¹ In راعنا läge der Sinn einer beiderseitigen Aufmerksamkeit, Achtung: beachte uns, o Gott, wir werden auch dich beachten. Das Verbot entstand also, weil Gott gegenüber der Gebrauch dieses Wortes für unschicklich betrachtet wurde.

Hirschfeld, *Beiträge zur Erklärung des Koran* pag. 64 vermutet, Muhammad habe hier wohl wieder nach dem Gehör geurteilt. Wahrscheinlich war das Stichwort ٱنظرنا „sieh auf uns“ oder ٱنظرنا, Anfangsworte eines Segensspruches aus dem Achtzehngebet; wie käme er sonst auf انظرنا? In der Tat lautet eine ältere arabische Paraphrase zu dieser Stelle des Achtzehngebets انظر.² Aber dies zugegeben ist ausser der Schwierigkeit, die in der Verwechslung des ن-ع liegt und dass Muhammad hier ein hebräisches Wort wiedergegeben hätte, durchaus nicht einzusehen, was denn in ٱنظرنا tadelnswertes liegt, so dass es zu erwähnen verboten werden sollte! In Hirschfeld, *New Researches* etc. ist diese Ansicht nicht aufgenommen.³

Die oben an letzter Stelle von *Tabarī* angeführte Erklärungsmethode ist wohl die ansprechendste insofern sie in راعنا einen Gott gegenüber unentsprechenden Ausdruck findet. Die Erklärung selbst aber ist

¹ Die Begründungen s. das. und *Lisān al-arab* xv, 417–8; xx, 4–5. Der Text des *Tabarī* ist hier nicht in Ordnung.

² S. mein Achtzehngebet mit arab. Übers. nach einer jemenit. Hschr., Krakau, 1910, 9.

³ Das. 108–9. 123.

unhaltbar, denn in راعنا steckt durchaus nicht das, was in dasselbe hineingelegt wird. راعنا selbst involviert durchaus nicht die Bedeutung einer „beiderseitigen“ Aufmerksamkeit in sich. Der Grund des Verbotes راعنا Gott gegenüber zu gebrauchen wird wohl ein anderer gewesen sein.

Bei Juden und Christen war der Hirte Hüter und Leiter des ihm anvertrauten Gutes, der Herde. Im Worte „Hirte“ lag durchaus kein Beigeschmack von Niedrigem, Verächtlichem. Im Gegenteil. David, bevor er König wurde, gehörte der Hirtenklasse an; 1. Sam. xvi, 11. Auch Moses war ehemals ein Hirt gewesen; Ex. iii, 1; etc. Als Beschützer des israelitischen Volkes wird somit Gott mit Recht „der Hirt Israels“ in Ps. xxiii, 1; lxxx, 2 und sonst genannt. Gott ist der Hirt, sein Volk ist somit seine Weide, seine Herde; Ezech. xxxiv, 31; Ps. lxxiv, 1 u.s. Daher die Fürbitte bei Micha vii, 14: Weide dein Volk mit deinem Stabe, die Schafe deines Erbes. Ps. xxviii, 9: Und weide und trage sie (Isr.) bis in die Ewigkeit. Dasselbe trifft auch für's Christentum zu. Es genüge hier auf Mc. xiv, 27-28; Joh. x, 12; 1. Petr. ii, 25 und Hebr. xiii, 20 — was unter ποιμήν, syr. ܩܕܝܫ verstanden wird — hinzuweisen.¹ Die Juden haben in ihrem Gebete, dem Segensspruch nach der Mahlzeit, den Ausdruck „Gott weide uns רענו, verschaffe uns Nahrung פרנסנו“.² Beide angeführten Lesarten unterscheiden sich nur in der grammatischen Form, nach beiden ist Gott der Hirt, der sich um seine Herde bekümmert, sie verpflegt, sie beschützt. In demselben Sinne verwenden auch die Christen diesen Ausdruck: Mt. ii, 6 ποιμανεῖ, syr. ܩܕܝܫ. Off. Joh. vii, 17, syr. ܩܕܝܫ.

¹ S. Connolly, „The early Syriac Creed,“ in ZNTW., vii (1906), 210-212. Bugge, *Die Hauptparabeln Jesu*, 381. Vgl. auch Ginza, *Das Grosse Buch d. Mandäer* übersetzt v. Lidzbarski, 181, 18.

² So Jerus. Šabbāt 15b, Falsch bei Jawitz, *Die Liturgie d. Siddur* (hebr.), Berlin, 1910, 11 angeführt. Ebenso falsch ist die Ld. „Tosföt zu Beräköt“, 48b, רענו פרנסנו, aber richtig bei Moses aus Concy in seinem *Buch der Gebete* 27 (vom „Tischgebet“). Nach dem Texte des „Simeon had-darsan“ in den *Yerush. Fragm. from the Geniza* (ed. Ginzberg), N.Y. 1909, 317u. lautet sie in Nominalformen רענו פרנסנו, unser Hirt, unser Nahrungsspende. Der *Midräs Lev. rabbā* 34 (Ende) hat schon die erweiterte Form רענו ונו פרנסנו. In den besseren Agg. der jüdischen Betbücher lautet die Phrase in Imperativ- (Kohortativ-) Formen רענו פרנסנו. Da der jer. Talmūd das es für unschicklich findet am Sonnabend um Verpflegung zu beten, beantwortet er die Frage, warum man denn *רענו פרנסנו* in Bittform beim Tischgebet verwendet, damit, dass der Typus (die Formel) dieser Benediktion seit jeher so lautet, so mag er auch fernerhin in dieser Weise beibehalten werden. Die späteren Kodifikatoren schufen diesbezüglich einen Ausgleich: an Wochentagen soll man die Kohortativform, an Sabbaten die Partizipialformen gebrauchen. Zu beachten ist, dass diese Formel im Gebetbuche der jemenitischen Juden überhaupt nicht vorkommt.

Joh. xxi, 15, 17 βόσκει, syr. ܒܘܨܟܝ; v. 16 ποίμαίνε, syr. ܩܝܡܝܢܝܐ. Vgl. Jennings, *Lexicon to the Syr. NT.* 210: „Sin. Palimps. has Aph. ܒܘܨܟܝ for the three commissions.“ In Gebeten bei Christen ἐπίβλεψον ἐφ’ ἡμᾶς καὶ ἐπὶ τὸ ποίμνιον σου u.s.¹

Anders verhält sich die Sache bei den Arabern. „Dieses (das Weiden der Ziegen und Schafe) — sagt Sprenger² — gilt unter den Arabern als eine höchst verachtete Beschäftigung, mit der sich nur Frauen und Sklaven befassen. Daher sagt ‘Antar, um seine ganze Unterwürfigkeit auszudrücken: Wahrlich ich bin dein Sklave und der Hirt deiner Heerden. Und Burckhardt erzählt: Unter den Arabern vom Sinai und den ägyptischen Schekyyah gilt es als eine festgesetzte Regel, dass weder Männer noch Knaben das Vieh auf die Weide treiben; dies ist ausschliesslich die Beschäftigung der unverheiratheten Mädchen des Lagers, welche es abwechselnd thun. Unter den anderen Bedouinen-Stämmen weiden Sklaven und Knechte die Heerden. Unter den Arabern des Sinai würde sich ein Knabe beschimpft fühlen, wenn man zu ihm sagte: Treib das Vieh deines Vaters auf die Weide.“

So heisst es auch bei den späteren Juden, welche sich mit Weiden wohl nicht mehr befassten, im Midräs zu Ps. xxiii, 1³: Du findest, dass es kein verächtlicheres Handwerk als das des Hirten gibt, der da den ganzen Tag mit seinem Stabe (in der Hand) und seiner Tasche (auf seiner Schulter) einhergeht. Wie kommt es also, dass David den Heiligen, gelobt sei er, einen Hirten nennt? Antwort: David verwendet hier den von seinem Urahn (Jakob) gebrauchten Ausdruck Gen. xlviii, 15.

Der Freundlichkeit des Herrn Dr. T. Kowalski, Universitätsprofessor-Kraków, verdanke ich folgende diesbezügliche Nachweise aus altarabischen Dichtern. Jacob in „Schanfarà-Studien ii“ (Sitzungsber. d. kön. Bayer. Ak. d. Wiss. Philos.-philol. u. hist. Kl. Jahrg. 1915, 4 Abh.) 17, 18, wo das angeführte Material ebenfalls von Prof. Kowalski gesammelt ist. Ferner *Kutāb al-fāhir* (ed. Storey) 81, 6 f.: Sklaven sind die Viehhirten; Geyer, *Zwei Gedichte von al-‘A’sā* ii, 155; *Lisān al-‘Arab* xvii, 211; *Kāmil* (Wright) 217, 14: Eine Magd, die ihr Leben lang nur mit Kamelen zu tun gehabt hat. Geyer das. 165;

¹ Goltz, *Tischgebete und Abendmahlgebete*, etc., 29. Derselbe, *Das Gebet in der ältesten Christenheit*, etc., 202, 230, 248, 256 u.s.

² *Moh.*, i, 147.

³ Ed. Buber, 198. Die in Klammern gesetzten Worte sind nach der Ld. des Midrash Hag-gadol zu Genes. (ed. Schechter), 721-2 hinzugefügt.

Ağāni xi, 26, 4; *Lisān al'arab* xvi, 126: لَسْتُ بِرَاعِي إِيلٍ وَلَا غَنَمٍ „ich bin weder Kamel- noch Schafhirt“ . . .

Aus der arabischen Tradition seien hier zwei im *Lisān al'arab* xix, 41 erwähnte Stellen zitiert. Aus einem ḥadīṭ des 'Umar راعى كاتة راعى „ich bin weder Kamel- noch Schafhirt“, also der Hirt gilt als schmutzig und unsauber. Aus einem ḥadīṭ des Duraid: Am Schlachttage bei Hunain sprach derselbe zu Mālik b. Auf. وللهرب وللهرب انما هو راعى ضان ماله وللحرب, d.h. er verhöhnnte ihn, er sei als Viehhirte zum Kriegführen untauglich.

راعنا ist ein Imperativ der III. Form von رعى, entspricht also ganz genau dem Imperativ רָעִינוּ des jüdischen Tischgebetes. Sowohl Juden wie Christen haben — wie oben zu sehen ist — Gott in ihren Gebeten auf diese Weise angerufen. Das Wort „weide uns“ oder „unser Hirte“ mit Bezug auf Gott gebraucht, konnte Muḥammad nicht entsprechen, weil Gott, als „Hirt“ bezeichnet, eine Beleidigung, eine Blasphemie — nach der Anschauung der Araber — wäre. Muḥammad wird wohl diese Bitte zu Gott von Juden und Christen in arabischer Übersetzung (nicht hebr.) gehört haben und verbot dieselbe Gott gegenüber zu gebrauchen, von der Ansicht ausgehend, es sei unschicklich so zu beten. Man darf zu Gott nicht „weide uns“ sagen, weil das einer Gotteslästerung gleiche.

Wenn bei Juden in einem älteren Midraš¹ siebenzig Namen Gottes aufgezählt werden, so findet man darunter auch רָעִי, der Hirt. In den hundert Namen Gottes bei den Muhammadanern² kommt راع nicht vor; allerdings auch nicht رَاعِي.

Dürfte man den islāmischen Biographen Muḥammads Glauben schenken, welche zu erzählen wissen, dass Muḥammad selbst, vor seiner Berufung zum Propheten, ein Schafhirt gewesen war,³ wie es noch Sprenger annimmt,⁴ so könnte man vermuten, dass auch diese seine frühere Stellung vielleicht dazu beigetragen habe das Wort „weide uns“ in Bezug auf Gott zu vermeiden. Allein diese Geschichte wird wohl, wie manche andere, dem Muḥammad zugeschriebene, erst in islāmischer Zeit erfunden worden sein. Und zwar, um zu beweisen, „dass Gott nie einen Mann zum Propheten erkoren habe, der nicht die Schafe geweidet hätte“.⁵ Ebenso wird auch die Bezeichnung

¹ *Agadath Shir Hashirim* (ed. Schechter), Zeile 169; *Midraš Suta* (ed. Buber), 8, Zeile, 12.

² Hammer-Purgstall, *Zeitwarte des Gebetes*, pag. 34 des arab. Textes.

³ *Ibn Hišām*, 106.

⁴ *Moh.*, I, 147.

⁵ *Ibn Hišām* das., Sprenger das.

„der gesandte Gottes ist der hirt der menschen, und sie sind seine schafe“,¹ wie die Ausdrücke الراعى = الوالى = الرعيّة,² wahrscheinlich dem Christentum entstammen. Denn aus islāmischer Zeit ist — soviel ich weiss — bei Juden das Wort רועה in der Bedeutung einer beamteten Person, wie der Targūm oft dasselbe Wort mit פנים wiedergibt,³ nicht vorhanden.

¹ Tor Andrae, *Die Person Muh.*, 254; Wensinck, *Acta Or.*, ii, iii, 183.

² *Lisān al'arab*, xix, 42. Vgl. die oben aus dem NT. angeführten Stellen; Ezech. xxxiv, 23; Ephes., iv, 11, und die syr. *WBB.* s.v. רועה.

³ Levy, *Targ. WB.* s.v.

LAHNDĀ AND LAHNDĪ

By SIR GEORGE A. GRIERSON, O.M., K.C.I.E.

IN the Linguistic Survey of India the language spoken in the Western Panjāb is called Lahndā. Previously it had, in India, not been recognized as any independent form of speech, the many local dialects there spoken—Mūltānī, Sirāikī, Hindkī, Jaṭkī, and so on—being looked upon merely as so many dialects of Panjābī. Panjābīs themselves had no general name for this group as a separate entity. When they wished to express that idea they employed a periphrasis, such as *Lahndē-dī bōlī*, or “the dialect of the West”.¹

European scholars, however, had by that time long recognized the fact that a general name for the whole group was needed, and more than forty years ago one of the first describers of the language, Mr. Tisdall, named it “the Lahindā”, i.e. Lahndā, “dialect.”² I am not especially enamoured, myself, of this name, but as it had not been challenged for some thirty years, as it was not inconsistent with English idiom, and as no better name had been suggested, I employed it in the Survey.

Of late years some writers on Indian languages have substituted the term “Lahndī” for “Lahndā”. This is justified by Dr. Grahame Bailey in the following terms³ :—

“For Lahndī Sir George writes Lahndā, saying that it is an English word. Lahndī is just as good an English word as Lahnda, and better than Lahndā. What we want to know is the *Urdu* or *Panjabi* word for the language. As a matter of fact, I have found that scholarly Indians speaking Urdu or Panjabi use the word Lahndī as the name of the language. It is the natural word, whereas Lahnda would be used by those who were copying some European.”

With every respect to Dr. Grahame Bailey's profound knowledge of Urdū and Panjābī, I would venture to point out that it is not I who write Lahndā for Lahndī, but that it is he who writes Lahndī for Lahndā, the latter word having been undisputed for over forty years. I am unable to look upon Lahndī as an English word, and if scholarly Indians speaking Urdū or Panjābī use the word “Lahndī” as the name

¹ I may add that in the year 1898 I consulted the Panjāb Education Department on this particular point, and the result of the inquiries then instituted, was as above.

² As we shall see “Lahindā” and “Lahndā” are only local varieties of spelling the same word.

³ See *BSOS.*, vol. v, p. 617.

of the language, I can only say that they are displaying ignorance of the rules for the formation of words in their own tongue. If it is the natural word, it is the natural word only of those who employ spurious hybrids and false analogies. I know that I am a foreigner criticizing an Indian's knowledge of his own speech, but all the same I have no hesitation in raising this objection.

In order to justify my remarks it is necessary to go to the root of the matter. Bhai Maya Singh in his *Panjābī Dictionary*, gives *lahan* as a Mūltānī (i.e. Lahndā) word meaning "to descend", "to set (as the sun)", with a present participle *lahndā*.¹ Later on, he gives *lahindā*, the Panjābī form of latter word, as meaning "the West". We therefore find that in the Panjāb, *Lahndā* or *Lahindā* means "the (masculine) country where the sun sets", i.e. "the West". *Lahndī* would be the feminine of the present participle, and, in its derivative sense would mean "the (feminine) country where the sun sets", i.e. some Western country the name of which is feminine in form. *Lahndā* has an exact parallel in the English "Levant", also a present participle of a borrowed foreign verb, and meaning "the country where the sun rises", i.e. "the East". The expression "the Levant" thus means in English the countries at the eastern end of the Mediterranean Sea. Similarly, when *Lahndā* indicates a tract of country, the English idiom requires us to represent it by "the Lahndā", and not simply by "Lahndā".

As already stated, Panjābī has no general word to indicate the group of dialects spoken in the Lahndā; but Tisdall, in the relevant section of his Panjābī grammar, called it "the Lahindā dialect", and the use of *Lahindā*, or *Lahndā*, to indicate the language of the Lahndā is not inconsistent with English idiom, just as we say a man speaks "Somerset" or "Devon". I therefore conclude that in the English language, it is not wrong to borrow the foreign word *Lahndā*, and to employ it as a name for the language spoken in the Lahndā.

The same thing cannot be said for *Lahndī*. The name of the country in which the language is spoken is not a feminine word. Moreover, while "Lahndā" has been borrowed by English, and used in English idiom, "Lahndī" is not, and never has been, so borrowed.

Dr. Bailey says, "what we want to know is the *Urdu* or *Panjābī* word for the language." It is therefore necessary to ascertain whether

¹ The word presents difficulties in transliteration, as the *n* is merely a nasalization and not a pure consonant. But, for our present purposes, the above spelling will do. So also for *lahindā*, later on.

Lahndī is a possible Urdū or Panjābī word for the language of the Lahndā.

In Indo-Aryan forms of speech, language names are made in various ways. These are :—

(1) The name of the country in which it is spoken is taken without alteration.

(2) The name of the language is formed by the addition of the Persian suffix *ī* to the name of the country.

(3) The name of the language ends in *ī*, having come down through Prakrit, being derived from a Sanskrit original in *ikā* or *ī*, and not being directly formed from the modern name of the country.

(4) The name of the language is a modern formation, derived directly from a newly created name of a country.

We shall consider them in the above order.

(1) As an example of the name of the country being also employed for the name of the language, there is the word *Bāṅglā*, which means both the country of Bengal, and also the Bengali language. Another example is *Urdū*, which means both "a camp" and also "the language of a camp". These might be quoted in defence of *Lahndā*, but I do not press the resemblance.

(2) The addition of the Persian suffix *ī* is a frequent method of indicating the name of a language. Examples are *Hindī*, *Hindōstānī*, *Panjābī*, and *Dōābī*. Is it possible that "*Lahndī*" has been invented on the analogy of the above? If so, the analogy is false, and the result is an atrocious example of hybridism. The Persian suffix *ī* can be added only to Persian words. *Hind*, *Hindōstān*, *Panjāb*, and *Dōāb* are all Persian words, and the addition of the suffix is natural. But *Lahndā* is not Persian, or anything approaching Persian. It is good Indo-Aryan and cannot take a Persian suffix.

(3) The Indo-Aryan suffix *ī* forming language names is distinct from the Persian suffix just referred to. It is invariably a *tadbhava* suffix that has come down from the Sanskrit *ī* or *ikā* or some such termination, through a Prakrit *ī* or *iā*. In Sanskrit this was the termination of a feminine adjective running parallel to the name of the country in which the language was spoken. Thus in ancient Rāj-pūtānā there was a country called in Sanskrit *Mālava*. From this was formed a Sanskrit adjective *Mālavika*- meaning "of or belonging to Mālava". The feminine was *mālavikā*,—a word familiar to students of

Kālidāsa.—and (the feminine word *bhāṣā*, language, being understood) it meant “the (language) of Mālava”. From the word *Mālava*—is descended the modern name of Mālwa, and from *Mālavikā* is descended “Mālvi”, the modern name of the language spoken there. It will be observed that “Mālvi” is in no way derived from “Mālwa”. The two words have developed side by side and independently. This is true for all language-names formed with this suffix, and, “Lahndi” can no more be explained as derived from “Lahndā”, than “Mālvi” can be explained as derived from “Mālwa”. As other examples of this suffix, I may quote, Sanskrit *rāṣṭrikā* (cf. Asōka's *raṭhika*-), modern *Rāṭhī*, the dialect of the western Panjāb; Sanskrit *Gurjaratrā*, modern *Gujarāt*; Sanskrit *Gurjaratrikā*, modern *Gujarāṭī*; Sanskrit *Mahārāṣṭraka*-, modern *Marāṭhā*; Sanskrit *Māhārāṣṭrī*, or *Māhārāṣṭrikā*, modern *Marāṭhī*. In all these and in all similar cases, the modern language-name grew up independently of the country-name, and is not derived from it.

If therefore it is desired to put a language-name such as *Lahndi* under this head, we must first find a Sanskrit feminine adjective meaning “of, or belonging to the West”, from which it is to be derived. So far as I am aware, it would be a hopeless task to search for such an origin.

(4) There remains the fourth class of language-names, words derived in modern times from a newly created name of a country. As nearly all Indo-Aryan local names are *tadbhavas* based on ancient Sanskrit words, it stands to reason that there can be very few of these, and, so far as I know, all such are complimentary or descriptive titles, and are attributives. A good example is found in the story of the famous Banda Bairāgī. Wishing to compliment the Sikhs who inhabited Firōzpur and the neighbourhood, he gave them the title of “Mālwa Simha”. Here *Mālwa* is an attribute, and the country where these Sikhs lived became known as “The Mālwa”.¹ This attributive word had to be treated like any other adjective. When it was desired to invent a form to indicate the language spoken in the Mālwa, the usual modern process was followed for forming an abstract noun from an adjective and, to use Dr. Grahame Bailey's expression, the “natural word” was formed without any difficulty. Just as the abstract noun of *acchā* is *acchāi*; of *burā* is *burāi*; of *bhalā* is *bhalāi*, so the name of the language spoken in the *Mālwa* is *Mālwaī*.

¹ Cf. what I have said above about “The Lahndā”. It is hardly necessary to point out that this country is quite distinct from “Mālwa” of Rājputānā.

Observe the difference between this word, and the *Mālvī* of Rajputānā. In both the name of the country is *Mālucā*, but in the modern pair of words, when a language-name has to be made, it ends in *āī*, not in *ī*.

In the foregoing pages I have endeavoured to show two facts :—

(1) That, in the English language, it is not inconsistent with English idiom to employ the word *Lahndā* in the meaning of the language spoken in the Lahndā country, and (2) that neither in English nor in Panjābī can the word *Lahndī* be used in this sense, without committing a solecism.

There remains Dr. Grahame Bailey's demand for an Urdū or Panjābī word for this language. In reply, I can only state that there is no such general word in use in either Urdū or Panjābī for the group of dialects that together form the language called Lahndā in the Linguistic Survey. In fact, all Indians, scholarly or otherwise, have, up to the publication of the Linguistic Survey, looked upon these dialects not as forming a separate group, but as some among the many dialects of Panjābī. To them, say, *Mūltānī*, *Jaṭkī*, and *Hindkī* were as much dialects of that language, as were, say, *Rāthī*, *Mālwāī* or *Mājhī*. It was English writers who first diagnosed these dialects of the Lahndā as forming together an independent language, distinct from Panjābī.

If, therefore, scholarly Indians accept the existence of this newly defined language and wish to find a name for it, they must invent one for themselves, just as names such as "*Hindī*" or "*Hindōstānī*" were invented by the Persian-speaking invaders who first recognized the existence of groups of dialects in the Gangetic plain and classified these groups under various language-names. I am a foreigner, and I have certainly no right to usurp this right of nomenclature. All that I can do is to repeat that if the linguistic laws of Indo-Aryan languages are to be adhered to, the name of the language of the Lahndā cannot be "*Lahndī*". I may perhaps also suggest that if a Panjābī word complying with these linguistic laws is needed they have a model in the Panjābī name of the language of the *Mālwā*. Just as, in Panjābī, the language of the *Mālwā* is called "*Mālwāī*", so it will be quite possible to invent a word "*Lahndāī*" for the language of the Lahndā. But this is only a friendly suggestion, and if scholarly Indians can suggest a better Urdū or Panjābī name that is linguistically possible, I shall be the first to welcome it.

THE HISTORY OF THE JAPANESE PARTICLE "I

By S. YOSHITAKE

THE Japanese language contains a number of words that are pronounced differently when standing in the attributive position. The following is a list of such words, taken mainly from the literary monuments of the eighth century A.D.¹

(1) e:a.

ame heaven, sky : **ama-hire** (sky—shawl) cloud.

ame rain : **ama-giri** ² (rain—mist) rainy mist.

fune ship : **fun**a-de (< ***fun**a-ide ship—departure) departure of a ship.

ine rice-plant : **ina-mu**širo (rice plant—mat) a pillow-word used for qualifying **šiki** (dense, heavy, frequent) and **kaha** (river) which are homonymous with **šiki** (to spread) and **kaha** (skin).

kane metal : **kana-gusari** (metal—chain) irons.

kaze wind : **kaza-nami** (wind—wave) waves caused by the wind.

kowe voice, sound : **kowa-buri** (voice—manner) tone of voice.

me eye : **ma-tsu-ge** (eye—around—hair) eyelashes.

mune breast : **muna-dži** (chest—breast) breast.

mure crowd : **mura-kumo** (cluster-cloud) clustered clouds.

nahe seedling : **naha-širo-ta** (seedling—material—paddy field) a paddy-field used for the cultivation of seedlings.

sake liquor : **saka-dzuki** (< ***saka-tsu-uki** liquor—containing—cup) wine-glass.

suge sedge : **suga-tatami** (sedge-mat) mat made of the sedge.

take bamboo : **taka-dama** (bamboo-gem) threaded pieces of bamboo used for ornamentation.

take height, hill : **taka-kura** (height—seat) elevated seat, throne.

te hand : **ta-na-gokoro** (hand—of—hollow) hollow of the hand.

¹ In order to unify the system of transcribing words in various languages, including Japanese, which are introduced in the present paper, I have adopted the following symbols : Turkish *ä* = Japanese *e* = *e* in *bed* ; *ä* = *u* in *büt* ; *ö* = *er* in *butter* ; *i* = *e* in *pretty* ; *f* (Jap., Luchuan) = bilabial voiceless fricative ; *β* = bilabial voiced fricative ; *ç* = *ch* in German *ich* ; *χ* = *ch* in German *Buch* ; *š* = *sh* in *sheep* ; *tš* = *ch* in *check* ; *dž* = *j* in *jar* ; *q* = uvular voiceless plosive.

² The initial voiceless consonant of the second word usually becomes voiced, thus *-h-* > *-b-*, *-t-* > *-d-*, *-k-* > *-g-*, unless the word contains a voiced consonant, when the initial consonant remains unvoiced.

tsume end: **tsuma-gi** (end—tree) brushwood, twig.
uhe upper part: **uha-mo** (upper part—skirt) upper skirt.
ure tree-top: **ura-ba** (tree top—leaf) leaves on the tree-top.
wase early rice: **wasu-bo** (early rice—ear) ear of early rice.

(2) e.o.

se back of the body: **so-gahi** (<***so-mukahi**?¹ back-facing)
 rear.

(3) i.o.

ási foot, leg: **ato-be** (foot—side) space around one's feet.
hi fire: **ho-no-ho** (fire—of—head) flame.
iši stone: **iso-be** (stone—side) shore (covered with pebbles).

(4) i.u.

fumi a writing: **fumuta** (<***fumu-ita** writing-board) > **fuda**
 document, bill.
kami a god: **kamu-tsudohi** (god—assembly) assembly of the
 gods.
ki tree: **ku-da-mono** (tree—on—thing) fruit, **ko-no-ha** (tree—of
 —leaf) leaf of a tree.
ki yellow: **ku-gane**, **ko-gane** (yellow—metal) gold.
kuki stalk: **kuku-datši** (stalk—shoot) offshoot of a stalk.
mi body: **mu-zane** (body—essence) the real self.
ni gem: **nu-boko** (gem—halberd) halberd adorned with gems.
tsuki moon: **tsuku-yo** (moon—night) moonlight night, moon.
utši interior: **utsu-momo** (inside—thigh) inside of the thigh.
yohi night, evening: **yofu-be** (night—side) last night, **yufu-**
datši-no-ame (evening—issuing—rain) rain that pours in
 the evening (> a shower).

These examples, though few in number, are sufficient to show that the changes are quite regular, and that the same rule applies equally to a combination of two words by means of the particle **na**, **no**, **tsu** or **da**, of which the two latter are possibly related to Mongol *-tu*, *-tü*, *-du*, *-dū*, and Turkish-Mongol *-daqı*, *-daki*.

No satisfactory explanation has ever been offered of these phonetic changes which are too regular to be accidental. The Japanese philologists unanimously agree that the back vocalic forms are the older of the two, apparently on the ground that archaisms are often

¹ The most archaic Japanese word meaning "the back of the body" is **sobird**, of which ***so** is apparently a contraction.

preserved unchanged in compound words. This, however, is hardly true of the Japanese language, where many a word is disfigured in compounds through contraction and assimilation. If, therefore, the front vocalic forms are a later development, as they apparently are, we must seek some other causes that might have been responsible for such phonetic changes.

To inquire into a problem of this kind is no easy task, for we have as yet no accurate knowledge even of the phonetic system of the Japanese language of the eighth century A.D. It is said that the modern Japanese *h* (which has three phonetic values *c*, *χ*, and *h*) goes back to *p* and was so pronounced twelve hundred years ago. But there are also many instances which point to the presence of some such sounds as *f* and *b* (possibly also *β*, *χ*, *h*) besides *p*, in that period. With such a limited knowledge of the sound-system of that remote time it is well-nigh impossible for any one to venture a definite opinion as to the phonetic changes before the eighth century A.D. The theory put forward below must therefore be taken merely as a tentative suggestion which is subject to alteration as fresh evidence presents itself.

The Japanese literature of the seventh-eighth centuries A.D. is characterized by the use of a strange grammatical particle *i*, which, according to Motoori,¹ cannot be replaced by *ha*, *ga* or *zo*, but resembles rather the interjection *yo*. While accepting Motoori's view in the main, Matsuoka² is inclined to connect this particle with the Korean nominative particle *i*, which is said to have been derived from the demonstrative *i* "this", a theory which was apparently first advanced by Kanazawa. In Sansom's historical grammar³ it is defined as "an obsolete emphatic particle, which appears to have acted as a case particle, denoting the subject".

In my opinion the Japanese particle *i* was originally the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, closely related to the Classical Mongol *inu* "his, her, its", and the Turkish possessive suffixes of the third person singular *-i* (Orkhon), *-in* (Yakut), *-ə* (Chuvash), the latter three forms developed from **-in*.⁴ The Mongol *inu* has long since lost its original meaning, and has acquired a peculiar

¹ Motoori Norinaga *Zenshū*, Tōkyō, 1926-7, vol. v, pp. 60-1; vol. ix, p. 263.

² S. Matsuoka, *Nihon Gengogaku*, Tōkyō, 1928, pp. 271-2.

³ G. B. Sansom, *A Historical Grammar of Japanese*, Oxford, 1928, pp. 283-4.

⁴ G. J. Ramstedt, "Ueber mongolische pronomina": *JSOu.* xxiii, Helsingfors, 1906, p. 19.

force somewhat resembling the functions of Japanese *ha* (isolation) and *ga* (nominative), but how it was once used even after a verb may be seen in the following passage taken from the Altan Gerel: *Egün.ū* (his) *amin-i* (life, accusative) *aburaqu-yin* (of saving) *tulada* (for the sake) *ken* (who) *dž.a* (indeed) *öber.ün* (own) *bey.e-ben* (body, accusative) *tebtšin* (abandoning) *tšidaqu* (to be in a position, able) *bolqun.i* (would be—his) "Wer vermöchte es wohl, seinen eigenen Körper wegzuerwerfen (hinzugeben), um ihr Leben zu erhalten?",¹ where *bolqun.i* is composed of *bolqu* "would be" and *ni*, a variant of *inu*.

The Mongol suffix *-qu*, *-kü*, serves to form a future participle, as well as an infinitive, and hence, if the Japanese particle *i* is related to the Mongol *inu*, one can expect in Japanese also such apparently strange usage as *hana* (blossoms) *matsu* (I wait for) *i* (its) *ma ni* (in the interval) *nagekitsuru kamo* (Oh, it makes me sigh!) Oh, what an ordeal it is to have to wait for her so long! (Man-yō-shū, vii); *awayagi no* (of the willow) *ito no* (of the branches) *kuhašisa* (beauty) *harukaze ni* (in the spring breeze) *midarenu i* (not becoming disarranged—its) *ma ni* (in the interval) *misemu ko mo gamo* (Oh, if only I could show it to others!) Oh, if only I could show the beauty of these willow branches to other people before it gets spoiled by the spring breeze! (Man-yō-shū, x). This use of the particle *i* after a verb has been a mystery to the Japanese scholars of all ages.

In the Korean language of the Silla Dynasty (57 B.C. ?—A.D. 935) both the nominative particle *i* and the genitive particle *ü* (now pronounced *ə*) had an additional function of isolating the preceding word or words.² Further, we note that in the text 淵之 (*mot pond*) 叱 (*äl to*) 行尸浪 (*nyöl-nan going*) 阿叱 (*skim-s of the edge*) 沙 (*mo-rai sand*) 矣 (*yöi on*) 以 (—) 支如支 (*mō-mur-ō halting*) "going to the pond and halting on the sand of the edge (literally)"³ the character 以 (*i*) is considered by Ogura as representing a mere reverberation of the preceding locative particle *yöi*.⁴ Used as the "Ritu" we find the character 矣 (*ü*) in combination with 段 (*tan*), i.e. 矣段. This second character 段 is used for isolation in exactly the same way as *nān*, and is, according to Ogura, a contraction of the

¹ I. J. Schmidt, *Grammatik der mongolischen Sprache*, St. Petersburg, 1831, pp. 146 (text), 165 (translation).

² S. Ogura, "Studies on the poems of the Shilla Dynasty and the 'Ritu'": *Journal of the Faculty of Law and Letters, Keijō Imperial University*, vol. i, February, 1929, Poem xvi, pp. 184, 187.

³ Ogura, *op. cit.*, Poem xxiv, pp. 222-3.

⁴ Ogura, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

expletive suffix *-ta*, plus *nān*, a particle of isolation.¹ Thus the compound 矣段, states Ogura, should be read *ī stan* and its force is exactly the same as that of 段 itself, the character 矣 being inserted between the preceding word and 段 for mere convenience, just as *nō īi tīl* stands for *nō tīl* (ye) and *tyō īi tīl* for *tyō tīl* (they).² These explanations, even though they are advanced by the greatest living authority on the Korean language, are too evasive to be accepted readily, for every word or sound in a sentence must have once had some reason to be there, no matter how obscure its original duty and signification may have become in later times. It is more appropriate therefore to consider in the present case also that the characters 以 (i) and 矣 (ī) in 矣段 carried certain meanings at one time, but their primary functions were already entering oblivion in the Silla Dynasty.

It is indeed very difficult to determine what the original duties of these characters were, but it nevertheless simplifies our interpretation of these apparently useless characters, if we assume that they both represented particles that had sprung from the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, which force they still retained to some extent even in the Silla Dynasty. Thus if we translate the character 以 (i) in the above example "of it"³ and refer it to "the pond", we can explain perfectly well the function of this character without altering the actual meaning of the sentence.

Similarly, if we connect the 矣 (ī) in 矣段 with the Mongol *inu*, we can easily account for the presence of the word 矣 as the first element of the compound. For the genitive case of the personal pronoun, when used with an isolation particle, must always precede it, and just as we find the isolation particle *bar* placed after the genitive case of the personal pronoun in Mongol, so have we here in Korean the word 矣 followed by 段, both *bar* and 段 performing the duties of the Japanese particles *ha* (for isolation), *ba* (for the indication of the conditional mood) and *mo* ("even"). Thus the combination 矣段, which once had the meaning "as for his, her, its . . .", gradually lost its possessive signification and finally became indistinguishable from the 段 itself.

It is therefore not at all impossible that the nominative particle

¹ Ogura, *op. cit.*, pp. 325-6.

² Ogura, *op. cit.*, pp. 430-1.

³ The genitive case of the personal pronoun is placed immediately after the case ending in Mongol, as we find it in the present instance.

i and the genitive particle *ni* in the Korean language go back to the same origin, i.e. the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular, which in course of time gave birth to two separate forms, one for the indication principally of the nominative and the other of the genitive, whilst both shared an additional duty of isolating the preceding word or words. Our theory is partly attested by the fact that the 矣 (*ni*) was also used in the sense "one's own" in the Silla Dynasty.¹

Besides connecting thus the Japanese particle *i* with the Mongol *inu*, I would even consider that it is this very particle *i* which has brought about the phonetic changes from *a*, *o* to *e* and from *o*, *u* to *i*, namely *-a + i > -e*; *-o + i > -e, -i*; *-u + i > -i*, as illustrated in the list of words given above. It is highly possible that the genitive case of the personal pronoun of the third person singular (presumably *i*, though we have no knowledge of its exact form) was loosely affixed to both nouns and verbs in archaic Japanese, and with some words it was agglutinated so firmly that it ultimately became part of the word, whilst its use as a particle with certain additional functions similar to those which the Mongol *inu* acquired in later times, continued till some time after the eighth century A.D. This explains why the older forms have been preserved in the attributive position. The same phenomenon is found in the modern Mongolian language, where certain nouns have developed special nominative forms as a result of the agglutination of *inu*.²

It may be added in conclusion that the Luchuan language offers but little help for the verification of the theory put forward above. For in the *Omorosōshi* (c. A.D. 1150-1650), one of the oldest Luchuan literary monuments, containing over fifteen hundred poems, we find the same parallel forms, such as, for example, *fune* and *funa*- "a ship", *kane* and *kana*- "metal". This merely indicates two possibilities, (1) that the Luchuan language separated from archaic Japanese with some of the parallel forms of comparatively early date, (2) that the parallel forms found in Luchuan are loan-words from Japanese, which latter is more likely the case. Beyond this it tells us nothing.

There is, however, one word of great interest. The Japanese word *ki* "tree" is pronounced *kī* in modern Luchuan. Since the Japanese syllable *ki* regularly corresponds to *tī* in Luchuan, the stem vowel of

¹ Ogura, op. cit., Poem xix, p. 190, pp. 200-1.

² A. D. Radnev, Материалы по говорам восточной монголии. С.-Петербург, 1911, p. 206.

the word *kī* must originally have been something different from *i*, as Ramstedt¹ has pointed out. If our postulation be correct, the word meaning "tree" was in archaic Japanese something like **ku* or **ko*, from which developed *ki* in Japanese and *kī* in Luchuan,² both through the absorption of the particle *i*. In a similar manner may be explained the Luchuan *pī, fī* (Jap. *hi*) "fire".³

Thus it is sufficiently clear that the Japanese particle *i* as it presented itself in the seventh-eighth centuries A.D. is but a dwindling trail of a linguistic process which had long been at work, and that its vestiges are found in a certain number of words still used in modern Japanese and Luchuan. The question as to whether this same particle was also responsible for the formation of the substantival form of the verbs requires further careful study and cannot be answered at the present moment.

¹ G. J. Ramstedt, "A Comparison of the Altaic Languages with Japanese": *TASJ*, ser. II, vol. I, 1923-4, p. 46.

² Cf. M. Andō, *Kodai Kokugo no Kenkyū*, Tōkyō, 1924, pp. 119, 131-3.

³ Andō, *op. cit.*, pp. 135-6.

PROFESSOR J. MARKWART

(Extract from *The Times*)

THE death, in tragic circumstances, of Professor Josef Markwart, of Berlin, on 4th February, ought not to pass unnoticed in this country. For although his name is here unfamiliar to all but a small group of scholars, he occupies, and must always occupy, a place in the forefront of European Orientalists, and it would be difficult to name any past or present scholar with a wider range of learning or a more brilliant critical faculty, whether as philologist, historian, or ethnologist. He was a fine classical scholar; he could read nearly every literary language of Asia, and he had a profound knowledge of African ethnology. Though his total output of published work was comparatively small—amounting only to four or five books and a number of articles in learned journals—it may be said that every sentence he wrote bore the hall-mark of his immense learning and his rare analytical power.

Born in 1864, he began his academic career in Tübingen, where he remained till 1902, when he was appointed curator of the Ethnographical Museum and later professor in the University of Leyden. In 1912 he came to Berlin as professor of Iranian and Armenian philology, a post which he was still holding at the time of his death. Indeed, he had delivered a lecture on the day preceding this tragic event. In 1913 he published a Catalogue of the Benin Collections in the Leyden Museum, a massive volume in large quarto containing a prolegomena extending over 367 pages on the history of the trade routes and the movements of populations in North Africa from the earliest times. In the course of this great work Markwart found occasion to reveal almost every sphere of his encyclopædic learning. In his *Osteuropäische und ostasiatische Streifzüge* (1903), dealing with the ethnology, topography, and history of the ninth and tenth centuries, he set at rest a hundred problems and exploded as many hitherto accepted theories. But it is in the field of Turkology that he rendered the most important services. The pre-Ottoman history of the Turks still remains to be written; it is still shrouded in a mist of confusing names; but it was Markwart who came nearest to making order out of the confusing mass of information contained in the Arabic, Persian, and Byzantine chronicles and the early Turkish inscriptions and documents.

Markwart, during his industrious life, had accumulated a mass of notes on important subjects which he never found time to publish, and it can only be hoped that these documents will not be allowed to disappear with him.—EDITOR.

A LIST OF PROFESSOR MARKWART'S WORKS

Assyriaka bei Ktesias: Philologus, Supplementband vi, 2, Göttingen, 1891-3, pp. 501-658.

- (i) Die Vorlage von Diodor, β 1-34.
- (ii) Die echtktesianische Bestandtheile bei Diodor und in andern Fragmenten.
- (iii) Die Quellen des Ktesias und die Art ihrer Benutzung.

Exkursus—

- (1) Zur Seite 507.
- (2) Die Chronol. der Inschrift von Behistān.
- (3) Die griechische Wiedergabe der persischen *au*, *wa* und *wi*.
- (4) Die ursprüngliche Heimat der Perser.
- (5) Eine Assyrisch-babylonische Königsliste bei Ja'qūbī und Mas'ūdī.

[This work, the first two parts of which were written in 1889 and the third in 1891, was presented in February, 1893, as thesis for the doctorate of the University of Tübingen.]

Beiträge z. Geschichte und Sage v. Ērān: ZDMG. xlix, 1896, pp. 628-73:—

- Ērān.
- Pahlau.
- Hyrcani-Wirk', Iberen.
- Ariš.
- Tiridates u. Spandijāt.
- Artobanos und K. Khosrau.
- Gotarzes I und Orodes I.
- Die Liste d. ērān. und arm. Arsakiden.
- Buzurg Kūšān-Šāh.
- Der Stammbaum d. Būyiden.
- Bāu.
- Die Suffixe *ē*, *z*, *ēi*, *zi*.
- Enclyt. -an = *aw. nō*.

Altper. *franah* = *farr*.

Neuper. *izað* = *jazata*.

Inschriften d. Artax. II v. Susa und Hamadân.

Fundamente israelitischer und jüdischer Geschichte, Leipzig, 1896, gr. 8°, 88 pp.

Historische Glossen zu den alttürkischen Inschriften: WZKM. 1898, xii, pp. 157–200.

Chronologische Untersuchungen, Leipzig, 1900, 86 pp. (= *Philologus*, Supp.-Band vii, pp. 637–720):—

Berossos und die babylonischen Königslisten.

Zur Chronologie von Hyksos.

Die Exodusberichte des Manetho.

Die XVIII und XIX Dynastie nach Manetho.

Die Chronologie der Aethiopen und Saiten.

Untersuchungen zur Gesch. v. Ērân, i, Göttingen, 1896, 72 pp. (= *Philologus*, Bd. 54, 489–527; Bd. 55, 212–240):—

Diodors Nachrichten über das pont. und kappad. Fürstenhaus.

Das Verhältniss der Trogius z. Diodor.

Die angeblichen Zariadros Münzen und die Fürsten v. Sophene.

Zur Assyrischen u. Medischen Königsliste bei Ktesias.

Zur Kritik des Faustus v. Byzanz.

Hazârapet.

Der altpersische Kalender.

'*Apṛāuoi*.

Erymandrus.

Haraiwa.

Nachträge.

Ērānšahr nach der Geographie des Ps. Moses Xorenac'i, Berlin, 1901 (*Abh. Gesell. Wiss. zu Göttingen*, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Neue Folge, Band ii, No. 2), 358 pp.

Erster Teil: Das Provinzverzeichnis.

Zweiter Teil: Länderbeschreibung nach Ptolemaios.

Exkurs:—

(i) Die armenischen Markgrafen.

(ii) Z. hist. Topographie v. Kermân und Mukrân.

(iii) Toxâristân: (1) Tocharer und Ta-hia; (2) Toxâristân unter den Wei und T'ang; (3) Toxâristân in der Steuerliste des 'Abdallâh b. Tâhir; (4) Ober- und Unter-Toxâristân; (5) Itinerar von Balx nach Ober-

- Toxāristān; (6) Xottal und Čayāniyān nach d. Itineraren Ištāxri's; (7) Itinerare in Transoxiana; (8) Das Gebiet v. Balx südlich v. Oxus nach Ja'qūbī; (9) Die fünf *hih-hōu* Provinzen der Jüeh-čī; (10) Kābul; (11) Das Gebiet nördlich v. Oxus nach Ja'qūbī.

Osteuropäische und Ostasiatische Streifzüge, Leipzig, 1903, 557 pp. Belaweža-Itil.

Die Bekehrung der Chazaren zum Judentem.

Die ältesten Berichte über d. Magyaren.

Der Raubzug d. Magyaren gegen Konstantinopel im Jahre 934.

Das Itinerar des Mis'ar b. Muhalhil nach d. chinesischen Hauptstadt.

Mas'ūdī's Bericht über die Slawen.

Analyse d. Berichte des Ġaihānī über die Nordländer.

D. Reisebericht des Hārūn b. Jahjā.

Exkurs:—

- (i) Zur Bekehrungsgeschichte d. Chazaren.
- (ii) Der Stammbaum d. Abdoritenfürsten
- (iii) Mas'ūdī's Bericht über die Russen und d. Ursprung des Namen Rōs.
- (iv) Der Ursprung d. iberischen Bagratiden.¹
- (v) Ġaihānī's Bericht über die Slawen.

Untersuchungen z. Geschichte v. Ērān, ii, Leipzig, 1905, 258 pp. (= *Philologus*, Supplementband x, Heft 1):—

Die Namen d. Magier.

Alexanders Marsch v. Persepolis nach Herat.

παρχοάθρας, παροπανισαδάι, Paradāta.

Über einige skythisch-iranische Völkernamen.

Über einige Inschr. aus Kappadokien.

Die Chronol. d. Kambyses u. d. Lügenkönige und d. alt-pers. Kalender.

Zusätze.

Καρμπαλούκι, der 'skythische' Name der Maiotis: *Keleti-Szemle*, xi, 1910, pp. 1-26.

Die albulgarischen Ausdrücke in d. Inschrift v. Čatalar und in der albulgarischen Fürstenliste: *Izv. Russ. Arch. Inst. v. Konstantinopolē*, xv, 1911, pp. 1-30.

¹ This "Exkurs" (with some additions) was translated into Armenian by Hapožian, *Handes Anicorgo*, 1912, 333-9, 519-31, 712-30; 1913, 160-7, 216-21, 281-93, 463-75.

Armenische Streifen, (1) Historische Data z. Chronologie der Vokalgesetze; (2) Nachtrag z. Ērānšahr: Šahastaninoknoy und zur Liste der Provinzen v. Chorāsān. *Huschardzan* (Festschr. d. Mechitaristen-Congregation), Wien, 1911, pp. 291-302.

Über d. Armenische Alphabet in Verbindung mit d. Biogr. d. h. Mašroc: Handes Amsorya, 1911, 530-43, 673-83 (German); 1912, 41-54, 199-216 (German and Armenian); 657-66 (Armenian); 742-50 (German).

Die Benin-Sammlung des Reichsmuseums für Völkerkunde in Leiden. Beschrieben und mit ausführ. Prologomena z. Gesch. der Handelswege und Völkerbewegungen in Nordafrika versehen, Leiden (Brill), 1913, folio, cccxvii + 132 pp. (Veröff. d. Reichsmuseums f. Völkerk. in Leiden, ii, 7).

Ġucaini's Bericht über d. Bekehrung der Uiguren: SBBA, 1912, i, Halbjahr, pp. 486-502.

Südarmenien u. die Tigrisquellen nach griechischen und arabischen Geographen: Handes Amsorya (German and Armenian), 1913, 79-100, 357-66, 525-35; 1914, 41-52, 106-17, 177-83; 1915, 126-35; 1920, 103-10 (German).

Herkunft und Name d. Russen: Baltische Monatschr., B. 76, Heft 10, Riga, Oct. 1913, pp. 264-77.

Skizzen z. geschichtl. Völkerkunde v. Mittelasien und Sibirien: Osta. Zeitschr., Jahrg. viii, 1912-20, pp. 289-99.

Über das Volkstum der Komanen, *Osttürkische Dialectstudien: Abh. Gesell. d. Wissensch. zu Göttingen*, N.F., Band xiii, No. 1, Berlin, 1914, pp. 25-238.¹

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| § 1. Uzen u. Komanen. | § 5. Tatar u. Kimäk. |
| § 2. Komanen u. Qun. | § 6. Kimäk u. Qypčak. |
| § 3. Komanen u. Qypčaq. | § 7. Qypčaq u. Komanen. |
| § 4. Tatar u. But-kat. | § 8. Qangly, Kimäk u. Qypčaq. |

Anhang:—

- (1) Kritik d. bisherigen Erklärungsversuche d. Namen "Falben" u. "Komanen".
- (2) Über die Herkunft d. Osmanen.
- (3) [Der Zug d. Chytai nach Westen.]

¹ See two important reviews of this work: P. Pelliot, *A propos des Comans* (*J. As.* 1920, avr.-juin, pp. 125-85), and Barthold, *Novyi trud o Polototsk Russ. istoric. žurnal*, 1921, tome 7, pp. 138-56).

- (4) Die Bedeutung d. historischen Topographie f. d. Textkritik des Schāh-nāma.

Nachtrag. [D. Chronologie d. Qara-Qytaī.]

[— UND GROOT], *Das Reich Zābul und der Gott Zūn: Festschrift f. E. Sachau*, Berlin, 1915, pp. 243-92.

Mīpherqēt und Tigranokerta: Handes Amsorya, 1916, pp. 68-135. pp. 68-135.

Die Entstehung und die Wiederherstellung der armenischen Nation, Potsdam, 1919.¹

Was bedeutet der Name Kaukasus?: Morgenland, No. 1, 1922, pp. 3-8.

Ein arabischer Bericht über d. arktischen (uralischen) Länder aus d. 10 Jahrhundert: Ungar. Jahrbücher, Berlin, iv, Heft 3-4, Dezember, 1924, pp. 261-334.²

Np. ādīna "Freitag": Festgabe J. Szinnyei, Ungar. Bibliothek, No. 13, Berlin, 1927, pp. 57-89.

Le berceau des Arméniens: Revue des études arméniennes, Paris, 1928, tome viii, fasc. 2, pp. 210-45.

Works announced but not yet published:—

Geschichte und historische Ethnographie des Daghestan (cf. *Erānsāhr*, p. 95, note 1).

Wehrōt und Arang (cf. *Über d. Volkstum d. Komanen*, p. 38, note 6)—of this work 160 pages have been printed by Brill (Leyden).

ADDENDA.

Die Chronologie d. alttürkischen Inschriften, Leipzig, 1898, 8vo, 112 pp. Exkurs 1. Sogdiana; Exkurs 2. D. Bulgar. Fürstenliste. Anhang: [Kök-türkisch].

Skizzen z. histor. Topographie u. Geschichte von Kaukasus. Der Itinerar von Artaxata nach Armastica auf d. römischen Weltkarte, *Handes Amsorya*, 1927, No. 11, pp. 825-66.

Kultur- und sprachgeschichtliche Anekdoten, *Ungarische Jahrbücher*, 1X/1, April, 1929, pp. 68-103.

See also a list of eight articles by Professor Markwart in *Handes Amsorya*, 1927, p. 983, and his contributions to Amedroz, "Notes on two articles on Mayyāfāriqln," *JRAS.* 1890, pp. 170-6, and Herzfeld, "Am Tor von Asien," Berlin, 1920, pp. 39, 155, and 180.

The foregoing is only a provisional list of Professor Markwart's work, offered as a token of high admiration of the departed scholar's genius. I hope to re-edit it soon in a more complete form.

Y. MINORSKY.

¹ Abridged translation by Marie Basmadjian, *L'origine et la reconstitution de la nation arménienne*, Paris, 1919, 8°, 26 pp.

² Beginning with this publication Professor Marquart changed the orthography of his name to Markwart.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

HĀDĪ ḤASAN. I. FALAKĪ-I-SHĪRWĀNĪ: His times, life and works. pp. 96. 1929. II. FALAKĪ-I-SHĪRWĀNĪ, DĪWĀN. pp. 83. 1929. London: Royal Asiatic Society.

Falakī, who lived in the beginning of the sixth/twelfth century, and was one of the court-poets of the Shīrwān-Shāh Minūchihr II, has been very little known until now. In E. G. Browne's *Literary History of Persia* his name is given passing mention in only two places.

Since we do not yet possess a critical edition even of such a great poet as Nizami, some objection certainly might be raised to an edition of Falakī, if priority of treatment were to be accorded on the basis of relative merit. But after all the editor's taste and convenience must be respected.

A most praiseworthy thoroughness of method characterizes Dr. H. H.'s work. To quote an example: Dawlatshāh in his *Tadhkirat al-shu'arā* ascribes to Falakī a verse in praise of Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān. Dr. H. H. has rightly suspected Dawlatshāh's statement: "It was necessary therefore to examine without distinction the works of all [!! V. M.] Persian poets contemporary with, or posterior to, Mas'ūd and anterior to, Dawlatshāh. And so eventually [!! V. M.] Dawlatshāh's couplet was found in Dīwān-i Adīb-i Šābir" (p. 62). One can imagine the amount of work done in order to elucidate a detail, after all, of secondary importance for the theme chosen. To discover a score of additional verses of Falakī Dr. H. H. has looked through all the illustrative quotations of four big Persian dictionaries (p. 75). This thoroughness accounts perhaps for the author's predilection for chronological researches. On pp. 46-52 one finds long calendar tables calculated on the basis of Schram's *Kalendariographische und Chronologische Tafeln*, Leipzig, 1908, according to two eras, that of Yazdagird and that of Jalāl al-dīn. No stone has been left unturned to arrive at the conclusion that "though the dates of Falakī's birth and death cannot be determined with accuracy, it is obvious that they must be sought in the neighbourhood of the years 501 A.H. and 540 A.H. respectively" (p. 52).

No side issue has been left without consideration. The author has disentangled the question of three different poets of the *nom de plume* Falakī (pp. 41-3) and of two homonymous 'Imādis (p. 96); he has elucidated Mas'ūd-i Sa'd-i Salmān's authorship of a prison-poem

wrongly ascribed to Falakī (pp. 88-92); he has shown the inexactitude of the general assumption that Mu'izzī was killed in A.H. 542 by a stray shot from Ṣultān Sanjār's bow (p. 95), as well as E. G. Browne's mistake in attributing to Imāmī a verse of Qatrān (p. 93), etc. These statements though only by-products of Dr. H. H.'s research are characteristic of his vast readings and of his serious and intent desire to arrive at scientific truth.

If the final results obtained with regard to Falakī are somewhat vague it is in the first place the fault of our sources. The poet lived in the first half of the twelfth century (A.D. ± 1116-1145), whereas the copies of his works date from the end of the sixteenth and of the beginning of the seventeenth century, i.e. they were written some 450 years after his death. Only seventy-two couplets have come down to us from the year 741/1340. Different sources differently put Falakī's literary heritage at 7,000, 3,000 and 10,000 *baits*, but only less than twelve hundred of them have been preserved in the existing sources. Can one trust the taste of the selectors who may have omitted the more personal part of the poet's work?

That Falakī enjoyed a considerable reputation is shown by the facts discovered by Dr. H. H.: Salmān-i Sāwajī (fourteenth century A.D.) tacitly imitated one of his odes (p. 65) and 'Ismat (beginning of the fourteenth century A.D.) spoke of him in terms of undisguised admiration. Of his contemporaries (twelfth century A.D.) Zahir al-dīn Shufurwa mentions him in an ode by the side of such great masters as 'Unṣurī and Anwārī. Less respectful to Falakī is his famous countryman Khāqānī.¹ In his elegy on Falakī's death he praises his "proficiency in ten sciences" but in his usual quaint way calls him "a sneeze of my lawful magic (i.e. poetry)". Dr. H. H. gives no explanation of this strange expression which, as my friend Muḥammad khān Qazvīnī tells me, hints at a popular tradition about the creation of the cat out of the lion's sneeze in the moment when the mice made a hole in Noah's ark.

Khāqānī was certainly difficult to please and we need not follow him, but it is a pity that the question of Falakī's poetical value has not been dealt with at all by the editor whose work in general contains no æsthetic appreciations, except that a *mustazād* is called "graceful" (p. 42) and that on pp. 86 and 88 one finds a mention of Falakī's and

¹ The local historian 'Abbās Qulī khān Rākī-khānov, in his *Qulīdān-i-Irām*, Russian translation edited in Baku, 1926, p. 166, says that Khāqānī's father was a joiner from the village Malhamlu, near Shamākhī.

Sa'd-i Salmān's respective "styles" without any description of their characteristics.

The state of our methods with regard to the Oriental literatures cannot certainly be compared to those which prevail in the fields of Classical and Western studies, and critical editions of the texts are necessary first of all. But nevertheless it must not be forgotten that the poets are first of all Poets, and their works not merely collections of autobiographic hints and disguised chronograms.

The most obvious method of interpreting a poet—largely used by all the literary historians from Hammer to E. G. Browne and R. A. Nicholson—is to give in translation a representative selection of his works. A complete translation with commentary of half a dozen of Falakī's odes would have rendered him more familiar even to those students who can read him in the original.

But beyond that, there remains the very important outward study of a poet's style, of his rhymes, similes and vocabulary. Professor Nöldeke's analysis of Firdausī and Dr. H. Ritter's recent essay on the pictural language ("Bildersprache") of Nizāmī show the manner in which such investigations must be conducted. The editor of Falakī gives a list of fifty "technical and uncommon words", but they do not exhaust the lexical material scattered in the footnotes. Even a general list of words used in Falakī's not very extensive productions would be welcome. It would enable us to form a judgment on the Persian of the early twelfth century, and its differences from the Persian of the later epoch. In this respect the study of the three pre-Mongolian groups of poets (those of Transcaspia, Isfāhān and Transcaucasia, Āzarbaijān included) would be extremely interesting.

The following are remarks on the fragmentary texts and translations found in the English part of Dr. H. H.'s work. P. 10 الملة read الملة; p. 21 تیغ read تیغ. P. 23 qabā is not "girdle" but a "cuirass"; *dar bāqī shud* "disappeared"—it would seem necessary to explain the pun on *bāqī* "eternal" and *dar bāqī kardan* "to omit, to spurn", see Muḥammad khān Qazwīnī, in the Preface of the Part II of Juwainī's History. P. 38 read *jazīra Rūyīnās* (*jazīra-yi* is against the metre). P. 39 "He made the green one red". Why not simply: "He let flow a sea of blood"? "The Russians and the Khazars flee because the Sea of the Khazars (*dar baḥr-i Khazar*!) has felt the benefit of his hand full of pearls (*ḥashar amīkhta-and*!)". This interpretation is entirely based on Khanykov, *Mel. As.*, III, p. 132. I should

suggest "because on the Sea of Khazars . . . they were confounded like irregular hordes". P. 54, "From the stable of the sky no horse comes forth, the circle of whose shoes is devoid of (or, not impressed by) the circle of my mouth"—is very obscure. P. 56, "The love and hatred is based on his pleasure and displeasure, just as the ل of هل is based on ها" needs an explanation. P. 59 correct یحیٰ yuhyi. P. 63, "I shall surpass fire" read "I shall surpass *athir*" meant both as αἰθρᾱ, Kazimirski: "atmosphère éthérée," (it is true that Arabic dictionaries explain this element as "fire") and as Athir-i Akhsikati cf. p. 64. P. 68, 'Aiyār "discrimination", rather than "aptitude (for poetry)". P. 88, correct *bā-hazār*. P. 89, "Whose service has increased my status"; better "devotion to whom has increased". P. 94 *Zan(n) khaṭā shud marā*, strike out the *alif*.

To his chapters on Falakī and his Dīwān the editor has prefixed some general data on the reign of the kings of Shīrwān, especially of Fariburz I (died after A.H. 487), Minūchīhr II (*circa* A.H. 514-44)¹ and Akhsatān I (*circa* A.H. 544-93). This contribution to the history of Shīrwān, coming from an Indian scholar, will be particularly gratifying to all those interested in the destinies of Transcaucasia.

The accuracy with which the author always proceeds has permitted him to throw new light on some dark details of the history of that kingdom and to complete the results of the investigation of Russian scholars, such as Dorn, Khanykov, Salemann, Pakhomov and Barthold.

Such are the items on the Shīrwānshāh's titles (pp. 10 and 27-8); a very just surmise on Akhsunthul = Aq-sunqur, amīr of Marāgha (p. 18, cf. my article "*Marāgha*" in the *Enc. of Islām*); the date of Akhsatān's death between 593-600 (p. 33); the origin of the queen 'Ismat al-dawla (p. 34); the proof that Khāqānī's verse on the embellishment of Shamākhi refers to Akhsatān and not to Qizil Arslan (p. 37).

A little sketch-map, as well as a genealogical table of the contemporary kings of the neighbouring Georgia, would be of great service to the readers. One regrets that the introductory pages (1-3) on the Kingdom of Shīrwān are too brief. Shīrwān, which kept its semi-independence since the Sāsānian times till 1588 and then for a little while after the death of Nādir-Shāh, has been a considerable factor

¹ The local pronunciation of the name of the protector of Abū-l-'Alā, Khāqānī and Falakī (avestan *Manulēiθra*) seems to be Manuchahr > Manūchar or Manūche, see Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 191, and the transcription by the local historian Bākikhānov.

in the preservation of the old Iranian tradition in the Caucasus¹ and in the formation of the general characteristics of the present day inhabitants of the republic of Azarbaijān. For a historical perspective students will have to look in Professor Barthold's articles in the *Enc. of Islām* (Derbend, Shīrwān, Shīrwānshāh).²

The following are remarks on some local matters where occasional slips were inevitable.

P. 2, *Abkhāz* has been translated Georgia. For a long time Georgian independence was held up by the west Georgian, so-called "Abkhazian" dynasty. Abkhāz = Georgia is practically comprehensible but at Khāqānī's time Abkhāz could mean only western Georgia, as the energetic kings of Tiflis were first of all kings of eastern Georgia (K'art'li).

P. 5, with regard to the revenue of Shīrwān see *Nuzhat al-qulūb*, ed. Le Strange, pp. 92-93: "in the days of the khāns of Shīrwān they amounted to 1 million dinārs of the money of our time".

Jalāl al-dīn Mankubirtī—it would be better to keep to the form Mankburnī, found in the manuscripts, see Muḥammad Khan Qazvīnī's *Juḥainī*, II, p. 284, note "Ḍabt-i Mangburnī".

P. 8, Qabala, i.e. Ptolemy's *χαβάλα* in Albania (= Arrān) was certainly situated to the west of Shīrwān on the Tūriyān river (see *Enc. of Islām*: Shekki) and not near Darband.

P. 15, Minūchīhr's sons were five in number. What are the reasons for identifying Afrīdūn with Dhukhrat al-dīn, which reduces their number to four?

P. 17, "Georgian and Armenian Chronicles." By the Armenian Chronicle is meant here only the Armenian translation of the Georgian Chronicle.

P. 21, The story about King Dimitri I of Georgia having carried away "the famous gates (*sic!*) of Derbend" is false. The iron door, still kept at the monastery of Gelath in western Georgia, bears the date of 455 (1063) and the name of the Shaddādīd Shāwir b. Faḍl, cf. Fraehn, *Erklärung der Arab. Inschrift. des Eisernen Thorflügels zu Galathi*, Mém. Acad. des Sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Sciences Morales,

¹ With regard to v. 930 in the *Diwān*, where Falaki calls the dynasty *tukhma-yi Arash-u-Bahrām*, it may be remembered that a little town south of Shekki bears the name of Arash.

² In Russian see Pakhomov's useful *Short Essay on the History of Azerbaijan*, Baku, 1923 (utilized by Dr. Hādī Ḥasan) and Barthold's, *Mesto priknapiiskikh oblastei* ("The place in the Moslem history of the provinces lying round the Caspian sea"), Bākū, 1925.

iii, 1835, pp. 531-46. The door was certainly carried away from Ganja and not from Derbend. Brosset, *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, i, p. 369, explains it in a long note. Cf. also Sir E. D. Ross, *Islamica*, II, ii, 1925, p. 218.

P. 21. It is hardly possible to speak of the conquest of the "kingdom" of Arrān by Minūchihr II. *Kingdom* presupposes kings, but the Ganja branch of the Shaddādids disappeared before 500. Its last representative, Faḍlūn, deposed by Malik Shāh, was appointed governor of Astarābād, then came back to his dominions as a mere vassal of the Seljuks, then was turned out again and finished his days in Baghdad in 484 (A.D. 1091-2). Khāqānī's *fath-i Arrān* may mean an occupation of some parts of the country south of the Kur after the disappearance of Sulṭān Muḥammad (498-511) whose particular fief was Arrān. [On the troublesome state of this province even in Sulṭān Muḥammad's times many details are found in the unique MS. of the *Bibl. Nat.*, Fonds arabe 4433.]

P. 26. The reading Akhsatān was already proposed by Justi, *Iran. Namenbuch*, p. 12, but according to Dorn local *mīrzās'* pronunciation is Akhsitān. The Georgian and Armenian form of the name Aghsarthan (Aṣarthan) is still puzzling. Clavijo, ed. Sreznevski, p. 135, mentions a Moslem ruler of Arzinjān of the name of Zaratan (= Saratan).

P. 37. At the time of the Kasrānid dynasty of Shirwānshāhs it is hardly accurate to speak of Khazars properly so-called. They had disappeared much earlier. As Pakhomov, op. cit. p. 16, thinks, the old name Khazar covers here some other Turkish people (the Qipchaqs?).

P. 37. In the original of Brosset's *Hist. de la Géorgie*, I, i, p. 369, Minuchihr is called king of "Movakan and Širwan". Dr. H. H. renders Movakan by Mūqān and finds this title "incorrect". It must be remembered that in Georgian "Movakan" designates also the locality between the Kur and its left tributary, the Alazan, above their junction, i.e. west of Shirwan, see Vakhushti's *Geography*, tr. Brosset, p. 269. But I rather agree with Dr. H. H. on interpreting the term on its face value: Movakan = Mūqān (Mughān). The Georgian source may allude to Manuchihr's conquests south of the Kur, say in the region of Bailaqān, which, roughly speaking, continues in the north the plain of Mūqān.

P. 57. Ulugh Beg Kūrkan, better Kūrakān from the Turkish *kūrakān*, "son in law."

P. 60 and text p. 52. "Bartās in Turkistān". The Burtās are

the Mordva of our days in the basin of the Oka, right tributary of the Volga.¹ Samangān, if it is the same as Samulqān (which I believe is Ptolemy's 'Ασμουρνα), is on the upper Atrak, see Sykes, "A Sixth Journey in Persia, *JRGS.*, January, 1911.

P. 74. The author of *Bustān al-siyāhat* is better known as Zain al-Ābidīn Shirwānī. His work was printed in Teheran, A.H. 1315. On the biography of this remarkable man see Khanykov, *Mélanges Asiat.*, St. Petersburg, iii (1859), p. 50-9 [= *Bull. histor.-phil. de l'Acad. des sciences*, t. xiv, N. 16].

P. 90. Quzdār is not in Sistān but in Baluchistān, 85 miles south of Kalāt (actually Khozdar).

Part II of Dr. H. H.'s work is a very artistic reproduction by the "Replica" process of the editor's original copy, in black and red ink. This last improvement is very welcome as it facilitates the philological study of the text. One thing is very unfortunate. The author's original was written in an extremely small hand. The result is that all the Part II puts the reader's eyes to a severe test. One regrets this handicap so much the more because this philological part of the work shows clearly the soundness of Dr. H. H.'s critical methods and the amount of his great industry.

His task was hard. Yielding, as he says, to the "numerical factor" he took as the basis of his edition the Munich MS. supposed to belong to the eleventh/seventeenth century. But its "errors are so plentiful that no more than a half of the dīwān makes sense" [!]. Therefore the text had to be "deciphered" and reconstructed with the aid of the other MSS. and particularly of the rare *tadhkirā* of Taqī al-dīn Kāshī (written in 985/1577) in which are included all the then extant works of Falakī (over 1,000 *baits*). In view of the late date and the bad condition of the Munich copy it is questionable whether the surplus of some hundred verses constituted such an advantage in favour of a bad copy. Yet the reconstruction of the text has been done with the aid of all the available means and as the editor had the privilege of the counsels of such a high authority as Muḥammad Khān Qazwīnī, one is sure that the text represents the greatest degree of accuracy attainable under present circumstances.

Neither of the two Parts has an Index. This is regrettable in the

¹ Even now one of the small rivers in the basin of the Tana (flowing into the Oka) is called Burtas. See A. V. Markov, *Otnosheniya mezhdū Russkimi i Mordvoyu v istorii*, Tiflis, 1914, and Barthold in *Enc. of Islām*.

case of the text volume where a great many matters are scattered throughout the commentary (cf. p. 37 of the Persian text).

A separate enumeration of the works consulted would also be welcome, as well as a short Preface explaining the origin of some numismatic facts (quoted in a somewhat different form than in Pakhomov's book), of the data derived from *Mūnis al-aḥrār*, etc.

Of course, we do not know to what degree all the *desiderata* suggested above were compatible with the restrictions imposed on the author by the general plan of the series.

Dr. H. H.'s propensity tends evidently towards a minute study of the detail. His model is Ch. Rieu rather than E. G. Browne, but each of the two scholars was great in his own way. With his unusual capacity of work, his vast readings in Persian poets and his ardour for getting to the bottom of every problem, however arid it might appear on the surface, Dr. H. H. in his new book has shed much new light on the Shirwān poets and their contemporaries. As a thesis for a doctorate his work is altogether worthy of praise.

V. MINORSKY.

A TREATISE ON THE CANON OF MEDICINE OF AVICENNA. Incorporating a translation of the First Book. By O. CAMERON GRUNER, M.D. pp. vii, 612. London: Luzac & Co., 1930. £2 2s.

The translation into English of the first book of the Canon of Avicenna of Dr. O. C. Gruner reveals the profound scholarship and meticulous care and research which the author has applied in the production of this monumental work. The translation is an embodiment of his medical learning together with his knowledge of Arabic.

Hitherto the five books of the Canon of Avicenna have only been available in Arabic, Latin, and Hebrew, and in translating the first book, which deals with general principles the author explains that his translation is based on the Latin versions published in Venice in 1608 and 1595 and is supported by a study of the Arabic edition printed in Rome in 1593 and the Bulaq edition.

That distinguished Oriental scholar, the late Professor E. G. Browne, has already pointed out that "the Latin Qānūn of Avicenna swarms with barbarous words which are not merely transcriptions, but in many cases almost unrecognizable mis-transcriptions of Arabic originals".

Dr. Gruner mentions that Campbell in his "Arabian Medicine and its Influence on the Middle Ages" states there was a "society of translators" at Toledo, about A.D. 1130, "whose method of translating from Arabic to Latin was to put the Latin equivalent over the Arabic words, disregarding the sense of the original." The Latin of the first book, however, is very close to the Arabic and hardly to be improved upon, though the author says that he has used modern terms when there is no reasonable doubt of their referring to the same idea. A point of special importance has been the careful study of the original Arabic because "words in the Latin version which are evidently technical there, become merely colloquial when translated into English". He explains also that in his rendering from the Arabic to the English the real meaning can only be conveyed by using many more words.

A valuable asset to the translation are the copious and interesting references to the contemporary writers of the time of Avicenna—Sufic, Vedantic, Buddhistic, Chinese—and to Persian writings subsequent to his time, such as Rumi, Sa'di, etc., and also to views presented by various modern philosophies including Western Theosophy, all of which point to erudite research on the part of the author.

Among other reasons for which Dr. Gruner says he has selected the work of Avicenna are his acknowledged excellence and his greater accessibility amongst mediaeval writers.* The Canon is still regarded as the final appeal on all matters connected with the healing art by the "Tibb-i-Yunani", the followers of the old Greek medicine.

Nevertheless, we should not lose sight of or forget that other great mediaeval writer, Rhazes, who was probably the greatest and most original of all the Muslim physicians; for Rhazes was a physician first and then a philosopher, and here he stands in contrast to Avicenna, who was first a philosopher and then a physician; and further, Rhazes, by virtue of his clinical observations, deserves to rank highest of all the mediaeval medical writers.

In giving us this English translation of the Canon the author has rendered signal service to science and, in particular, to medical history. He has made available for the first time in the English language the extremely important material contained in this book of principles. The section dealing with Balneology contains much matter of importance to medical historians as well as to those who specialize in that particular branch of present-day medicine, including

as it does such subjects as sun-baths, sand-baths, oil-baths, shower-baths, etc. Again, in the section of Sphygmology, the pulse is described, and here it is of interest to note the words of Sir William Broadbent: "Every important variety of the pulse was recognized, described, and named before the Christian era."

The section dealing with Friction, Massage, and Shampooing, and also that on Cupping, are full of interest, and in regard to the latter it is interesting to note that even the methods of treatment set forth in the Canon are still resorted to to-day.

Further, in view of the interest now being taken in the history of anæsthetics, especially just at this time when the centenary of Hickman is about to be celebrated, that portion of the Canon dealing with this subject will no doubt attract attention. The author quotes Burton (in Night 263) as saying, "anæsthetics have been used in surgery throughout the East for centuries before ether and chloroform became the fashion in the civilized West."

In Appendix 3 there is a list of the *materia medica* of the Canon in which those that are Pharmacopeial are marked with an asterisk, and the author says that many of the others are found in a present-day catalogue. Commenting on Drug Treatment Dr. Gruner says, "the truth is that we know far too little about the herbal remedies of the Canon"; those desiring further knowledge on this subject would do well to study the *materia medica* of the Ancient Hindus, many of whose medicines can be traced directly down to the Arabs.

In the book the Thomistic philosophy of human nature and its applicability to the medicine of the future is specially discussed.

The book is beautifully produced, is well printed on good paper, and contains an index and a bibliography which themselves are worthy of this scholarly work. No scientific or research library will be complete without a copy, and it is to be hoped that at some future time Dr. Gruner will give science the further benefit of his profound learning by the translation of the remaining books of the Canon.

P. JOHNSTON-SAINT.

THE INDIAN MATERIA MEDICA. Edited and published by K. M. NADKARNI. $7\frac{1}{2} \times 4\frac{3}{4}$, pp. xviii, 1142, clxix, lxxxviii. Bombay, 1927.

This interesting book combines within its covers much important and useful information to both the medical profession and the general

public. In recent years there has been noticeable, amongst all classes of people, a considerable revival and stimulation of interest in the medicinal uses of plants and herbs, and *The Indian Materia Medica* should provide a very useful and convenient work of reference on this subject. Further, it should greatly help to revive interest in Ayurvedic and Unani systems of medicine, to which systems modern science and medicine owe so much.

The author has been at much pains to gather together a vast amount of information, especially in the appendices. The "Substitutes for Imported Foreign Drugs" contained in Appendix 3 should be of great use, and much of the information in the other appendices is not only of interest at the present day, but is of great value to the student in historical research.

The size of the book is a little awkward, and it might have been $8\frac{1}{2}$ in. \times $5\frac{1}{4}$ in. with advantage. There are one or two printer's errors which should be corrected in the next edition, and it is a matter of regret that the index is weak, and that there is no table of contents.

P. JOHNSTON-SAINT.

RECUEIL DE TEXTES INÉDITS CONCERNANT L'HISTOIRE DE LA
MYSTIQUE EN PAYS D'ISLAM. Annotés et publiés par L.
MASSIGNON. pp. vii, 257. Paris: Paul Geuthner, 1929. Fr. 100.

Professor Massignon's latest volume contains a collection of extracts dealing with Islamic mysticism, taken from unedited MSS., of which he has found an extraordinary number adapted to his purpose, scattered throughout the libraries of Europe and the Near East. In this volume, the extracts are given in their original language, Arabic, Persian, Turkish, and Urdu, so that the book is of value only to the true Orientalist, but the author has already given us the French translation of most of these texts in his *Essai sur les origines du lexique technique de la mystique musulmane* (1922) and *La Passion d'al-Hallāj* (1914). In the present volume these extracts have been revised and improved, thanks to collation with new MSS., and corrections communicated by other scholars, and in addition to purely Hallagian texts, the author has included other important unedited sources, the most notable being extracts from Ibn Sab'in, Shoshtari, Muridī, Dārā Shikūh, Sanousī, Warrāq, and Nābolosī.

These sources are presented in chronological order, and represent a concerted whole, allowing the student of Islām to trace the course

of the general history of Islamic mysticism, by means of original and characteristic texts, of which some are derived from the kindred domains of theology, philosophy, and literature. The fourth section of the book, which represents material not included in the two previous volumes, is devoted to these texts from writers not primarily concerned with mysticism, and is not the least interesting part of the book.

It is difficult to make selections from such a treasure-house of mystical literature. Among the quotations from al-Hallāj's teaching is a fragment given by Hamadhānī, describing the Beatific Vision. "When God desires union with one of His servants, He raises the veil, and reveals to that servant His Unicity in contemplation, and causes him to enter into the abode of the One. Then God unveils before him His own glorious Beauty, and when his gaze falls upon that Divine Loveliness, there it remains, and the servant passes away from self, and abides in God" (p. 68).

From the same writer comes a description of the reward awaiting those who paid with their lives for their mystic faith. When Hallāj had been brought to the scaffold, that same night Shiblī besought God saying: "How long wilt Thou slay Thy lovers?" and God answered him: "Until they find My compensation for blood." And Shiblī asked: "O Lord, what is Thy blood-wit?" And He answered him: "To meet with Me and behold My Beauty is what I give in return for the blood of My lovers."

There is a beautiful prayer included here, by one of these lovers of God, Suhrawardī, who was executed at Aleppo in 1191, at the age of 36. "O my God," he prays, "Thou Lord of all that exists, of all intellectual beings and all sensible things, Thou Giver of minds and souls, Who hast laid the foundations of the world; O First Cause of all existence and Dispenser of all bounty, Thou Maker of hearts and spirits, and Fashioner of forms and bodies; O Light of Lights and Ruler of all the spheres, Thou art the First, there was none before Thee; Thou art the Last, there shall be none after Thee. The angels are not able to comprehend Thy Majesty, and man cannot attain to a knowledge of Thy Perfect Essence. O God, set us free from the fetters of this world and of the flesh, and deliver us from all evil that may hinder us. Send down upon our spirits Thy gracious Influence and pour forth upon our souls the bright beams of Thy Light. The mind of man is but one drop in the ocean of Thy kingdom, and the soul is but a spark of Thy Divine Majesty. Praise be to Him Whom the sight cannot perceive, nor the thought conceive of His likeness.

To Thee, O Lord, be thanksgiving and praise. Thou dost give and Thou dost take away. Thou art the All-Bountiful and the All-Abiding. Praise be to Him, for His is the kingdom, and unto Him shall ye return." (p. 111.)

These extracts, considered as a whole, while supporting the author's contention that much of Islamic mysticism is fundamentally original, that is to say, native to Islām, and derived from the Qur'ān and the traditions, also make plain the indebtedness of the Islamic mystics for much of their theosophic doctrine, not only to Neo-platonism, but also to Christianity. It has been taken for granted by most writers on Ṣūfism that the asceticism and quietism of the early Ṣūfis, with their characteristic virtues of self-control, self-sacrifice, patience and dependence upon God, were modelled upon the example of the early Christian hermits and monks, who were to be found in Arabia, Egypt, Syria, and Mesopotamia at the time of the Muslim conquest and whose manner of life was much admired by their Muslim neighbours, but it seems doubtful whether the debt owed by Islamic mysticism to the teaching of the early Christian mystics, has been sufficiently recognized as yet.

It is true that Mysticism represents a spiritual tendency which is universal, which is, indeed, the most vital element in all true religions, making itself felt as the protest of earnest and devout souls against cold formalism and religious torpor. "Mysticism," says Professor Massignon (in his *Essai*) "cannot be the exclusive possession of a race, a tongue, a nation; it is a human phenomenon, of a spiritual order, which cannot be limited by these physical boundaries." In Islām, therefore, as in other religions, we might expect Mysticism to be a spontaneous growth, produced by the failure of the orthodox faith to satisfy those souls which craved for a closer relation with God. Yet the resemblances between the mystical doctrines of Islām and those of Christianity, are so much closer than any analogy we can trace between Christian mysticism and the other Oriental systems of mysticism, such as Tao-ism or Buddhism, that it is reasonable to suppose that Ṣūfism derived more than a little of its doctrine from the mysticism of those Christians with whom the Muslims were in such close contact during the first two centuries of Islām, and later, in the Near and Middle East, and Europe. Baghdad was one of the chief centres of Islamic mysticism, and it was also a great store-house of Greek and Syriac manuscripts, which began to be translated into Arabic as early as the ninth century A.D. But while knowledge of

Christian mystical literature must have been limited to a very small number of *Ṣūfis* in the early stages of *Islām*, there were other means of transmission. The many Christian women who married Muslim husbands, had every opportunity for making their influence felt with the next Muslim generation, and we find traces of it in *Ṣūfī* literature. Of the numberless Christians who Islamized, either from fear of their lives or because of the advantages to be gained, many no doubt, like the Secret Believers in Spain, retained their original beliefs, and were responsible for the spread of a knowledge of Christian teaching, including Christian mysticism, among their fellow Muslims. The relations between Muslims and Christians in the early Islamic period were for the most part friendly, and since the Christians were possessed of a higher culture and civilization than their Arab conquerors, they, like the Greeks at an earlier period, were at first the teachers of their rulers, and gradually imbued them with something of their own culture and knowledge. *Ṣūfism* bears the traces of this influence, and hence in its developed theosophic doctrine we find much that is almost certainly derived from its Christian environment.

The book is well printed, there are few typographical errors to be noted, and it is equally well indexed.

The thanks of all students of *Ṣūfism* are due to Professor Massignon for this invaluable collection of extracts from *Ṣūfī* literature, and we rejoice to know that this is but the inaugural volume of a series of collections of texts relating to Islamic mysticism, to which we may look forward in the future, in the formation of which the author is to have the assistance of Professor Asin Palacios, of Madrid, and Professor Pedersen, of Copenhagen.

MARGARET SMITH.

THE PERSONALITY OF MUHAMMAD THE PROPHET. By A. YUSUF ALI.
(Progressive Islam Pamphlet No. 4.) pp. 24. London: Luzac,
1929. 1s.

It is perhaps more important for the majority of students of the faiths of the East to know the tendencies and convictions of those who now profess them, than to immerse themselves in the study of their origins. For all such Mr. Yusuf Ali's address will provide an introduction to the attitude of a large body of modernist Muslim opinion. Students of history will not expect to find in it any more exact historical

exposition than in the average sermon delivered from a Christian pulpit. But surely "who taught man ever to seek new knowledge" is a rather startling translation of علم الانسان ما لم يعلم.

H. A. R. G.

MUSULMAN PAINTING, TWELFTH TO SEVENTEENTH CENTURY. By E. BLOCHET. Translated from the French by CICELY BINYON, with an Introduction by Sir E. DENISON ROSS, C.I.E. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1929.

By this admirable translation of Monsieur Blochet's work on Muslim painting Mrs. Binyon has earned the gratitude of all students of Islamic art in this country. "The serious and systematic study of Persian illuminations is," as Sir Denison Ross says in his introduction, "a new science, and the problems which present themselves for solution or discussion are almost as young as the various theories which have lately been put forward." There can be few who have had better opportunities than M. Blochet of studying this new science, yet fewer who have used those opportunities as he has, and his deliverances on the subject are those of one fully aware of the range and depth of his knowledge of it. His opinions are entitled to great respect, to much greater respect than he pays to the opinions of those who differ from him, but occasionally they leave us breathless. "Only one art has ever existed, and that is Classic Art; it was born mysteriously at the foot of the Acropolis . . . It spread over the whole civilized world." The lands of the Far East not being specifically excluded from those over which it spread must be held to be included among them. This, surely, is attempting to prove too much. It is reminiscent of those folklorists who, tracing a remote resemblance between the plots of some of the folk-tales of the most diverse nations, insist upon a common origin; who will not admit that it is possible for two human minds to have one idea. All will admit the pre-eminence of Hellenic art, but M. Blochet must allow us some other art with which to compare it.

It is impossible for one mind to grasp all the details of each of the branches of learning over which the author's wide digressions range, and he must pardon Orientalists for dissenting from a gross libel on one of the most musical, flexible, and expressive languages of the East. Persian scholars will certainly not admit that the cadence of modern Persian prose "still recalls the heaviness and inelegance of the language spoken in Sasanian times".

In their attempt to identify their prophet with the Paraclete, the Muslims corrupted the word *Παράκλητος* to *Περικλυτός*, which is a fairly accurate translation of the name Muhammad, or Ahmad, not to *Παρακλυτός*, a word which was certainly not "born at the foot of the Acropolis". Again, it is hardly correct to say that Shāh Ismā'il, the first of the Safavids, was "set on the throne by the confederation of Turkish clans living in Irān, who elected him, as they would have elected one of their chiefs, in the fashion of the Altaics. Others besides the Turkish clans had a voice in the election, or, to use a more accurate expression, the acceptance, of Shāh Ismā'il as king; nor is it quite correct to describe him as a stranger to the Turks, for his mother and his grandmother were Turkish princesses.

M. Blochet, in attempting to discount the statements of Persian authors who believed, as so many European students, dissenting from him, believe, that Persian painting was not uninfluenced by that of the Celestial Empire, is hardly just in suggesting that they "never saw a Chinese painting and would have found it difficult to say where China was". Under the Ilkhans Persia was, for a short time, a province of the Celestial Empire, there was no lack of communication between the two countries, and it is difficult to believe that no specimens of Chinese art reached Persia, either then or later, in the era of the Timurids. As Sir Denison Ross says: "There is no gainsaying the spirit of the Far East in those delightful paintings of men and women, with their willowy figures shrouded by long flowing robes, with their heads slightly tilted to one side; and the culmination of Persian miniature art in the works of such a man as Bihzad, seems to be reached in a happy blending of the West and the East, where we find the conventional treatment of rocks and clouds reminding us of China, and the graceful grouping of figures recalling the Italian primitives intermingled with Moslem buildings and Persian trees and flowers.

The early sentences of Section XVIII of the book are unfortunately phrased, and might be held to suggest that Rustam was a Buddhist. I know that the author does not intend to suggest this, but a young student might be misled.

M. Blochet attributes the selection of Herat by the Timurids as their capital partly to the "torrid climate" of Shiraz and Isfahan, which "crushed them". Statements of this sort almost suggest that theories are formed first and evidence fitted to them later. One who was "crushed" by the "torrid climate" of Isfahan would die in Herat.

To many the notion that "the Christian Basilica copies, not the Pagan temple, but the Pagan Basilica, to show that the Faith of Christ is based on justice" will appear fanciful. The Pagan temple was not well adapted to Christian worship, and there were other obvious objections to the use of the temples of the old religion, the gods of which the early Christians believed to be not human inventions, but active demons, for this purpose. It is far more probable that the Christians, when their religion became that of the state, occupied and used buildings not immediately connected with the old faith, both because they were convenient for their purpose and lent dignity to their worship. I trust that I have not left the impression that I wish to cavil at this most scholarly work. M. Blochet is entitled to his opinions, his opinions are entitled to respect, and though we may dissent from some of them the fact that they are so firmly held by so eminent an authority cannot but stimulate our interest in the subject.

Of the excellent reproductions in colour and monochrome of two hundred examples of the paintings with which the book deals, I have left myself no space to treat. They add very greatly to the usefulness as well as to the attractiveness of the book, for they provide the student with material for independent study, but the numbers and titles of plates cxxxix and cxc should be reversed.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

ET-TAMGROUTI : EN-NAFHAT EL-MISKIYA FI-S-SIFARAT ET-TOURKIYA.

Traduite et annotée par H. DE CASTRIES. pp. xvi + 130. Paris : Geuthner, 1929.

Tamgrout is a village in the Wad Draa, in the extreme south of Morocco. The author of this book was summoned thence by the Sultan of Morocco in 1589, to make an adventurous journey by sea to Constantinople and back, as the leader of an embassy to the Sultan of Turkey. Each stage on the way is duly noted and dated, but by far the most attractive portions of his narrative are those in which he abandons his prolix literary padding and gives free expression to his own moods and impressions, and particularly to the terror and fascination of the sea. The style of the book recalls the *Travels of Ibn Battuta*, who is quoted here and there, but at-Tamgrouti is of the two perhaps the keener and more intelligent observer. His translator, Lieut.-Col. de Castries, whose recent death is a heavy blow to Moroccan studies, has wisely excised the long quotations from al-Bakri, Ibn

'Abd Rabbihi, and others; though it is to be hoped that if ever the text (which is known to exist only in a single manuscript at Fez) is published, they will be printed in full. Apart from the passages already referred to, the book is interesting for the large number of technical naval terms which it contains, and for the long description of Constantinople and the organization of the Turks. In the latter section the account of the Santa Sophia and Sulaymaniya mosques is followed by a remarkable passage, to which I can recall no parallel in Arabic literature, although the editor doubts if it is original, and which is worth reproducing in full:—

"L'architecture de Sainte-Sophie offre plus de solidité, elle est de caractère plus grandiose, d'aspect plus massif: celle de la Soulaïmaniya, plus élégante, plus agréable et plus spacieuse. Ne voit-on pas là—et Dieu sait mieux la vérité—une analogie frappante avec les caractères des deux fondateurs de ces édifices: l'un appartient à l'Islam et l'autre à l'Infidélité. Chacun d'eux affecte le caractère intime de son fondateur."

H. A. R. G.

TURKEY AND SYRIA REBORN. By HAROLD ARMSTRONG. pp. xiv + 270, map. London: John Lane, 1930. 15s.

Mr. Armstrong has chosen the subjective method, and has not escaped its pitfalls. With the Turks he is at home; he takes a sympathetic interest in them and he knows their language, with the result that the reader, though he may doubt the profundity of some observations, will find much that appeals to him in the pages that deal with Turkey. But where neither understanding nor sympathy are present, the subjective writer were well advised to hold his hand, and this would have been a better book if Mr. Armstrong had confined himself to Anatolia.

H. A. R. GIBB.

THE MĪMĀNSĀ NYĀYA PRAKĀŚA OR ĀPADEVĪ. Translated by FRANKLIN EDGERTON. pp. ix, 308. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929. 18s.

Guidance into the intricacies of the principles of Vedic interpretation laid down by the Pūrvamīmāṃsā school has hitherto been afforded in the main by Thibaut's excellent translation and important

introduction to the brief manual of Laugākṣi Bhāskara, which appeared in the Benares Sanskrit Series in 1882. We now owe to the stay of Professor F. Edgerton at Poona in 1926 an equally valuable rendering, made with the aid of Pandit Wamana Sastri Kinjawadekar, of the much more complete treatise of Āpadeva, the *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāṣa*. Like the *Arthasaṃgraha*, the interest of the work is severely technical, for it does not deal with those metaphysical doctrines which render the works of Prabhākara and Kumārila of first-class importance in the history of Indian thought. Nor does it touch on the really important side of the Mīmāṃsā rules, their application in the sphere of the interpretation of Hindu law, on which reference should be made to the *Tagore Law Lectures*, 1905, a valuable treatise somewhat surprisingly ignored by the translator. The *Mīmāṃsānyāyaprakāṣa* serves as the regular introduction to the study of the topic in India, and it is very satisfactory to have it so competently rendered into English, as the result of the co-operation of Western and Eastern scholarship. It may safely be said that it could not have been translated half so satisfactorily in Europe, and Professor Edgerton has been very successful in his endeavour to present the argument in an intelligible form. It is, of course, impossible always to achieve this result. The arguments used in the text frequently are verbal rather than real, and, even when more substantial, they often are subtle to the verge of obscurity.

A few points of more general interest may be noted. Objection is taken to the assertion that Āpadeva's *guru* was Govinda, and the suggestion is made, tentatively (p. 17) and with assurance (p. 189), that the ascription is due to a misunderstanding of s. 396, where reference is made to *Govindagurupādayoḥ*. The identification rests on the view of Aufrecht¹ who doubtless deduced from the opening and closing stanzas that the *guru* was Govinda, the author, as not rarely, combining praise of his teacher with that of the god. That *guru* really refers to the author's father as held by Professor Edgerton is far from certain; it must be noted that, when he does refer to his father (s. 143) it is merely as *asmattātacaraṇās*. Nor is it at all clear that the *Arthasaṃgraha* is to be regarded as prior to Āpadeva (p. 22). This view is contrary to that of Chinnaswami,² and it rests on inadequate evidence. Against it is the fact, pointed out by the editor, that the *Arthasaṃgraha*, though normally very condensed in comparison with the

¹ *Bodleian Catal.*, i, 2196. Cf. Hall, *Bibliog. Index*, p. 185.

² In his edition, Benares, 1925.

Mīmāṃsānyāyaparakāṣa, treats the topic of *arthavāda* more fully, and that in certain places (e.g. s. 362) it is clearer than that text. The fact that in one case, at least, the *Arthasaṃgraha* simply adopts tacitly the view which Āpadeva refutes, can hardly be relied upon to prove that the *Arthasaṃgraha* was the older text. It is impossible to claim that the *Arthasaṃgraha* is in any sense a mere summary of the *Mīmāṃsānyāyaparakāṣa*; Laugākṣi Bhāskara was clearly well versed in philosophy and entitled to choose the views he preferred, without attempting in so short a text to note or refute conflicting views adopted by Āpadeva. On the whole, the impression left from comparison of the texts is in favour of the priority of Laugākṣi Bhāskara. Unluckily so far there is other evidence of a conclusive character to settle priority; everything known of the two writers assigns them to approximately the same period.¹ An interesting point is raised (p. 21) as to the priority of Pārthasārathimīra and Someṣvara, but it is clear that the issue is as yet impossible of solution.

Professor Edgerton takes exception (p. 9, n. 1) to Mahāmahopādhyāya Gaṅgānāth Jhā's rendering of *līṅga* as "indirect implication", contending that it really is the "primary or direct meaning" of a word. But we find that under s. 68 he renders the text's account of *ṣruti* as "direct statement means independent words (words which indicate their meaning directly, expressly, and immediately)". In face of this fact the explanation of *līṅga* is clearly unsatisfactory in point of terminology—which alone is involved, and Gaṅgānāth Jhā's term may be preferred. Nor perhaps is there really justification for the view that Gaṅgānāth Jhā has inverted the meaning of the terms *saṃnipatyopakāraṇāṇi* and *ārādupakāraṇāṇi*, and that the latter term denotes not "indirect subsidiaries", but "immediate subsidiaries", *ārāt* having the sense of *sākṣāt*. There is, of course, no real divergence of view as to what is really meant: the distinction is between subsidiaries which help the rite by adapting some *guṇa*, e.g. a material substance, for use in it, and those which affect the *pradhāna*; the former are *aṅgāṅga*, the latter *pradhānāṅga*. Professor Edgerton's view compels him to render s. 186 as "Such an indirectly-contributing subsidiary is stronger than a directly-contributing one". He seems to hold that in the words (s. 187) *kim cārādupakāraṇam sākṣāt pradhānāṅgam* the word *sākṣāt* is intended to represent *ārāt*; but this is implausible, for the text continues *saṃnipatyopakāraṇam te aṅgāṅgam*, where no attempt is made to explain *saṃnipatyā*; the meaning is

¹ Cf. Keith, *Indian Logic and Atomism*, p. 38.

rather "clearly", and has no reference to *āvat*. Nor does it seem to me probable that in s. 183 *jātidveṣasamkhyādīni* refers to caste, for in such collocations *jāti* has a much more obvious sense.

The editor has given us most conveniently a transcribed text; it is perhaps regrettable that he did not use the India Office MSS., though they would probably not seriously have affected the result. He has been unwearied in the tedious task of discovering the sources of the Brāhmaṇa passages cited,¹ which include some apparently from texts not now extant. A glossarial index of Sanskrit terms deserves the attention of lexicographers, and adds to our indebtedness to the editor for an excellent piece of work.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

DAS DHARMASŪTRA DER VAIKHĀNASAS. Translated with critical and explanatory notes by WILHELM EGGERS. pp. 92. Göttingen: Vandenhoeck & Ruprecht, 1929.

To this useful translation of the *Vaiikhānasa Dharmasūtra* Mr. Eggers, a pupil of Professor Schrader, has prefixed an interesting introduction dealing with the age of the Sūtras of the Vaikhānasas and the position of ascetic dwellers in the forest as depicted in Indian literature. As regards the relation of the Dharmasūtra and the Gṛhyasūtra Mr. Eggers seems to differ from both Dr. Bloch and Professor Caland, for he suggests that, even if the Gryhasūtra should be held to be later than the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra*, this would not necessarily determine the date of the Dharmasūtra. This view appears to be unsound; examination of the two Sūtras in Professor Caland's text confirms the impression that they are by one and the same author, and this is strongly confirmed by the express reference in the Gṛhya, i, 8, to the Dharma, where the necessary passage is found at i, 6. On the other hand, as I have shown elsewhere,¹ there can be no ground for accepting the view that the *Mānava Dharmaśāstra* is posterior to the *Vaiikhānasa Gṛhyasūtra*. Mr. Eggers does not define his attitude to the question of the priority of the Āraṇyaka to the Gṛhya, otherwise than by citing without comment Bloch's view that the Gṛhya and Dharma are dependent on the Āraṇyaka, though not by the same author. Professor Caland is now ² convinced that the relation in time must be

¹ *RSOS.* iv, 623 f.

² Translation (1929), p. xlii.

reversed, but the evidence is difficult. Professor Caland relies on the fact that the *Gṛhyasūtra* twice refers to the *Ṣrauta*. The references are i, 8: *pātrasruvādāyo yajñe proktāḥ*, which is true of the *Ṣrauta* ix, 7-11, and which *prima facie* would imply a pre-existing *Ṣrauta* contrary to the view put forward. Incidentally, it is clear that the rendering "The vessels, as the *sruva* and so on", is incorrect; the *pātra* here is a specific vessel according to the rules of grammar, as the *Bhāṣya* and the *Darpaṇa* recognize. The second passage, iii, 6, has *yajñapṛāyaçcitta vakṣyāmaḥ*, where a reference to the *Ṣrauta*, xx, 7, is suggested. It must be noted, however, that the phrase used is not *yajñe* but *yajñapṛāyaçcitta*, and that the term *vakṣyāmaḥ* contradicts the view, both of Bloch and Caland, that the *Ṣrauta* is not by the same hand as the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma*. Moreover, there is a very important passage, not mentioned in Caland's introduction (p. xii), which tells seriously against the theory. In the *Dharma*, i, 3, the preparations of the *kunḍas* is to be made *yathoktam*, and there is no doubt that the reference is to the opening chapters of the *Ṣrautasūtra*. The *Bhāṣya*, indeed, glosses *vakṣyamāṇaṣrautaprakāreṇa*, but we cannot so lightly turn a past into a future, and the only possible conclusion is that the writer had the *Ṣrauta* before him. Dr. Caland holds that the fact that the *Ṣrauta* merely mentions the *piṇḍapitṛyajña*, which is usually described in *Ṣrauta* texts, and in this case is set out in the *Gṛhya*, is conclusive proof of the priority of the latter, but this is clearly unsound. There is no reference in the *Ṣrauta* to any other text by such words as *yathoktam*, and it is an equally valid suggestion that the *piṇḍapitṛyajña* is described in the *Gṛhya* because it was not dealt with in the *Ṣrauta*. The conclusion in fact seems inevitable that the writer of the *Gṛhya* and *Dharma* had the *Ṣrauta* before him, and, if we accept the view that the reference in *Gṛhya*, iii, 6, is to the *Ṣrauta*, we must assume that this part of that text was added by the author of the *Gṛhya*; in the alternative, we must assume that he dealt with the point in a *Yajñapṛāyaçcitta* text, which is in itself a very reasonable supposition. In any case, it is clear that Dr. Caland has involved himself in needless difficulty regarding *pūrvavat* in *Dharma*, ii, 5, where he writes that *pūrvavat* cannot refer to the sacrifices here mentioned because the *Ṣrautasūtra* follows after the *Gṛhya*- and *Dharma*-sūtras, and suggests that it refers to the manner in which the sacrificial substances are gathered. In all probability the reference is not so much to *Dharma*, i, 5, as taken by Eggers, but to the account of *āgrayaneṣṭi* in the *Gṛhya*, iv, 2, though reference to the *Ṣrauta* cannot

be absolutely negated on the evidence. Professor Caland suggests also that the Āraṇya may have borrowed from the Gṛhya two *mantras* which appear in it, though also found in the *Vaiṣṇānasa Saṁhitā*, which he believes to be later than, or at least contemporary with, the Gṛhya text. The evidence for this view of the relation of Sūtra and Saṁhitā is not at all satisfactory. In the Gṛhya, v, 4, a number of *mantras* are given and described as *āsīdantāni*, which Caland renders as "in each of which the word 'was' is to be supplied"; from the fact that the Saṁhitā gives the *mantras* in full with *āsīt* added, he concludes that the Sūtrakāra made the error and was followed by the Saṁhitā. But, though it is clear that there is an error, for the verb needed is *gacchatu*, it is by no means clear that the error was not in the Saṁhitā, and the word *āsīdantāni* may simply be rendered "ending with *āsīt*" the Sūtrakāra saving himself the trouble of repeating the word in each *mantra*, in accordance with the normal rule of saving any useless term. In fact, by this device thirty-two repetitions of "was" or "were" are avoided, and this version saves us from reading a very unusual sense into the simple word *anta*. On the other hand, in ii, 6, and iii, 5, of the Gṛhya are respectively the words *athāha* and *saṁcāsti*, which are found in the *mantras* of the Saṁhitā, and therefore look as if taken from the Gṛhya. But the Gṛhya in iii, 23, recognizes the *mantra*, *godānam unattu*, which is in the Saṁhitā, and Caland traces back the *mantra* to a misunderstood *godānam unatti*, which must mean that the Saṁhitā in this respect is based on a misunderstood Sūtra text; the obvious conclusion, therefore, is that the Saṁhitā's errors are due to use of an older Sūtra than our present text. Caland (p. 59, n. 15) ascribes the Sūtra's error to misunderstanding an older Sūtra, but it seems far more natural to place the blame on the compiler of the Saṁhitā. The matter seems to be decided against Caland's view by his own note on iii, 3; there the Sūtra unquestionably gives as a *mantra* a text which is found in the Saṁhitā as such, but which is indubitably a piece of Sūtra text. On Caland's hypothesis we must suppose that the Sūtra misunderstood an older Sūtra and created a *mantra* which the Saṁhitā inserted; it is surely far easier to suppose that the compiler of the Saṁhitā made the error, a much more simple thing for him to do than for the writer of a Sūtra.

Mr. Eggers has not merely given us a translation, but also valuable critical notes, which form an important supplement to the text of Caland. The text is in very poor preservation, and conjectures are

justified, though often uncertain, as in the case of *ummajjaka* for the certainly odd *ummattaka* in i, 7. In i, 8, *ṣaivālakṣhādino* is plausible; it might be put as *ṣaiphālakṣhādino* to explain the variant *ṣaīlaphalākṣhādino*¹; in i, 9, *gūhanaveṣa* is possible in place of *grahaṇaveṣa* which makes little if any sense. But in ii, 14, the conjecture *taṭākasyodake* for *parasyodake* is clearly far too bold, and the text is shown sound by such a parallel as *Yājñavalkya*, i, 159. In many cases it is difficult to determine whether the text is at fault or not; it is not clear that in i, 11, the account of the Bhrūmadhyagas is correctly rendered by Eggers or Caland; the term *pralayāntam* in neither version is fully intelligible. On the other hand, Egger's rendering of the views of the Asambhaktas is clearly preferable to Caland's; *tatpratipādanāgamam* must mean "the doctrine which leads to him (i.e. the deity)", not "its (the All-soul's coming) which by this (meditation) is brought about". In i, 3, *niveditabhaikṣabhojī* must simply mean "eating food which he has duly reported to the teacher", and not "subsisting on the alms which he has (gathered and) delivered over (to his teacher who, thereupon, allows him a quantity)". Nor does it seem plausible to take in i, 9, *vrkṣaikamūle* as hypersandhi for *vrkṣa ekamūle* and see a contrast to the *nyagrodha* tree; the locution is reminiscent of phrases like *vanaikadeṣe*, and Eggers, probably rightly, takes it merely as "an einer Baumwurzel". The last words of i, 10, present difficulties; Caland renders "go against even (the God) on whom there must be contemplation", which accords in a measure with the commentary; Eggers has "ändern [von Glied zu Glied] auch ihr Meditationsobjekt". But this can hardly be right; possibly the point is that the Vimārgagas, while they perform the full eight members of Yoga, go astray in diverting their minds from Viṣṇu. Many of the names of classes of ascetics are extremely obscure; an interesting guess as to Saṁdarṣanavṛttikas will be found in an addendum in Eggers, p. 92; his attempt to explain udagraphalins (p. 22) is less plausible. But the corrupt text lends abundant room for doubt, and it is perhaps surprising that both translators are content to accept i, 1, as assigning agriculture to Çūdras, when it is easy to suppose that there is merely a textual error; the text now reads *vaiçyasya pāçupālyakuṣādanāñijyāni çūdrasya deījanmanām çuērūgā kṛṣiḥ caiva*; the displacement is *kṛṣiḥ caiva* may have been motivated by the desire to ascribe to the Vaiçyas as to the Kṣatriyas six *karmāṇi*, as in the case of the

¹ Kumbakonam ed. *ṣaīlaphalakṣhādino*; Caland *ṣaīlaphalakṣhādino*; Bhāṣya *aphalakṣhādino*.

Brahmins ; what is important is that in the account of the functions of the *ghasthas* in i, 5, we have the *vārtāvṛtti* described as *kṛṣigorakṣya-vāñijyopajīvī*. If the text had to be accepted as validly preserved, we should have to assume that it was compiled in some area where agriculture was especially the work of Cūdras. In i, 9, *sarvātmanāḥ* must clearly mean " who regard all as the self ", a sense suggested by *sarvasamāḥ* preceding, and not, as Caland, " being entirely absorbed into the Ātman." In i, 2, *stheyāt* is amazing, and one can hardly see why a deliberate archaism should be attempted. In i, 4, the adverbial *sodakam* is paralleled by other adverbial usages enumerated by Caland (p. 237).

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

CAMANISTAN I SHU'ARĀ. By LACHMĪ NARĀYAN SHAFĪQ, of Aurangābād.

Edited by ABDUL HAQ. 8½ × 5¼. pp. 25, 565. Aurangabad, 1928.

This is a Persian *taẓkira* (biographical anthology) of Urdu poets ; it was compiled in the year 1761 by a youthful poet known in his Persian verse as Shafiq and in his Rekhta as Šāhib. He was brought up in the Deccan, where his father held a responsible position under the State Government. He wrote several historical works and compiled three anthologies. *Shām-i-Garībān* has extracts from Irānī poets who visited India ; *Gul-i-Ra'nā* deals with Indian poets who wrote in Persian, while the third (the work under review) is an anthology of Rekhta poets.

Its contents are taken largely from Mir's *Nikāt ush Shu'arā*, 1752, and *Taẓkira e Fath 'Alī*, together with considerable additions of his own from earlier *taẓkiras*. The arrival in the Deccan of the two anthologies just named created a sensation and gave rise to a keen desire to possess them. The difficulty of obtaining copies led Shafiq to bring out a collection of his own which differs from others in giving the poets in the order of the letters of the Abjad instead of the alphabet. It is worthy of note that he shows much annoyance with Mir for his depreciatory remarks about Yaqīn, for he himself places Yaqīn on a level with Saudā.

Only a single copy of the anthology is known to exist. That copy is worm-eaten and almost illegible. Its deciphering was a task of great difficulty. The editor has written an introduction of twenty-five pages discussing both Shafiq's Urdu poetry and his *taẓkira*. Here

and there he has quoted freely from an interesting Persian anthology known as *Tuhfat ush Shu'arā*, prepared in 1752 by Afzal Beg. It professedly deals with the Persian writings of Indian poets, but occasionally their Urdu verse is referred to.

Maulvi Abdul Haq has given us a good piece of work which must have cost him great labour, and we feel our indebtedness to him ever increasing. This volume reflects much credit upon him.

In *Tajallī* for October, 1927, there is an article by Tamkīn Kāzīmī written before *Shamanistān i Shu'arā* was published. The author discusses the Dakni poets mentioned in the anthology.

T. G. B.

TAZKIRA I SHU'ARĀ E URDŪ. By MİR ḤASAN. Edited by MUHAMMAD ḤABĪB UE RAḤMĀN SHARVĀNĪ. 8 × 5, pp. 226. Aligarh.

Ḥabīb ur Raḥmān has published under this name the *Tazkira e Shu'arā e Hindī*, by the well-known Urdu poet Mīr Ḥasan. It is important to have such a work in print, although all its dates and many of its statements are questionable. The editor has written an introduction of 38 pp.; the second half of it is devoted to quotations from the *tazkira* itself. The date of the original work is about 1776. Mīr Ḥasan's poem known as *Maṣnavī e Mīr Ḥasan* or *Siḥr ul Bayān* is the most popular work in Urdu. For an article on Mīr Ḥasan and Dakni poets, see *Tajallī*, October, 1927, pp. 47-54.

T. G. B.

MAKHZAN I NIKĀT. By QĀIM. Edited by ABDUL HAQ. 8½ × 5½, pp. 26, 79. Aurangabad, 1929.

Qāim's famous anthology has never before been printed. Like all *tazkiras* of Urdu poets compiled before the nineteenth century, it is in Persian. There is a useful introduction of twenty-five pages; nine discuss Qāim, his anthology, and his poetry, and sixteen give extracts from his poems. There are quotations from 114 poets, including two pages from Qāim himself. It was compiled in 1754, and is thus one of the earliest anthologies. Four lines in Persian and Urdu, rightly condemned as unauthentic, are quoted from *Shekh Sa'di Shīrāzī*. The Anjuman i Taraqqī e Urdu and its talented Secretary, the editor, are to be congratulated on this work.

T. G. B.

INTIKHĀB I KULLIYAT I SAUDĀ. Edited by MUTTALIB HUSAIN.
7½ × 4½, pp. 3, 274. Allahabad, 1927.

This is a very handy selection from the works of the great Urdu poet Saudā. The main divisions are *gazals*, *qaṣīdas*, *maḡnavīs*, and *marṣiyas*, but *maṭla's*, *afrād*, *rubā'īs*, *qīṭas*, and poems in the *mukhammas* or *musaddas* stanza are included. Though it is no longer possible to say with Sir Charles Lyall that Saudā is by common consent the greatest of Urdu poets, we may safely say that he is still regarded as coming into the first half-dozen, and this small volume will be welcome to many, especially to those who know the old paper-bound 600 paged edition which falls to pieces in their hands.

T. GRAHAME BAILEY.

MILITARY SYSTEM OF THE MARATHAS, WITH A BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THEIR
MARITIME ACTIVITIES. By Dr. SUBENDRANATH SEN. Calcutta :
The Book Company, Ltd., 1928.

Dr. Sen has made Maratha history his special study, and is already well known as one of the leading authorities on this subject. This book appears to me to be the most valuable of all his works, the mature fruit of research and study. It is a minute account of Shivaji's military system, and of its development and decline, but it is much more than this, for it describes how social and political influences affected the military ideals of the Marathas, and explains very clearly the reasons for their decay as a military and political power. The chapter on *chauth* and *sardeshmukhi* is most instructive in its explanation of the change in the nature of *chauth*, which, as levied by Shivaji, was frankly blackmail levied on an enemy, and, as received by his successors, was an imperial grant made in return for military services, performed or promised. Shivaji's dream was to expel the Mughuls and establish not only a Hindu, but a Maratha, empire. The Peshwas perceived the impossibility of realizing this dream, and substituted for it the project of establishing a Hindu empire, but Rajput and Maratha could not agree, and finally the Marathas were content to fight merely in order to maintain the predominance of their influence at a Muslim court.

The chapter on the revival of feudalism, the primary cause of the decay of the Maratha monarchy, traces that decay from the grant of fiefs by Shahu, Shivaji's grandson, to Angria and Balaji Vishvanath to the period when the Maratha army consisted of feudal levies and foreign mercenaries, Sikhs, Rajputs, Sindhis, Canarese, Rohillas,

Arabs, Abyssinians, "Topasses," and Europeans, which he rightly describes as even more disastrous to the Maratha power than the revival of the feudal system.

The chapters on the Maratha infantry and cavalry, on Shivaji's forts, and on artillery are also instructive. Forts were Shivaji's last line of defence, but a very sure one, for they were well furnished with provisions and ammunition, from their position they could hardly be mined, the enemy's artillery could seldom approach near enough to damage them seriously, and the imperial troops, not sufficiently courageous to carry them by storm, very seldom took any fort but by bribery. Of the Maratha artillery Dr. Sen justly says they "had borrowed a scientific weapon without mastering its science, and unintelligent imitation seldom leads to success". The employment of troops trained after the European fashion might be similarly criticized. The tactics of these troops differed so entirely from the traditional Maratha tactics that the two could not be combined, yet the later Maratha leaders persisted in attempting to combine them, and this, as Dr. Sen shows, was one of the chief causes of their defeat at the third battle of Panipat, and afterwards at Assaye.

Dr. Sen has hardly laid sufficient stress on the personal responsibility of Sambhaji for the disappearance of discipline from the Maratha army. It was he who first permitted women to accompany troops in the field, and his troops to capture women, whom they either kept or sold as slaves.

No fewer than eighty-five pages of the book are devoted to the birth of the Maratha navy under Shivaji, its growth under the Angrias, and its maturity and decay under the Peshwas. Dr. Sen concludes this naval record with an interesting chapter on "Piracy, or the Sovereignty of the Sea". This is as complete a chronicle of the naval affairs of the Marathas as I have seen.

Finally, the causes of the decay of the Maratha power are thus concisely summed up: "The State degenerated from a national monarchy to a feudal confederacy, the army degenerated from a well-disciplined national force to an ill-disciplined band of mercenaries, and the military leaders degenerated from simple, hardy soldiers to ease-loving voluptuaries. There could be but one result of such a general and all-round degeneration."

The book is a most valuable contribution to the history of India in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

A HISTORY OF MUGHAL NORTH-EAST FRONTIER POLICY. By SUDHINDRA NATH BHATTACHARYYA. Calcutta: Chuckerverthy, Chatterjee & Co., Ltd., 1929.

The title of this bulky book is misleadingly modest. It is not merely a history of the North-East frontier policy of the Mughul emperors, but an account of the history, geography, fauna, flora, climate, peoples, religion, manners and customs, society, economics, agriculture, trade, industries, political institutions, military organization and tactics, and naval tactics of the three States with which that policy was concerned. It also contains a fairly full account of the Muslims in Bengal and of their frontier policy before Akbar ascended the throne. Much of this can only be described as padding. Such information on these subjects as is required as an introduction to an account of the imperial frontier policy might have been contained in ten pages, instead of nearly a hundred. The subject of the work, though not hitherto entirely neglected, as witness Sir Edward Gait's *History of Assam*, has not perhaps received the attention which it merits, for it is interesting and historically important, and the author throws much light upon it. His industry is praiseworthy, but he would do well to study the art of expressing himself concisely. The bibliography affords some evidence of his industry, and is a useful guide to students of the subject with which he deals.

He would be well advised to study some models of English prose. "Queer" and "plucky" are not dignified descriptions of a cruel and capricious or a brave man; "rotting," though sometimes applied in India to one who has the misfortune to pass a night in a police cell, is not accurate as applied to a prince detained at the imperial court; a leader who suffers a defeat may be obliged to fly, but not to "fly away", as though on the wings of a dove; ammunition is singular, but munitions in the military sense should always take the plural form, while "fuel" should always take the singular. "Munition" and "fuels" blemish the pages of this book. "To topsyturvy" is not an English verb; "diabolical," applied three times in two pages to a deceiver, is a needlessly strong expression. In an English work troops should be numbered in hundreds of thousands, not in *lakhs*, and a force of 20,000 men is not well described as a "batch". Such expressions as "*agar* wood" and "*bapta* cloth" should be explained, either in brackets or in notes. Many other expressions in the book betray a lack of familiarity with English idiom, and the text should be carefully revised.

WOLSELEY HAIG.

AFGHANISTAN: FROM DARIUS TO AMANULLAH. By Lieut.-General Sir GEORGE MACMUNN. 8vo, pp. xii, 359. London: G. Bell and Sons, 1929. 21s.

This book is not based upon an exhaustive examination of the available records, but is an attempt to present the story of Afghanistan in all its absorbing interest to those who would view it from the comfort of the easy chair. In his introduction Sir George Macmunn makes the somewhat startling statement that the inseparable connection geographically, politically, and ethnologically between Afghanistan and India has never been emphasized. Surely this is not true. Even a superficial knowledge of the books and pamphlets dealing with this problem, of which the number is legion, would convince the most casual reader that nothing has been more emphasized. Nevertheless, the author has given us a thrilling account of this close connection between India and Afghanistan. Century after century hordes of invaders have swept like devastating torrents through the mountain passes of the North-West. Dark, inhospitable nullahs, lonely mountain glens, and barren, wind-swept rāghzas have resounded to the tramp of Asiatic armies. Persian, Greek, and Afghan, the forces of Alexander and the armies of Mahmud of Ghazni, the hosts of Timur, Babur, and Nadir Shah, and the troops of Ahmad Shah Durrani, all advanced by these routes to lay waste the fair and smiling plains of Hindustan. The history of invasions from Central Asia proves that the frontier zone, from the banks of the Indus to the Afghan slopes of the Sulaiman range, has never presented any real barrier to an enterprising general.

The student of the Afghan problem must needs walk warily. Innumerable pamphlets have been written on this subject for the purpose of furthering party interests. In some cases even the Blue Books have been garbled, as was the case with the letters of Sir Alexander Burnes to the Indian Government. Valuable as are the memoirs of generals and frontier administrators, they nearly all suffer from a lack of perspective, and, in many instances, display considerable ignorance of the great Imperial issues at stake. It can, however, be safely affirmed that Afghanistan owes its very independence to its peculiar geographical position, which makes it the glacis of the fortress of Hindustan. Had it not been for the fact that the British in India recognized the importance of a friendly and independent buffer state between them and the Russians in Central Asia, Abdur Rahman Khan would never have succeeded in forming a group of autonomous

democracies, owing but a vague allegiance to the ruler of Kabul, into a strongly centralized military State. Although other factors, such as the intrigues of the Amirs with the frontier tribesmen, have, in recent years, played their part in determining Anglo-Afghan relations, by far the most important has been Russia's steady march across the steppes of Central Asia. If Napoleon and the Czars of Russia had not entertained ideas of an invasion of India ; if they had not intrigued to our detriment both in Persia and Afghanistan ; and if the Black Eagle had never winged its flight across the Caucasus, in all probability our relations with Central Asian States would have been purely commercial in character.

Sir George Macmunn's account of the racial divisions of Afghanistan should be of interest to the general reader. His contention that the Afghan claim to Hebraic descent is supported by very little in the way of evidence is sound. In fact, numerous theories have been put forward to explain the origin of the Afghans. They have been traced to Copts, Jews, Armenians, Albanians, Turks, Arabs, and Rajputs. Most of these theories are those of writers living in a pre-scientific age, before the examination of anthropometric data revolutionized the study of ethnological problems. They may therefore be dismissed as fanciful. The traditions of any people are useful in that they throw light on national characteristics, and often on their origin, but the Afghan claim to Hebraic descent is supported only by wild, fictitious genealogies. It is the outcome of a widespread practice amongst Muhammadans, by which they claim or invent some connection with the Prophet or with noted personages whose names occur in the Koran or other sacred writings. Travellers and explorers are unanimous in declaring that the Afghan has pronounced Semitic features. It is true that, as a rule, the Afghan nose is long and curved, but this Jewish or, rather, Hittite nose, is very widespread, and is a characteristic of races in no way connected with the Children of Israel. Lastly, the prevalence of Biblical names together with the existence of Jewish customs, have been brought forward in support of this theory. To ward off the Angel of Death, certain tribes have a custom resembling the Passover, in which they sprinkle the blood of an animal over the door posts of a house where a sick person resides. Another ceremony is the placing of the sins of the people upon a heifer, which is driven out into the wilderness in the same manner as the Biblical scapegoat. In addition to these, the offering up of sacrifices, the stoning to death of blasphemers, and a periodical redistribution of lands have been cited

in support of this theory. Mention has also been made of a sort of Levitical clan amongst the Pathans, in which priestly functions are invested. The use of Biblical names and customs is common to all Muhammadans; the Prophet himself adopted them from the Jews around him. In any case, it would not be correct to trace customs, such as the use of a scapegoat, to Israelites alone.

The book we are reviewing is not free from certain slips. Alptigin was not succeeded by Sabuktigin, as is implied on page 27, but by his own son, Is-haq, after whose death, in A.D. 966, another slave, one Baltigin, ruled for a time in Ghazni. The immediate predecessor of Sabuktigin was not Alptigin, as the author states, but Pirai, who came to the throne in A.D. 972. Again, on page 33, the statement occurs that Sultan Khusrav, the last of the Ghaznavids, was sent a prisoner to Ghazni, though history does not record his further fate. As a matter of fact, some authorities definitely state that Sultan Khusrav remained a prisoner until A.D. 1192, when he was put to death as a dangerous incumbrance.

Besides these minor slips there is much that is controversial in the author's account of Anglo-Afghan relations. It would also be interesting to know what lies hidden behind the reference to temporary officers on page 257. It can, however, be safely stated that this book will be useful in giving a general view of a complicated subject, and as a starting-point for more intensive study.

C. COLLIN DAVIES.

THE MOST NOBLE AND FAMOUS TRAVELS OF MARCO POLO, TOGETHER WITH THE TRAVELS OF NICOLÒ DE' CONTI. Edited from the Elizabethan Translation of John Frampton, with Introduction, Notes, and Appendixes, by N. M. PENZER. pp. lx, 381. London: The Argonaut Press, 1929. £2 2s.

Mr. Penzer and the Argonaut Press are to be warmly congratulated on this new contribution to the ever-increasing number of Marco Polo editions. Although the text is merely a reprint of an early and little known English version, namely Frampton's translation of Santaella's Spanish, Mr. Penzer has taken this as a peg on which to hang the results of the latest researches and discoveries in the field of "Poliana". And his introduction, notes, and maps form an important

contribution to our knowledge both of the bibliography of the Polo Manuscripts and of the itineraries followed by Marco Polo in his various journeys.

The two most recent editions of this famous book of travel are the French edition of Charignon, published in Pekin, in which Chinese sources have been fully drawn upon, and the all-important "variorum" edition of *il Milione*, published by Professor Benedetto of Florence, two years ago.

Professor Benedetto's text opens a new epoch in the history of this engrossing subject; and until it appeared the famous Yule-Cordier edition represented the last stage reached in scholarly investigation of the numerous Polo manuscripts. It has been Benedetto's difficult task, for which he was linguistically and in other ways so well equipped, to reconsider this problem in the light of newly discovered manuscripts. His labours have carried the story many stages further, and his conclusions have been admirably summarized in Mr. Penzer's introduction to the volume under review. I cannot in this place recapitulate the details of this interesting inquiry, but will merely indicate the most important results reached by the Italian scholar:—

(1) He fully establishes the claims of the famous Paris manuscript Bibliothèque Nationale fr. 1116, and takes it as the main text of his "variorum" edition.

(2) The famous edition prepared by Ramusio and published two years after his death in 1559 is known to contain whole chapters, passages, and expressions which are not found in any of the manuscripts known to Yule. Professor Benedetto had the good fortune to discover in the Ambrosian Library at Milan a copy made in 1795 of a manuscript dating from the fourteenth-fifteenth century, which once belonged to Cardinal Zelada. This manuscript was found to contain many but by no means all of the fragments which occur only in Ramusio's edition, but the Zelada text cannot be the one utilized by Ramusio, as it contains a number of passages which are not in Ramusio or in any of the known manuscripts. It is thus evident that although the Zelada text helps to bring us nearer to the original than we have hitherto been, the whole problem is not yet solved and a still more important manuscript may any day be unearthed from the unexplored treasures of European Libraries.

I may be permitted to mention here that Professor Benedetto has prepared an Italian translation based on his "variorum" edition, and that an English translation made under the supervision of

Professor Benedetto is to be published in the "Broadway Travellers" Series.

Of more general interest, perhaps, are Mr. Penzer's attempts to trace the route followed by the three Polos to the court of the great Khan and their return journey, by sea, to the Persian Gulf, and thence home via Trebizond. He also traces the various journeys made by Marco Polo during his long residence at the Mongol Court. It has always been an important point in tracing these itineraries to distinguish carefully between the places actually visited by the traveller and those only spoken of by hearsay. In support of his arguments, Mr. Penzer has prepared no less than eleven excellent maps for some of which he acknowledges the help he has derived from Sir Aurel Stein's *Innermost Asia*.

Frampton's translation, of which only three copies are known to exist to-day, was published in 1579. The Spanish original by Santaella was first published in 1503, and was several times reprinted. The original Italian manuscript from which Santaella made his translation is preserved in the Biblioteca del Seminario at Seville.

Frampton's English translation, which is here reproduced, without change, makes delightful reading, and being the translation of a simple narrative is free from those tedious ethical reflections and pompous verbosity which we so often find in Elizabethan books of travel.

One or two trivial errors may, perhaps, be mentioned: page xxxvi in two places for Jirupt read Jiruft, page xxxviii for Hasan Shabah read Hasan Sabbāh, page xxxix for Balk read Balkh, page xlii for Muzaffarabāb read Muzaffarābād, the same page for Khotān read Khotan.

In conclusion a word must be said in praise of the admirable index and of the very handsome manner in which this volume has been produced.

E. DENISON ROSS.

THE CURRENCY OF THE FAR EAST. By FR. SCHJÖTH. $13\frac{1}{4} \times 8\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 94 of text + 132 of illustrations. London (Luzac) and Oslo (Aschehoug), 1929.

Besides numerous articles in periodicals and pamphlets, several works on Chinese currency have been published by Western writers. Vissering's treatise appeared as long ago as 1877, and it was followed in 1889 by Georgievsky's monograph on the ancient coins. Terrien

de Lacouperie's catalogue of Chinese coins in the British Museum is dated 1892. Between the years 1895 and 1907, three volumes descriptive of the Glover Collection were published by Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart, who also compiled a catalogue of his own collection which came out in 1915 as an extra volume of the *Journal of the North China Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society*.

None of these treats the subject comprehensively. Sir J. H. Stewart Lockhart's works cover the largest field and are the most reliable; but they are confined to descriptions of the two collections. Vissering's monograph is meagre and requires much revision; Lacouperie copied Vissering copiously (including the errors), without acknowledgment.

Whoever attempts to produce the standard work on Chinese currency has a stupendous task. Mere familiarity with the immense native literature on the subject is only part of the preparation needed; he should be able to criticize these works, and to re-examine countless problems with scientific scepticism. He should be possessed of extraordinarily wide epigraphic and archaeological knowledge. He should also find representative examples of all known types, and exclude the numerous counterfeits. Photography should replace the usual wood-cuts which depend for accuracy on the skill of both artist and block-cutter.

The book under review is not a standard work. It is the catalogue of a collection which the author made during twenty-five years spent in China as a member of the Customs Service, and which he lately presented to the Numismatic Cabinet of the University of Oslo. The scope is therefore limited; and, though the Collection is large and varied, many known types are absent. Some coins from Corea, Japan, and Annam are included. The illustrations are facsimile reproductions of "hand-drawn sketches, taken directly from each coin" by the author's daughter, Mrs. Heyerdahl. As guides to the identification of coins they may serve a useful purpose; but they are hardly accurate enough to satisfy the requirements of numismatic specialists. In the descriptions several of the best-known Chinese works are freely quoted, but without critical discrimination, and often without specific reference. The English, too, is very strange in places, and it might with advantage have been revised by someone whose native tongue is English.

Nevertheless, the work is obviously the outcome of much patient labour, and it will be welcomed not only by the few who specialize

in this domain of numismatics but by those who study Chinese symbolism. The section on charms or amulets, for instance, contains numerous examples of the rebus and felicitous motto. A long list giving the weights of the coins, as determined by Dr. Hans Holst, is the most valuable contribution from a scientific point of view.

There is, by the way, a discrepancy between the title on the front page and that on the cover. The former is *The Currency of the Far East*, and it is more appropriate than *Chinese Currency* which is printed on the cover.

W. PERCEVAL YETTS.

THE DOCUMENTS OF IRIKI. Translated and edited by K. ASAKAWA. 10 $\frac{1}{2}$ in., pp. xvi, 442 [71]. Yale University Press, 1929.

This is not a book for the general reader; but to the advanced student already equipped with a knowledge of the history of feudal institutions in Europe, and of France in particular, it will be invaluable. The Documents, which deal mainly with questions relating to land and fiefs in which the ancient family of Iriki in Kyūshū were interested, number 155, and are printed in both Japanese and English. Dr. Asakawa has been singularly fortunate in being able to obtain access to such valuable material, and it is equally fortunate for the student that its translation and editing should have fallen into such able hands. The book opens with a scholarly Introduction dealing with the early history of the House of Shimadzu—one of the most powerful and famous among Japan's territorial nobility—and of the lesser family of the Shibuya, with its branch, the Iriki, which in the early Middle Ages were rivals with the Shimadzu for supremacy in South Kyūshū. The Introduction is followed by a "Summary of Points" covering 40 closely printed pages in which, under the headings of (a) origin, (b) development, (c) relations between lord and vassal, and (d) régime, the editor discusses with great wealth of reference prominent features in the genesis and development of feudal institutions in Japan, and, for the benefit and guidance of the student, notes numerous points in connection with which a comparison with similar institutions in feudal Europe, and particularly France, would be both interesting and profitable. A copious Bibliography follows, and then come the Documents themselves. As we have already said, they are concerned mainly with matters relating to land, cadastral surveys, conditions of tenure, grants, devises, incidence of taxation, etc.; but they deal

also with a variety of other subjects, such as summons to arms, records of military services, claims for grants based on such services, the conditions under which vassals discharged their guard duty at the palace in Kyoto or at the seat of government, etc., and all are carefully annotated or prefaced by illuminating comments. There is not space here to touch on the many interesting and frequently very complicated questions discussed by Dr. Asakawa; but two we should like to notice briefly, the evolution of the warrior caste, and the relation between lord and vassal. In the very early stages of the feudal system there was little distinction between the fighting man and the man who tilled the soil, for the latter was generally soldier as well as farmer; but as the feudal system gradually developed and the struggles for supremacy between rival barons became fiercer and more prolonged, farmer and soldier slowly drifted apart to form two distinct classes, one occupied solely with the cultivation of the land and the other with warfare. In this process the warrior's interests in the land step by step diminished, the various rights (*shiki*) which he held in it passed one by one into the hands of the cultivator, and more and more as time went on the conditions of his existence forced him and his class to abandon their former homes and to collect in separate communities in the immediate neighbourhood of the fortress of the lord whose vassals they were. When Hideyoshi made his famous cadastral survey in 1587, the process was practically complete, and a distinct warrior caste had come into existence, wholly unproductive, with service to a feudal lord as its sole function, and rewarded for that service by grants of rice from the baronial granary. The term *hyakusho*, which originally meant a person having a family name, had completely lost its earlier honourable significance, and was now used as a generic term for the tillers of the soil, persons who had no right to bear a name. But if the peasant and the farmer had become inferior in the social scale, they were not without certain compensating advantages. They were virtually owners of the land they cultivated, their taxable capacity was carefully defined and regulated, and the rural communities (*mura*) of which they were members, although under a collective responsibility to the feudal lord, at the same time enjoyed a large measure of self-government. What precisely the position of the tenant farmer was it is difficult to say; but at all events serfage in the European sense of the term appears never to have existed in Japan. With regard to the relations of lord and vassal, Dr. Asakawa draws attention to an interesting point, the weakness of the mutuality

of the contract in Japan as compared with Europe. In the latter the lord referred to his feudal court the trial of charges brought against him by his vassal; in the former he admitted only the vassal's right to petition, but not to sue. Justice was, in fact, not so much a matter of obligation on one side or of right on the other as a part of the lord's duty as a general ruler. Bald and laconic though many of the Documents are, there are among them a number with a distinct human interest. Take, for instance, the suit between Yoshida Nobutada and Shibuya Jōshin over a question of *shiki*, which the latter was alleged to have taken from the former (Doc. No. 16), the repudiation by Teraō Jōbun of his sons Yōichi and Shichirō in 1277, which resulted in a family quarrel lasting many years (Doc. 26, et seq.), the various papers relating to guard service, the surrender of Iriki domains to the House of Shimadzu in 1574 (Doc. No. 145), thus marking the final capitulation of the weaker to the stronger, and, last but not least, the documents dealing with the downfall of the feudal regime in 1867 (Doc. No. 155). The English section of the book closes with a series of genealogical tables of the various branches of the Iriki family and of the House of Shimadzu. Altogether, we have here a collection of historical papers of immense interest, and we look forward with pleasurable anticipation to the appearance of Dr. Asakawa's work on the feudal system in Kyūshū generally, which will doubtless contain in succinct and compendious form the final results of his investigations. The printing of the Documents is admirable; but page 32 seems to be missing, its place being taken by page 42, which has been printed twice over. We should like to register a mild protest against Dr. Asakawa's substitution of the letters *zh* for *j* in the spelling of Japanese names, and of the word "church" for "temple". On the authority of scholars like Satow, Aston, and Chamberlain, we venture to think that *j* is preferable to *zh*, and that, for instance, *Hongwanji* more closely approximates to the Japanese sound than does *Hongwanzhi*. Nor are we convinced by Dr. Asakawa's arguments in favour of the use of the words "church" and "temple" for "tera" and "sha", but, with proper insular conservatism, adhere to our predilection for the terms "temple" and "shrine", which, apart from other reasons, have the merit of long use. But these are very minor matters.

HAROLD PARLETT.

THE ELEMENTS OF JAPANESE WRITING. By Commander N. E. ISEMONGER, R.N. (Ret.). James G. Forlong Fund, Vol. VIII, 11 in., pp. vii, 253. London: Royal Asiatic Society, 1929. £1 5s.

It is related that a certain early Jesuit missionary, when questioned as to the origin of Chinese ideographs, replied that they were certainly the invention of the Devil whose ingenuity had devised this obstacle for those who wished to preach the gospel in the Middle Kingdom. But it is rather the student who makes his first acquaintance with the Chinese ideograph in its Japanese dress, that is justified in ascribing its origin to an evil power. As adapted to Japanese needs, most Chinese characters have several possible meanings and many alternative pronunciations, only one of which is correct in any given circumstances. The difficulties of the student are therefore of no mean order. They have been met by the late Professor Chamberlain's *A Practical Introduction to the Study of Japanese Writing*, a scholarly treatise that deals with some 3,000 characters, contains an immense amount of matter appertaining to them, and combines the functions of a textbook with those of an authoritative work of reference; but it is necessarily a ponderous volume, contains much outside the scope of the beginner, and unfortunately it is out of print.

The present book, intended for beginners, is based on Professor Chamberlain's methods; part of an early section of the larger work is (by permission) reproduced, and this, with some rearrangement, the addition of exercises and a great deal of helpful explanatory matter, has been welded into a homogeneous whole and successfully compressed into a handy volume of convenient size and shape, without resorting to small type. Keeping in view the requirements of the elementary student, only 400 characters are considered—those originally selected by Chamberlain for initial study. Commander Isemonger has acted wisely in adopting this list. They are not the simplest characters, nor are all of them constantly met with, but experience has proved the soundness of the principles that guided their choice; and students who have committed them permanently to memory, possess a solid groundwork on which to build, and generally proceed to extend their character-vocabulary with progressively diminishing effort.

The planning is good, the book being divided into two sections: the first, after making a broad survey of the field of Japanese writing in general, treats at length on the Kana syllabaries, studies the Japanese methods of reading and pronouncing Chinese characters, and closes

by examining the details of their formation, and with a classification by analysis. The second section tackles seriously the problem of learning 400 characters. Twenty characters are presented at a time; every one clearly printed in a large square together with its pronunciations, Japanese readings, and significations. Each batch is followed by a few pages of helpful notes, useful compounds and combinations, and an exercise with transliteration and translation.

The scheme is noteworthy, and there can be no doubt that this book will fill a long-felt want. It caters of course for the elementary student only, but provides him with an excellent introduction to the Kana and 400 characters. Explanations are concise, and the reader's attention is never diverted by unnecessary dissertations, nor his time wasted on trivialities. It is doubtful, however, whether the beginner should be encouraged to trouble himself too much with the details of Kana-zukai, the syllabic spelling; and some of the space devoted to this subject might be cut down with advantage. A very few pages should suffice to indicate the general rules for syllabic spelling and to enable the student to pronounce correctly those words or inflections usually written with Kana. The Japanese themselves attach little importance to it; unorthodox Kana-spelling is not held to indicate lack of education, though correct use of the Chinese character is essential.

The author does not profess to teach writing—and, of course, the beautiful calligraphy of Japan and China cannot be acquired from any book—but for the benefit of those unable to obtain the services of a writing master, he devotes a few pages to general rules for writing, chiefly concerned with the order of the strokes. As at present printed, the examples given do not make it clear to a beginner how, and in what order, these strokes should be written. For instance, he is informed that "An angle on the left and at the bottom is often made with a single stroke, thus 女 山 衣".

It would really help the student, and also be useful for reference, if all the characters used as examples in the section on "How to Write" were printed to show clearly the correct order of the strokes, as follows:—

1st Stroke.	+ 2nd.	+ 3rd.	+ 4th.	+ 5th.	+ 6th stroke.
㇀	㇁	女			
丨	𠂔	山			
丶	一	フ	𠂔	𠂔	衣

Mention should be made of the fact that the work under review will not enable the student—without further study—to read Japanese as it is written, but only in its modern printed form. Every letter he receives, many notices and hand-bills, all books printed from wooden blocks (a method of printing rare to-day, although at one time in general use) will be written in the cursive *Sōsho*, or the semi-cursive *Gyōsho* script. In these styles, the strokes of the characters are abbreviated and modified to such an extent that it is doubtful whether the student will be able to recognize the characters he is already familiar with in print. Mastery of the printed form, however, is an essential preliminary to the study of hand-written Japanese, and the student who aims at ability to read letters and documents, will find the present volume valuable as a preparatory course.

The book suffers from the absence of an index, though this is minimized by the synopsis that precedes each chapter. When the next edition is called for, an index to all the Chinese characters it contains might be added with advantage. This should be four-fold, and comprise :—

- (1) An index to the characters, arranged alphabetically according to the "On".
- (2) A similar index of the "Kun".
- (3) An index to the characters, arranged in accordance with the number of strokes with which each is written.
- (4) An index to the characters, arranged in the order of their radicals.

The last system, being the one employed in native character dictionaries, would serve as a useful early exercise in the method the student will ultimately adopt when searching for a word in a Japanese dictionary.

Lafcadio Hearn, with true insight, observes: "An ideograph does not make upon the Japanese brain any impression similar to that created in the Occidental brain by a letter or combination of letters—dull inanimate symbols of vocal sounds. To the Japanese brain an ideograph is a vivid picture; it lives; it speaks; it gesticulates." And it is probable that an educated Japanese when using Sinico-Japanese words, which form so large a part of the speech of the upper classes, visualizes—at the time he is speaking—the ideograph with which each word is written. The student should aim at this; and it is difficult to conceive a book—of modest size and limited

to 400 characters—better calculated to guide his first steps on the path to this ideal than the volume under review. It is a notable and extremely welcome addition to the Japanese student's library.

GERALD MERE.

A DICTIONARY OF THE LANGUAGE OF SA'A (MALA) AND ULAWA, SOUTH-EAST SOLOMON ISLANDS. By WALTER G. IVENS. 8vo, pp. 427. Oxford University Press, 1929. 21s.

Sa'a und Ulawa sind zwei Mundarten einer Sprache, über die der Verfasser schon mehrere wissenschaftliche Aufsätze seit dem Jahre 1911 veröffentlicht hat. Auch ein Wörterbuch aus seiner Feder ist 1918 in Washington erschienen. Aber das jetzt vorliegende Werk stellt nicht eine neue Auflage jenes Wörterbuches dar, sondern es ist eine völlig neue Bearbeitung, verbessert und um mehrere tausend neue Einträge bereichert. Für jeden Gelehrten, der sich mit den Sprachen der Südsee beschäftigt, ist dieses neue Buch unentbehrlich.

Auch die Gelehrten, welche die Sprachwissenschaft nur als Hilfsmittel benutzen, werden reiches Material bei Ivens finden. Der Zoologe und der Botaniker treffen bei vielen Namen von Tieren und Pflanzen die lateinischen Bezeichnungen an, die sie in anderen Wörterbüchern häufig vermissen, z.B. Seite 34. *Haliaster girrenera*, Seite 145 *Baza gurnoyi*, Seite 161 *Turbo petholatus*, Seite 253 *Onithoptera Uvilleana*—Seite 112 *Musa Cavendishii*, Seite 205 *Cycas circinalis*, Seite 234 *Bischoffia javanica*, Seite 300 *Parinarium laurinum*. Ganz besonders wird der Ethnograph dieses Wörterbuch ausbeuten können, für die materielle Kultur z.B. Seite 60 unter *ka'a* 7 und Seite 354 unter *to'oha* über Muschelgeld, Seite 55 unter *eho*, Seite 94 unter *hato* 2, Seite 160 unter *la'o* 3 über Ornamente; noch mehr für das Geistesleben, z.B. über Magie: Seite 50 unter *dili* 1, Seite 109 unter *ho'o* 3, über Geisterglauben: Seite 15 unter *akalo* 1, Seite 105 unter *ho'asi*, Seite 112 unter *hu'o* 2, Seite 139 unter *karinga pvisi*, Seite 143 unter *kela*, über Initiation: Seite 39 unter *hena*, Seite 135 unter *maloahu*.

Natürlich ist das Buch in erster Linie für den Linguisten bestimmt, und zwar für den Sprachvergleich, wie der Verfasser im Vorwort hervorhebt. Für diesen werden bei sehr vielen Wörtern Parallelen aus indonesischen, melanesischen und polynesischen Sprachen angeführt; zum Teil werden als "IN." Wortformen geboten, die offenbar der indonesischen Ursprache entnommen sind, wie sie von

Brandstetter aufgestellt ist und von Ray in seinem Werk *Melanesian Island Languages*, Cambridge University Press, 1926, verwertet wird. Die meisten dieser Angaben stellen unbestreitbare etymologische Rückführungen dar, z.B. 'ai "tree" < IN. *kayu*, āsi l "sea" < IN. *tasik*, hāu "stone" < IN. *batu*, honu "to be full" < IN. *penuh*, 'ime "the bear's paw clam" < IN. *kima*, ma'ue "to fear" < IN. (ma-)takut, rāu "a leaf" < IN. *dawen*, sae- "heart" < IN. *atay*, tala l "path" < IN. *jalan*. Einige freilich sind zweifelhaft, z.B. he'a "to defecate" kann nicht mit IN. *tay* zusammenhängen, dieses IN. Wort wird durch *ae* "faeces" vertreten, und he'a ist auf IN. *bekas* "Hinterlassenschaft" zurückzuführen (vgl. Kern "De Fidjitaal" Seite 189 unter *veka*). Auch *ono* "to swallow" hängt kaum mit IN. *telen* zusammen, vielmehr geht auf dieses IN. Wort wohl *olo* 2 "to faint with hunger", und *hiolo* "to be hungry" zurück, letzteres ist aus IN. *pia-telen* "Lust zum Schlucken" entstanden.

Auch bei der Angabe von Parallelen aus verwandten Einzelsprachen kann man die meisten anerkennen, und besonders für die Beibringung melanesischer Äquivalente dankbar sein; viele neue Wörter sind aus der Arosi-Sprache angeführt; sie sind nach einer Stelle im Vorwort von Dr. Fox gesammelt. Aber für die indonesischen Einzelsprachen hat der Verfasser anscheinend unzulängliches Quellenmaterial benutzt. Seine Zitate aus dem Malay enthalten Wörter, die es in dieser Sprache gar nicht gibt: *sapa* "wing" zu *apaapa* l, *dia*, *jia* zu *diana* "good", *tia* "stomach" zu *ie*- l "belly", *mam* zu *ome* "to suck", *pea* "foot" zu *pe'a* "footmark", *man*, *omani*, *manesh* zu *mwane* l "a male". Auch mit dem mehrfach angegebenen Borneo kann der Sprachvergleich nicht viel anfangen, da es auf Borneo an die hundert verschiedene Sprachen gibt. Ueberhaupt ist es methodologisch bedenklich, Wörter aus verwandten Sprachen als Äquivalente anzuführen, solange man deren Lautwandel nicht genau kennt und angibt.

Der vom Verfasser im Vorwort ausgesprochene Wunsch, dass sein Wörterbuch von Nutzen für Forscher zur Aufhellung des Ursprungs der melanesischen Sprachen sein möge, veranlasst mich, hier eine Untersuchung darüber anzustellen, welcher Anteil des Wortschatzes im Sa'a sich mit indonesischem Sprachgut identifizieren lässt, und welchen Lautwandel die Laute des IN. erfahren haben. Ich knüpfe dabei an die gleichartigen Untersuchungen an, die Ray in seinem vorstehend zitierten Buch, Seite 481-87 veröffentlicht hat. Es soll ein Beweis für den hohen Wert des Werkes von Ivens sein, dass

man aus seinem erschöpfenden Material zu umfangreicheren und sichereren Ergebnissen kommen kann, als es Ray möglich war, der mit beschränkterem Material arbeiten musste.

Die von Ray zusammengestellten Aequivalente ergeben, etwas anders geordnet, folgende Lautverschiebung

- (1) der Konsonanten des IN.
 - (a) Labiallaute: IN. $p > h$, IN. $b > h$, IN. m bleibt m ;
 - (b) Alveolarlaute: IN. $t > O$ (fällt fort), IN. $d > r$, IN. l bleibt l , IN. $r^1 > t$, IN. s bleibt s oder $> t$;
 - (c) Palatallaute: IN. $j > t$, IN. $\tilde{n} > n$;
 - (d) Velarlaute: IN. $k > ' (Kehlverschluss)$, IN. $g < ' (Kehlverschluss)$, IN. $r^2 > l$, IN. \tilde{n} bleibt \tilde{n} .
 - (e) Laryngallaute: IN. $h > O$ (fällt fort);
- (2) der Vokale, Halbvokale und Diphtonge des IN.
 - IN. a, i, u bleiben a, i, u , IN. $\tilde{e} > o$;
 - IN. w bleibt w , IN. $y > O$;
 - IN. $ay > e$, IN. $aw > o$.

Von sekundärer Lautentwicklung beachtet Ray den "Umlaut", der die Vokalfolge $i-a$ und $u-a$ im Sa'a zu $i-\tilde{a}$ und $u-\tilde{a}$ werden lässt, er gibt an, dass zuweilen IN. t vor $o < \text{IN. } \tilde{e}$ erhalten ist, erklärt das s in S. *asi* "brother" $< \text{IN. } ar^1i$ als Wirkung des i und führt als unerklärte Entsprechungen an, dass IN. r^2 zu n wird in U. *nima*, S. *nime*, "house" IN. $l > n$ in U. *nima*, S. *nime* "hand", und dass IN. p bleibt p in *pepe* "butterfly".

Aus dem reichen Material, das Ivens bringt, kann ich diese Aufstellung Rays zum grössten Teil bestätigen, zu einem kleinen Teil berichtigen und ausserdem ergänzen.

Vorausschicken muss ich aber, dass ich einige Laute der indonesischen Ursprache etwas anders auffasse als Ray. Ich nehme an, dass Rays (Brandstetters) r^1 und s ursprünglich palatale Konsonanten waren, und setze dafür g' und t' an. Ausserdem schreibe ich Rays c, j und \tilde{n} als k', d' und \tilde{n} und gebe Rays r^2 als γ . Endlich habe ich noch einen R-Laut als ursprachlich aufgefunden, den ich als \int ansetze. Im uebrigen verzichte ich hier auf einige weitere Abweichungen von Rays Auffassung und Schreibung, da sie für das Sa'a belanglos sind.

(1) Die Konsonanten des IN.

- (a) Labiallaute. IN. $p > h$ auch in *kano* "a skin disease" $< \text{IN. } panaw$ "Flecken", *ta|kano* "a fathom, the opening of a man's

arms" < IN. *paña* "Gabelung", *hu'o* "fishing-net" < IN. *puķēt* "Wurfnetz", *āhui* 5 "placenta, white of egg" < IN. *putih* "weiss", *t|āha* "what?" < IN. *apa* "was?", *s|āhu* 1 "lime" < IN. *apuy* "Kalk"; *eno* "to lie down", *enohi* "to lie in" < IN. *hinēp* "nächtigen, schlafen, liegen", *unehi* "to scale a fish" < IN. *unap* "Fischschuppe"—in den beiden letzten Beispielen ist auslautendes IN. *p* vor stützendem Suffix als *h* erhalten.

IN. *b* > *h* auch in *haha* 2 "down" < IN. *babah* "unten", *haha* 3 "to carry a person on one's back" < IN. *bāba* "tragen auf Rücken", *haho*-1 "above" < IN. *babaw* "oben", *hou* 4 "to proclaim" < IN. *bētu* "in Erscheinung treten", *hu'e* 5 "to reverse" < IN. *buka* (+ *i*) "öffnen" (+ Lokativ-Suffix), *huhu* 1 "to leak . . . of powdered substance" < IN. *bukbuk* "Holzmehl", *hule* 6 "full moon" < IN. *bulan* "Mond", *hulu* 2 "to be hairy" < IN. *bulu* "Wolle", *huu* 5 *Barringtonia* < IN. *butun* dgl.; *uhe* S., *uha* U. "a strong ground creeper . . . used to poison fish" < IN. *tuba* "Fischgift", *sāu|lehi* "evening" < IN. *yabi* "Abend"; — für auslautendes IN. *b* sind keine Beispiele zu finden.

IN. *m* bleibt *m*, u.a. auch auslautend vor stützendem Suffix in *anomi* "to cover with earth" < IN. *tanēm* "Erde häufen, begraben, pflanzen", *inumi* (Seite 201 unter *mi*) neben *inu* "to drink" < IN. *inum* "trinken".

(b) Alveolar- (und Zerebral-) laute.

IN. *t* > *o* (fällt fort) auch in *ano* 1 "ground" < IN. *tanēh* "Erde", *sa|olu* "the egg of a bird" < IN. *tēluγ* "Ei", *iilo* "a mangrove oyster" < IN. *tiγēm* "Auster", *i'o* "to sit . . ." < IN. *tikēl* "rasten"; *moa* "to vomit" < IN. (*ma*)-*utah* "sich erbrechen".

IN. *d* (und *ḍ*) > *r* auch in *rara* 1 "to be in the sunlight . . ." < IN. *dadañ* "versengt", *rara* 3 "the coral tree, *Erythrina*" < IN. *dapdap* "Schattenbaum, *Erythrina*", *rāi* 2 "the front ends of the stone walls of a canoe house" < IN. *ḍahi* "Stirn"; *ḍhuri* "couch, shell, triton" < *tabuḍi* "Tritonshorn"; — auslautendes IN. *d* (oder *ḍ*) ist nicht zu belegen.

IN. *l* bleibt *l* auch in *lao* 2 "stinging-nettle" < IN. *latēh* "Nessel", *lie* S. 1 *lia* U. "ginger" < IN. *liγa* "Ingwer", *hulu* 3 "to fold" < IN. *lulun* "rollen"; *āliha* 1 "centripede" < IN. *alipan* "Tausendfuss", *oli* 1 "to return" < IN. (*ta*)-*julih* "sich umwenden"; — auslautendes IN. *l* ist nicht zu belegen.

IN. *n* bleibt *n*, siehe vorstehend *hano*, *enohi*, *unehi*, *anomi*, *ano*; — auslautendes IN. *n* ist nicht zu belegen.

IN. $l > r$ in 'a'ari "to tear" < IN. *gaſi* "ritzen", ausserdem in *kāru* 2 "to scratch" < IN. *gaſut*, *para* "a fence" < IN. *paſa* "Gestell" (wegen des hier auftretenden *k* und *p* im Sa'a siehe nachstehend); —dieses IN. l ist anlautend und auslautend nicht zu belegen.

(c) Palatallaute

IN. t' (bei Ray $s > t$ vor IN. *a* und *ě*, auch in *ta'e* 2 "up, inland", 3 "to rise up", 4 "to embark" < IN. *t'akay* "besteigen", *tala* 5 "to miss, to fail" < IN. *t'alah* "Irrtum", *ma|tolā* "between, midway . . ." < IN. *t'elat* "Zwischenraum", *toto* 1 "to pay a fine" < IN. *t'el'el* "Reue"; *ataata* 2 "to grate" < IN. *ha't'ah* "schleifen"; *mate|hulu* "the final stage of ripeness of a coconut" < IN. *mat'ak* + *bu'yuk* "reif sein" + "verrottet", *alite* 1 "a tree, Catappa terminalia" < IN. *talit'aj* "Terminalia"; —auslautendes IN. t' ist nur vor Suffix -i zu belegen, siehe nachstehend.

IN. d' (bei Ivens und Ray $j > t$ vor IN. *a* auch in *taha|a* "a span" < IN. *d'aān* "Spanne", *s|ate* "the human jaw" < IN. *ad'ay* "Kinn", *ute* 2, *ute pii* "heavy rain" < IN. *hud'an* "Regen" (Rays Angabe IN. *ur¹an* ist irrig, es gibt zwei Stammformen für "Regen": IN. *hud'an* und IN. *uſan*, aber keine *ur¹an* = *uſ'an* in meiner Schreibung).

IN. g' (Rays r^1 ; bei Ivens werden IN. r^1 und r^2 nicht unterschieden) > t vor IN. *a*; auch in *s|ato* "the sun" < IN. *ag'aw* "Tag".

Diese drei palatalen Verschlusslaute IN. t' , d' und g' werden regelmässig zu *s* vor IN. *i* und *u*; es liegt also kombinatorischer Lautwandel vor. So sind zu erklären ausser den Beispielen bei Ray für IN. $t'i$ und $t'u$ auch: *si'o* 2 "to collect" < IN. *t'ikēp* "fassen", *am|asi* "to feel pity for" < IN. *at'ih* "Mitgefühl", *lusu* "the rib in a canoe . . ." < IN. *γut'uh* "Rippe", auch *s|asu* 2 "to smoke" geht nicht auf IN. *ha'tēp* "Rauch" (davon Malay *asap*), sondern auf IN. *at'uw* "Rauch" zurück. Ebenso tritt auslautendes IN. t' nur als *s* vor dem stützenden Suffix *i* auf in *harasi* "to chafe" < IN. *paſat'* "glätten". Ferner für IN. $d'u$: *sulu* 5 "liquid, water" < IN. *d'uyuh* "Saft", *usu* 4 "to point" < IN. *tud'uk* "zeigen". Endlich für IN. $g'i$ und $g'u$: *asi*-S., 2 "a man's brother, a woman's sister" < IN. *ag'i* "Geschwister", *suli* 2 "a bone" < IN. *g'uyi* "Dorn, Stachel".

IN. n (bei Ray $n̄$) > n auch in *nāu* "a fruit tree, teak" < IN.

natuh "Pallaquium usw."; *mānu* 2 "to float" < IN. *anud* "flottieren".

(d) Velarlaute

IN. *k* > ' (Kehlverschluss) auch in *'ami* U. "we (excl.)" < IN. *kami* "wir (exkl.)"; *'amu* "you" < IN. *kamiw* "ihr", *'ohi* "to fetch" < IN. *kēpūt* "festhalten"; *u'iu'i* "tail" < IN. *ikuy* "Schwanz" (mit Umstellung über **ukiγ*); vgl. auch vorstehend *hu'o*, *hu'e*, *i'o*, *ta'e*, *si'o*.

IN. *g* > ' in *'a'ari* "to tear" < IN. *ga'it* "ritzen".

IN. *γ* (bei Ray *r*²) > *l* auch in *mela* "to glow" < IN. (*ma-iyah* "rot sein", *ule-* U. 1 "brother, sister . . ." < IN. *uyan* "Mensch"; vgl. auch vorstehend *sāu|lehi*, *iilo*, *mate|hulu*, *lusu*, *sulu*, *suli*; — für auslautendes IN. *γ* ist dem Beleg von Ray *sineli* "to shine" < IN. *t'inay* "Schein" kein neuer hinzuzufügen.

IN. *h* bleibt *h* auch in *awa|haña* "to open the mouth, to gape" < IN. *haña* "offen stehen (Mund)"; vgl. vorstehend *ta|haña*; auslautendes IN. *h* ist nicht zu belegen.

(e) Laryngallaute

IN. *h* > *O* auch in *ihe-* S., *iha-* U. "brother in law" < IN. *hipay* "Schwager", *mā|ua* U. 1 "reif" < IN. *tuha* "alt", *uu* 2 "real . . ." < IN. *tuhu* "sicherlich"; vgl. vorstehend *rāi*, *ataatā*, *ute*.

Bemerkenswert ist, dass die Vokale, die durch IN. *h* getrennt waren, nicht verschmelzen, wie sonst z.B. in (vorstehend) *moa*, *oli*, *mela*. Diese Feststellung leitet dazu über, dass für IN. *h* auch ' (Kehlverschluss) auftritt in *ta'a* 6 "bad" < IN. *d'ahat* "schlecht". Ray gibt auch U. *ha'olu* zu IN. *bahēyu* "neu" an, während Ivens *haolu* bringt. Es ist zu vermuten, dass die Entsprechung IN. *h* > ' älter ist als IN. *h* > *O*.

Die vorstehenden Zusammenstellungen haben eine grosse Lücke, sie erklären nicht das Auftreten von *p*, *d* und *k* in einer Anzahl von Wörtern, die offenbar indonesische Äquivalente haben. Diese Fälle lassen sich aber als Entsprechungen von Nasalverbindungen deuten, die das IN. im Anlaut und Inlaut aufweist.

So geht *p* zurück auf IN. *mp* in *āpi* 1 "bordering upon" < IN. *hampi* "nahe sein", *āpi* 2 "to hold under the arm" < IN. *hampit* "unter dem Arm festhalten", *epa* 2 "to lie as a mat" < IN. *hampay* "ausgebreitet", *hapa* 1 "a canoe seat . . ." < IN. *pa(m)pan* "Brett"; *pulopulo* "to revolve" neben *hulo* 2 "to wrap around" < IN. (*m*)*pulēt* "drehen", *puñu* 2 "a bunch" neben *huñu* 1 "to bear

fruit" < IN. (m)puku "Fruchttross", ali|pono, susu eli|pono "closed up . . ." neben hono 1 "to shut", ma|hono "stopped up" < IN. (m)pēnēd "verstopft", i|pelu, ipai|palu "to make war" < IN. (m)palu "schlagen", pāni U. 2 "the side walls of a house" < IN. (m)panig' "Flügel", pulu U. 3 "the putty-nut . . . to caulk a canoe" < IN. (m)pulut "Klebstoff"; para 2 "a fence" < IN. (m)paŋa "Gestell", poo- 2 "navel, umbilical cord" < IN. (m)putēl' "rundgedreht".

Auch auf IN. mb geht p zurück in apa 1 "part, side, half" < IN. tamba "Seite", upu 1 "to swell in body" < IN. tumbuk "wachsen", pue S., pua U. "areca-nut" neben hue- S., hua- U. "article, . . . used of fruits only" < IN. (m)burah "Frucht" (dass ein Zusammenhang von pue und hue vorliegt, hat Ivens S. 264 vermerkt); hierher gehört wohl auch puhu 1 "to be deaf" < IN. bēnēl "taub", obwohl die Entsprechung u für IN. ē unregelmässig ist, sowie pepe "butterfly" < IN. (m)bēmbe "Schmetterling", und nicht zu dem in Indonesien isolierten Mak. pipipipi.

Neben p kommt pw im Anlaut vor, das gleichfalls IN. mb entspricht in pcohi- S. 2 neben poni- 2 "a time, a season" < IN. (m)bēhi "Nacht, Tag von 24 Stunden", poču- 1 "head" < IN. (m)batuk "Schädel, Kugel". Diese Lautvariante pw neben p ist vermutlich aus einem labiovelaren Laut entstanden, der in anderen melanesischen Sprachen in den betreffenden Wörtern für "Nacht", "Kopf", (auch "Schwein") gesprochen wird. Labiovelare Laute aber deuten auf Mischung mit Papua-Sprachen hin.

Der Laut d des Sa'a vertritt die Nasalverbindungen nt, nd, nt' und ng' des IN. Es sind aber nur eine kleine Anzahl von Belegen zu finden, und nur der Vergleich mit anderen melanesischen Sprachen sichert den Zusammenhang mit IN. Wörtern. Auf IN. nt geht d zurück in hudi 1 "a banana" < IN. punti "Banane", idu 1 "to count" < IN. hi(n)tuñ "zählen", udo "the pith of a twig" neben uwo (wohl = uo) 3 "the inner skin of rattan cane, pith" < IN. u(n)lēk "Gehirn, Mark"; ma|dala "the morning star" < IN. (n)ŋala "Gestirn", duu "a covering of bast cloth . . ." < IN. (n)tutup "zugedeckt".

Auf IN. nd geht d zurück in -da 1 "pers. pron. pl. 3, suffixed to nouns . . ." < IN. nda (ni-ḍa) "ihr (Plural)", ri|ridi "the space under the eaves of a house" < IN. dindiñ "Wand", udu "to drip" < IN. tu(n)duh (tu(n)duh) "tröpfeln", dānu U. "to bale" < IN. (n)danun "Wasser", doña 1 "a pair" < IN. dēnan "Gefährte".

Auch auf IN. *ñl'* geht *d* zurück in *dāmu* "to eat the betel-mixture", *ma|damudamu* "to smack the lips" < IN. (*ñ*)*t'amuk* "schmacken", *dīna* U. *dīne* S. "a day" neben *sīnesīne* S. "to shine" < IN. (*ñ*)*t'īnay* "Schein" (Nebenform zu IN. *t'īnay*).

Endlich geht *d* auch auf IN. *ñg'* zurück in *ñ|idu-* U., *ñ|udu* S. "lip" neben *pwāl|usu-* "nose" < IN. *i(ñ)g'uñ* "Nase; der Bedeutungswandel lässt sich ebenso wie der Lautwandel durch viele melanesische Sprachen verfolgen.

Der Laut *k* geht auf IN. *ñk* und *ñg* zurück. Auf IN. *ñk* in *-ku* "my" < IN. *-ñku* (*ni-ku*) "mein", *aka* 2 "to pull out, to emerge" < IN. *a(ñ)kat* "hoch gehoben", *laka* 1 "to leap about" < IN. *lañkah* "Schritt", *ake|ake* "a strand of rope, a twig, a sprig" < IN. *tañkay* "Stengel"; *kia* "we (incl.)" < IN. (*ñ*)*kita* "wir (inkl.)". Auf IN. *ñg* in *kāru* S. 2 "to scratch with the finger-nails" < IN. (*ñ*)*gañut* "kratzen", *a|kuru* "to rumble, of thunder" < IN. (*ñ*)*guduh* "donnern".

Etwas anderes als diese Nasalverbindungen des IN. ist die sogenannte "Pränasalierung" des IN., die aus anlautenden Verschlusslauten deren homorgane Nasale hervorbringt. Sie findet sich im Sa'a nur in wenigen Fällen.

Pränasalierung von IN. *p* und *b* ergibt *m* in *mae* 1 "to die ..." < IN. *patay*, *matay* "sterben", *mimi* "to urinate" < IN. *piypiy*, *mimiy*, "spritzen"; *mu|muni* "to hide" < IN. *buni*, *muni* "verbergen". Ebenso von IN. *t* als *n* in *na|nau* S. "to be taught, to be wise" < IN. *tahu*, *nahu* "gewohnt sein, wissen", *nimo* U., *nemo* S. "rain" < IN. *timuy*, *nimuy* "Regenwind". Endlich von IN. *k* als *ñ* in *haña* S. "to eat" < IN. *pañan* "Speise" zu IN. *kañ* "essen".

Es bleiben noch einige Einzelfälle zu besprechen. *nima-* U., *nime-* S. 2 "hand" neben *lima* U., *lime* S. "five" < IN. *lima* "Hand, fünf" und *nima* U., *nume* S. neben *lume* S. "a dwelling-house" < IN. *γumah* "Haus" sind Assimilationsvorgänge nach der Formel *l—Nasal* > *n—Nasal*, wie sie melanesisch und auch indonesisch mehrfach vorkommen. *mama|taku* "dreadful, fearful" neben *mā'u* "to fear" < IN. (*ma-*)*takut*, *mate* "dead, in phrases only" neben *mae* "to die" mit *t* statt *o* für IN. *t* sind wohl als Entlehnungen aus anderen Südsee-Sprachen anzusehen, in denen IN. *t* erhalten ist.

Auffallend ist das Fehlen von ' für IN. *k* und *g* in *ala* 3 "to bite" < IN. *kayāt* "beissen", *āu* neben *'āi* "tree" < IN. *kayu* "Holz, Baum", *eli* "to dig" < IN. *kali* "graben", *ato* 3 "a rafter" < IN. *kat'aw* "Dachsparren"; *ālī* "to lie curled up ..." < IN. *galiñ*

"rollen". Ebenso auffallend ist das Auftreten von ' für IN. *t* in 'āli "a cord" < IN. *tali* "Strick". Man erwartet 'āu, 'ēli, 'ato, 'āli (to lie curled up), aber āli ("a cord"). Ray bringt die beiden letzten Worte entsprechend dieser Erwartung. Sollten Ivens nicht hierbei Hör-, Schreib- oder Druckfehler unterlaufen sein?

(2) Die Halbvokale und Diphthonge des IN.

Der klaren Darstellung Rays ist nur wenig hinzuzufügen.

IN. *w* bleibt *w* auch in *wāi* "fresh water" < IN. *wayēy* "Wasser"; *lawā* 1 "spider's web" < IN. *lawah* "Spinnweb", *tawā* "an opening in the shore reef" < IN. *t'awān* "Gestade, Lagune".

IN. *u* + *w* > *u* in *rua* U., *rue* S. "two" < IN. *duwa* "zwei", vgl. vorstehend *hue*, *pue*, *s|esu*; IN. *wē* > *u* in *āu* 2 "the bamboo" < IN. *awēy*, *rāu* 1 "leaf" < IN. *dawēn*; IN. *iw* > *u* in 'āmu U. 4 "you" < IN. *kamie* "ihr".

IN. *y* fällt zwar in *āu* ('āu?) "tree" < IN. *kayu* "Holz, Baum" fort, ist aber in 'āi 2 "tree" als *i* erhalten, es > *s* in *asusu* "coco-nut crab" < IN. *ayuyu* "grosse Krabbenart" und in *huasa* "a crocodile" < IN. *bucaya* "Krokodil".

IN. *iy* > *i* in *ie*-S., *iā*-U. "belly" < IN. *tiyan* "Bauch", *nīs* "the coco-nut palm" < IN. *niguy* "Kokos", vgl. vorstehend *lis* S. 1; IN. *yē* > *i*, siehe vorstehend *wāi*.

IN. *ay* > *e* auch in *s|ane* "the white ant" < IN. *anay* "Termite", *ue* S. (*ua* U.) 3 "rattan-cane" < IN. *uway* "Rohr"; vgl. vorstehend *ta'e*, *alite*, *s|ate*, sowie in *one* "sand" < IN. *hēnay* "Sand" (in Alt-Java *hēni* ist *i* < *ay* erst sekundär entstanden).

IN. *aw* > *o* auch in vorstehendem *hano*, *baho*, *s|ato*, *ato*.

Aus allen diesen Wortentsprechungen, deren ich rund 240 gesammelt habe, lässt sich folgende Lautverschiebung vom IN. zum Sa'a zusammenstellen:

IN.	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>ē</i>	<i>aw</i>	<i>ay</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>y</i>	
Sa'a	<i>a</i>	<i>i</i>	<i>u</i>	<i>o</i>	<i>e</i>	<i>w</i>	<i>s</i>	(<i>i</i> , <i>O</i>)	
IN.	<i>p</i>	<i>b</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>mp</i>	<i>mb</i>				
Sa'a	<i>h</i>	<i>m</i>	<i>p</i>	(<i>pw</i>)					
IN.	<i>t</i>	<i>d</i>	(<i>d</i>)	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>				
Sa'a	<i>O</i>	<i>r</i>	<i>l</i>	<i>n</i>					
IN.	<i>t'</i>	<i>d'</i>	<i>g'</i>	<i>ñ</i>					
Sa'a	<i>t*</i>		<i>n</i>						
						IN.	<i>nt</i>	<i>nd(nd)</i>	<i>nt'</i> <i>ng'</i>
						Sa'a	<i>d</i>		

IN.	<u>k g</u>	γ	ñ	<u>ñk ñg</u>	h
Sa'a	·	l	ñ	<u>k</u>	O (')

*s in kombinatorischem Lautwandel vor i und u.

Diese Lautverschiebung passt vollständig in den Rahmen der von mir aus dem IN. abgeleiteten melanesischen Ursprache (Urmelanesisch = UMN; siehe *Folia ethnoglossica* Bd. 3 Heft 2-4, 1927) hinein:

IN.	a	<u>i iy yē</u>	<u>u uw wē</u>	<u>ē au</u>	w	y	h
UMN.	a	i	u	o	w	y	x
Sa'a	a	i	u	o	w	s (i, O)	O (')
IN.	m	<u>n ñ</u>	ñ	<u>b p</u>	<u>d d'</u>	<u>t d' g' t'</u>	<u>g k</u> l l γ
UMN.	m	n	ñ	b	d	t	d' g l r r
Sa'a	m	n	ñ	h	r	O	t l r l
IN.	<u>mb mp</u>	<u>nd nd'</u>	nt	<u>ñd' ñg' nt'</u>	<u>ñk ñg</u>		
UMN.	<u>mb</u>	<u>nd</u>	nt	<u>ñd'</u>	<u>ñg</u>		
Sa'a	p (pw)		d			k	

Es gelingt sonst selten, für den Lautwandel einer melanesischen Sprache so viele und so sichere Belege in dem Quellenmaterial der einschlägigen Literatur aufzuspüren. Dass es für das Sa'a möglich ist, verdanken wir nur dem hier besprochenen Werke Ivens'. Es ist vorbildlich für alle, die in der Südsee linguistische Forschungsarbeit leisten, und es ist unentbehrlich für alle Gelehrten in der alten und neuen Welt, die sich mit linguistischen Problemen der indonesischen, melanesischen und polynesischen Sprachen beschäftigen.

OTTO DEMFWOLFF.

ÉTUDES SUR LES ORIGINES DE LA RELIGION DE L'ÉGYPTÉ. Par SAMUEL A. B. MERCER. pp. xi, 105. London: Luzac & Co., 1929.

This book, by the Professor of Egyptology in the University of Toronto, to whom we are already indebted for much scholarly work on Egypt and Assyria, is prefaced by a short introduction from the pen of M. Moret, himself a great authority on the religion of the ancient Egyptians.

The author tells us that he has incorporated in his book the opinions expressed in certain notes left to him by Gaston Maspero, but in addition he has made use of new sources, of recent contributions to

the subject, and of the results of his own personal research. He has limited himself in this volume to a study of the four Egyptian gods, Horus, Seth, Osiris, and Re, before the period of the Pyramid Texts. The sources for this prehistoric period are rare and imperfect, consequently many of the conclusions reached are based on hypothesis only.

Ancient Egypt was an intrinsic part of the Mediterranean world. From the standpoint of ethnology, the Egyptians belong to the Mediterranean race, from the point of view of geography, their country is a part of North Africa, from the standpoint of culture, their civilization has always been associated with that of Palestine, Syria and the islands of the East Mediterranean.

Dr. Mercer brings together some very interesting material in his first chapter and concludes that the most ancient civilization of Egypt was found in Upper Egypt. In this region, at a prehistoric period, the supreme god was Seth, who was in part indigenous, and in part Libyan, like his worshippers. At the neolithic period, Egypt was invaded on the south-east by a Mediterranean race coming probably from Arabia, which created a second civilization, that of the Fayoum, and these people were worshippers of the Falcon-god, Horus. Later, Horus established himself in the West Delta, and there became supreme. His followers allied themselves with the worshippers of Osiris in the East Delta, and thus formed a united kingdom of Lower Egypt. Then the worshippers of Horus invaded Upper Egypt, conquered the worshippers of Seth, and established themselves in Central Egypt. After this arose a new people in the Delta, with their headquarters at Heliopolis, who worshipped Re. These people were of an Armenian type, or a Semitic mixture, and came perhaps from the Mediterranean islands, and allied themselves with the Horus worshippers. The two attacked Lower Egypt and conquered it, and there resulted a political union of the North and the South under the rule of the worshippers of Horus, though the people of Seth were not entirely conquered. Yet Horus remained the national god, up to the period of the Third Dynasty. During the time of the Fifth Dynasty Horus had to yield to Re, but after this Re, in his turn, had to share the supremacy with Osiris, and thenceforward the two great gods of Egypt were Re and Osiris.

After dealing in detail with the history and worship of each of the four gods, the author takes up the more controversial question of the origin of the religion of ancient Egypt. He differs from those Egyptologists who maintain that the religion was essentially native,

and not of foreign origin, holding that Semitic influence was predominant in the prehistoric period. The first civilization he admits was indigenous, but the second he holds was of foreign importation, coming probably from Arabia, not Nubia, by way of Suez. His final conclusion is that the inhabitants of Egypt represented four races and four religions; worshippers of Seth, worshippers of Horus (who came from Arabia by Kosseir and Suez), worshippers of Osiris (who came from Syria), and worshippers of Re (from the Mediterranean islands). The cult of these four gods, the development of their mythologies, the rivalries of their priests, had a far-reaching influence upon the history of Egypt.

Though some will be prepared to dispute the author's view as to the preponderating influence of the Semitic elements in this early period, and to attach greater importance to the Libyan-Hamitic element, all readers of this book will admit that Professor Mercer has made the most of the scanty materials at his disposal, while his views as to the political condition of Egypt at this time, a condition which was so intimately connected with the worship of the four great gods, are of great interest and very suggestive.

It is much to be regretted that a book which includes so much that is interesting and valuable for all who are concerned with the study of Egyptology, should contain neither bibliography nor index.

M. SMITH.

RACES OF AFRICA. By C. G. SELIGMAN, F.R.C.P., F.R.S., Professor of Ethnology in the University of London. 6 $\frac{1}{2}$ \times 4 $\frac{1}{4}$, pp. 256. (Home University Library of Modern Knowledge.) London: Thornton Butterworth, Ltd. 1930. 2s. 6d.

An up-to-date summary of anthropological facts relating to Africa is greatly needed and Dr. Seligman has supplied the want in a most attractive little volume. The survey is both clear and concise and at the same time extremely readable. The introductory chapter contains definitions of terms commonly used in physical anthropology the lack of which has often been sadly felt by the general reader, spoiling his enjoyment of what would otherwise be interesting works. On a point which has caused a good deal of discussion in the past, one fancies that the best-informed authorities will be disposed to agree that "if a definition of race be sought it is scarcely possible to say more than that race connotes 'a group of people who have certain well-marked

physical characters in common', and that, though at the present day there can be few pure races in existence, for descriptive purposes we can treat a race as 'pure' unless there is reason to believe that it has arisen from more than one source in relatively modern times."

The "primary" races of Africa are enumerated by Dr. Seligman as: (1) Hamites, (2) Semites (who, however, "apart from a certain amount of mixture in Abyssinia, have only been present in Africa for a little over 1,000 years"), (3) Negroes, including "True Negroes" ("mainly confined to the neighbourhood of the Guinea coast, including Nigeria and the French Sudan, with some part of the Cameroons and perhaps the Congo"), Bantu, Nilotes and "half-Hamites", (4) Bushmen, (4a) Hottentots, and (5) Negritos (Pygmies). The "half-Hamites" include the Masai, Nandi, Suk, Lumbwa, and some others, as well as, probably, the Didinga, Topotha and Iteso. The tribes sometimes called "outcast" are mentioned in the chapter on the "Eastern Hamites" on account of "geographical position rather than ethnic knowledge". They are "generally assumed . . . to be the descendants of a dwarf or pygmy race, presumably the ancestors of Bushmen or Negrillos": Dr. Seligman is inclined to doubt this in the case of the Dorobo, and I would venture to extend the doubt to the "Wasania" (surely, more correctly, Wasanye)—what, by the bye, is the authority for the assertion that these people have clicks in their language? True, very little is known of it, as most of them now speak Galla.

Enough has been said to show that the importance of this manual is in no way commensurate with its size. There could be no better introduction to the subject.

A. W.

FABLES OF THE VELD. By F. POSSELT. With a Foreword by Professor Carl Meinhof. 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ x 5, pp. 132. Oxford: University Press, 6s.

These stories have been collected by Mr. Posselt in the course of many years' residence among the natives of southern Rhodesia, during which he had the amplest opportunity of gaining an insight into their customs and beliefs. While regretting, with Professor Meinhof, that the author has not seen his way to print the original text along with his versions, one cannot but be grateful for the conscientious

way in which he has recorded them, and particularly for noting the tribe by which each is contributed. Of the forty-six stories the largest number comes from the Nyungwe (Tete) people, who hardly come into southern Rhodesia; but the two authorities quoted for these, Siamakuli and Chimsau, probably belong to this tribe, though Mr. Posselt gives no further particulars about them. The language spoken by the Banyungwe (probably the prefix should have the bilabial *v*) is virtually the same as Nyanja. The Jindwe tribe, represented by eleven tales, appears to live in the Umtali district, but the name is not to be found among those enumerated in Mr. Posselt's valuable *Notes on Some Tribes of Southern Rhodesia*. In the table of contents we find, indiscriminately, the name of the tribe, with or without prefix—Bananzwa, Barozwi, Ndebele—and that of the language, Chizezuru, Sinjanja. This is apt to be found perplexing. The Vambire, who have contributed two stories both new to me (though one is a variant on a familiar theme) are to be found in the Marandellas District; "Chikunda" (unless this is one of the unnamed tribes mentioned by Mr. Posselt as "scattered over the Territory . . . and interspersed with those already named") presumably means the A-Chikunda (in their case, *chi-* is not a language-denoting prefix) of the Lower Shire and Zambezi.

One story, given as Ndebele, is identical (though shortened) with part of *Ukcombekcansini*: in Callaway's *Nursery Tales, Traditions and Histories of the Zulus* (1868). "The Blind Man and his Brother" (Jindwe) may be compared with "The Blind Man and the Cripple" in Captain Rattray's Nyanja collection. Many of the stories, as might be expected, are concerned with the *faits et gestes* of the Hare (Tsuro, Sulwe or Kalulu), and one combines the incident of the well dug by the animals (Swahili: *Sungura na Mgomba* and *Hadithi ya Vinyama*) with that of the hare nursing the leopard's (here the lion's) cubs and eating one after the other. For nearly every one of the forty-six tales in Mr. Posselt's book, interesting parallels can be adduced from other parts of the Bantu field, and probably a very little further research would complete the list.

The print and general appearance of the book are quite in accordance with the traditions of the Oxford University Press.

A. W.

THE COMPARATIVE PHONETICS OF THE SUTO-CHUANA GROUP OF BANTU LANGUAGES. By A. N. TUCKER, M.A. [Thesis approved for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy in the University of London.] $9\frac{3}{4} \times 6\frac{1}{2}$, pp. 139. London: Longmans Green and Co., 1929.

The most important part, to the non-expert in phonetics, of this very thorough and conscientious study, is the first chapter, with its accompanying map enabling one to place the various dialects of the three closely related but distinct languages: Sesuto, Sepedi and Sechuana. (Though, as Mr. Tucker points out, there is no actual "Sechuana" language in existence: the name, here used for convenience, is applied by him to the dialect of the Barolong, which appears to be the most important and is that used in Crisp, *Notes towards a Secoana Grammar* and Jones and Plaatje, *Sechuana Reader*.) The Bakgatla are classed by Mr. Tucker as Bechuana, but probably the "Kchatla" noted by Meinhof as a separate language and placed on his map in the neighbourhood of Pretoria is that of the "Transvaal Bakgatla, to be found in the Rustenberg district of South-West Transvaal", who have "so far differed from the parent stem in language as to be classed under the Bapedi". (In proper names, where Mr. Tucker follows the current South African orthography, *g* has the Dutch value of the velar fricative). The historical development of these languages is illustrated by the diagram on p. 13: the Barolong and Batlhaping were, seemingly, the earliest immigrants into the country south of the Zambezi. A point which I do not remember to have been taken up by previous inquirers is the "peculiar quality of carrying power" possessed by all Bantu languages. Mr. Tucker has examined this question carefully but does not here suggest any final solution. If I am not mistaken, however, he is disposed to think that the fact of all syllables being open—i.e. ending in a vowel—may at any rate partly account for the phenomenon.

The discussion of phonetic technicalities must be left to specialists. I must confine myself to remarking that the two varieties of *e*, always a stumbling-block to learners, seem to present even more difficulty than I had thought, especially as the results arrived at by Crisp, Jacottet and Endemann "do not tally, neither have I found any native to agree with any one author in more than half the cases I have investigated". In addition to this, the commonest sound appears to be the one most difficult for the average ear to seize!

A. WERNER.

STRUCTURE AND RELATIONSHIP OF AFRICAN LANGUAGES. By ALICE WERNER, D.Litt. (London). With preface by Hanns Vischer. 8½ × 5½, pp. 62. London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1930. 4s. 6d. net.

This little work embodies lectures actually delivered by the author in 1928-9 to Colonial Office probationers at Oxford, Cambridge, and London, and it is accordingly divided into four "lectures". These deal, respectively, with the main divisions of the African languages, the Sudanic family, the large Bantu aggregate, which covers such a great part of the field, and the Hamitic languages. Semitic is cut out as being of comparatively late importation, and the Hottentot and Bushman languages are not discussed in detail, as their affiliation is still subject to some doubt. The differences between the three main types of speech considered are very clearly explained and illustrated by examples; and an account is given of their geographical distribution. In such a small compass it would obviously have been impossible, even if it had been desirable, to enter into the details of the characteristics of all the individual languages comprised in these great groups. That is a function best reserved for their several grammars, not for a work which aims at being an introduction, on comparative lines, to African languages in general. Regarded from this point of view, it can fairly claim to have achieved its object, for it is very interesting and intelligible even to one who knows nothing at all of African linguistics and it will serve to stimulate its readers to a further pursuit of the subject.

C. O. BLAGDEN.

NOTES AND QUERIES

LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA. VOL. I, PT. II

I am grateful to Dr. Grahame Bailey for the kindly and suggestive review of the above book in pp. 615 ff. of the Vol. V of the *Bulletin*. I would nevertheless ask permission to submit the following remarks in no controversial spirit, but in order to prevent my attitude in regard to one or two points being misunderstood.

On p. 616 Dr. Bailey states that he has several times begged me to discontinue the use of "Brokpa" as the name of a dialect of Ṣipā, and adds that in the volume under review I have given this up. I must make my position plain. It is true that I do not use the term in the volume under review, but that does not mean that I have given it up. Dr. Bailey objects to my using the term as the name of the Ṣipā dialects of Drās and Ḍāh-Hanū. With all respect for his great authority I must differ from him in this respect. The word "Brök-pā" is a Tibetan term for "a Highlander", and in that language is used for the Dards of both these localities. As Shaw¹ says, "Both the Dah-Hanu people and the Dard communities settled on or about the Dras river, are called by their Tibetan neighbours *Brök-pā*," and so, all through the article, he calls these people by this name.

Again, Drew² says "At Drās the Dārds . . . form more than half the community, the others being Baltīs . . . Wherever the Dards are in contact with Baltīs or with Bhots these others call them . . . *Brokpā* or *Blokpā*."

In spite of Dr. Bailey's authority I therefore still venture to maintain that, if occasion requires it, I am entitled to refer to the forms of Ṣipā spoken in Drās and Ḍāh-Hanū as Brökpā dialects.

Dr. Bailey refers to the question as to whether the *t* and *d* of Ṣipā are alveolar or dental. This was not dealt with in the book under review, nor do I do that here. It has been discussed at great length in the *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* for 1924, the protagonists being Colonel Lorimer and Dr. Bailey.

Dr. Bailey says that four names are given in the Survey for the ṭākṛī Alphabet, viz. ṭhākūrī, ṭakkārī, ṭākrī and ṭākrī, and that he has never heard any but the last. He adds that its derivation is unknown, but that we may be sure it is not connected with ṭhākūr. I have not

¹ See "Stray Arians in Tibet" in *JASB.* vol. xlvii, pt. i, 1878, pp 36 ff.

² Jummoo and Kashmir Territories, 433 ff.

checked his list of names, but I have no doubt that it is correct. Names differ according to locality, and I have in each case recorded those that I found in use. If Dr. Bailey will refer to page 170 of the Part I of Volume I of the Survey, he will see that I consider Ṭakkari as the best spelling, and of this his Ṭākri is an obvious variant. As for the derivation, the word means "the alphabet of the Ṭakkas", an important tribe who once ruled the country round Sialkot. They were so well-known that they had a Prakrit dialect of their own, which was described at length by Indian grammarians. This dialect was called Ṭākkī, which Pischel, owing to incorrect manuscripts, read as Ḍhākkī, and mistakenly referred to the Dacca of Eastern Bengal.¹

G. A. GRIERSON.

Attention ought to be widely called to an Occasional Paper (No. 2) issued by the Department of Native Development, Southern Rhodesia, in which Dr. Doke discusses the important question of Word-Division in Bantu. The "conjunctive method" which he advocates will surely commend itself to every impartial inquirer when it is taken into consideration that in such a word, for instance, as the Zulu *u-ya-ku-si-bona* "he will see us", not one of the component parts, with the exception of the verb-stem *bona* (and that only in the imperative singular) can be used independently. In Sesuto printed books, where the "disjunctive method" is usually employed (according to which the above word would be written *u ya ku si bona*) the loose particles are a constant source of confusion. I have always adopted the conjunctive form of writing, but have been accustomed to except from it the word for "and" (*na*) and the possessive particle—except where these, as in Zulu, coalesce with a vowel following, e.g. *nomuntu* (for *na umuntu*), *wenkosi* (for *wa inkosi*). But it must be owned that Dr. Doke is only logical in refusing to make this exception. If the problem is likely to arise in any other class of hitherto unwritten languages, the solution here suggested is well worth the attention of all concerned.

A. WERNER.

¹ See *JRAS.* 1913, p. 882.

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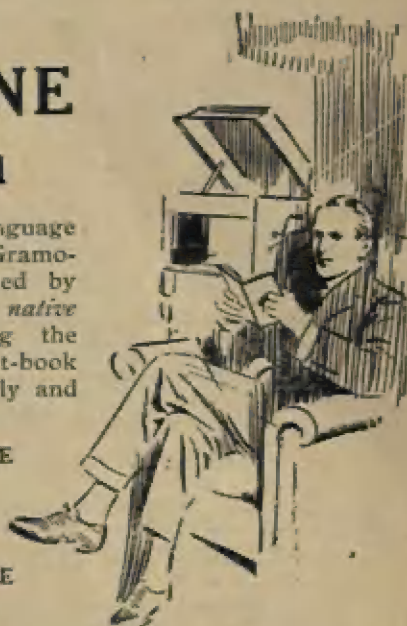
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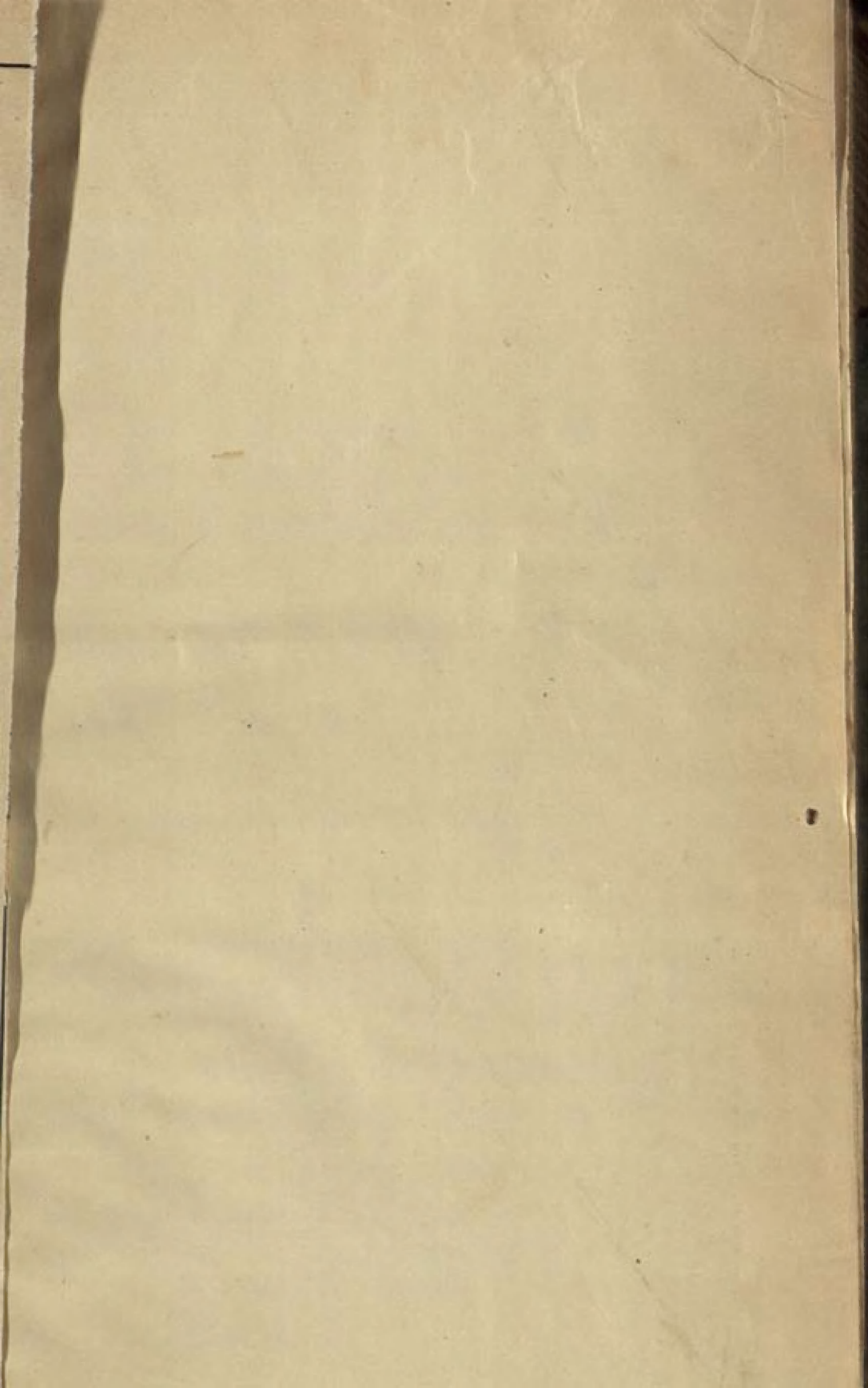
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